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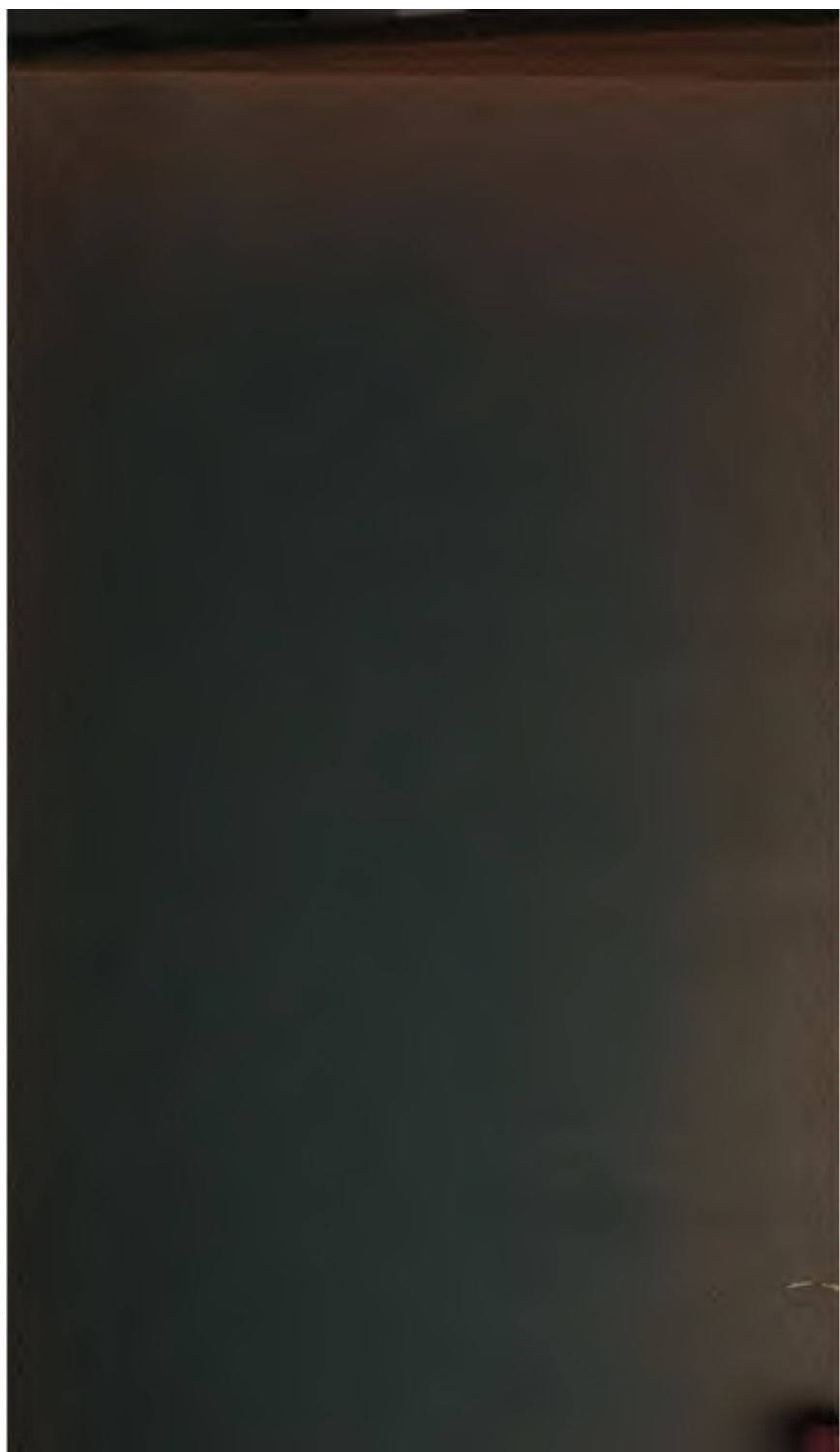
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DUBLIN REVIEW.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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* Some of our readers have desired to see our Contents—especially those of articles on theological and philosophical subjects—set forth in somewhat fuller detail than is the usual custom; and we are glad to meet their view, in the hope that such a Syllabus as we have now given, may facilitate study and reference.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1866.

ART. I.—JULIUS CÆSAR. BY NAPOLEON III.

Histoire de Jules César.—Tome I. et II.—Paris : Henri Plon.—1865, 1866.

FOR a modern Cæsar to write the history of that first Cæsar who bequeathed his very name to all future times as a symbol of power and greatness, is sufficient to attract our attention, and to deserve on the part of any competent critic at least his best endeavours to do justice to such an undertaking. But when the modern Cæsar has himself ascended the throne in consequence of a *coup d'état*; when his first step was to scatter before the winds a republican constitution,—to establish his own fabric on the ruins of that democracy, which had been reared and fostered for very different purposes;—when, again, he has succeeded in arrogating to himself a station of paramount importance in the political world, which looks up to him as a sort of umpire in every question tending more or less to jeopardize European tranquillity, our curiosity becomes highly excited, and we are far more disposed to search for the inmost workings of the imperial master-mind than for the scientific investigations and erudite discoveries of the historian. What are his views in regard to aristocracy and democracy? How are they to be moulded to his own will and pleasure? How far will he allow them to expand or oppose his power? How does he understand the combination of supreme prerogatives with that concession of constitutional freedom which seems to be the substratum and very essence of modern civilization? And then as to the grand figure he has undertaken to portray—how far will it be like the original, as handed down from olden times? Are we to have conjured up before us that strange mixture of sybarite effeminacy and heroic vigour, of the elegant patrician and the ranting demagogue—of a soaring genius and a squandering voluptuary, which are so singularly blended in the early years of Caius Julius Cæsar? Or are the old Roman heathenish features to be so remodelled,

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so recast as to come forth before our wondering eyes in the form and attitude of a modern statue, every inch of which betrays a new race, however dexterously it may be robed in the senator's toga or the soldier's chlamys?

Such are some of the numerous questions which arose in every thinking mind when, a year ago, the first volume of *Julius Cæsar* was published by Napoleon III., and after the late issue of the second, those questions revive again. That they remain unanswered we by no means wish to insinuate; on the contrary, the imperial writer expresses his views with the greatest boldness. Whatever may be their intrinsic value,—however different from those of other historians, they are at any rate stated with a candour and a sober simplicity that challenge criticism and command on our part a fair and an impartial investigation. The French emperor, himself a *parvenu*, as he asserts, appeals to the literary world as a man of high scientific attainments: as such he has a right to be heard and judged *sine ira ac studio*. Bearing this constantly before our mind, we will endeavour, as far as lies in our power, to answer his claim.

The whole of the first volume may be considered as an introduction to the history of the great Roman, who appears to have exerted a sort of fascination over the imperial mind. At the outset, the system is exposed in strong and vivid colours. That system may be expressed in two words—*hero-worship*, by no means new to the readers of Mr. Carlyle. We may even venture to affirm that the crowned historian goes beyond the British writer in regard to this new species of idolatry, since he considers certain great men as so many Messiahs, whom it is a crime to oppose, an act of political suicide to withstand. The passage is so important, that we shall make no apology for placing it before the reader as it stands in the original French edition.

When certain extraordinary facts reveal an eminent genius, can anything be more contrary to good sense than to attribute them to the passions and feelings of mediocrity? Can anything be more erroneous than not to acknowledge the pre-eminence of those privileged beings, who, from time to time, rise on the scene of history like so many luminous beacons, breaking the darkness of their period and enlightening futurity? To deny this pre-eminence would be an insult on mankind, as it implies that mankind would submit of its own accord for a lengthened period to a rule grounded neither on true grandeur nor on incontestable utility. Let us be logical in order to be *just*.

Too many historians find it an easier task to lower men of genius than to rise, through a generous inspiration, to their height, and to fathom their grand

designs. Thus, in regard to Cæsar, instead of showing us Rome torn by civil wars, corrupted by wealth, trampling upon her old institutions, threatened by powerful nations, such as the Gauls, the Germans, and the Parthians, unable to endure without a strong and equitable government at the centre ; instead of tracing this faithful picture, we are told that, from an early age, Cæsar was already intent upon ascending to sovereign power. If he opposes Sylla, if he disagrees with Cicero, if he becomes intimate with Pompeius, it proceeds from that wary astuteness which foresees all in order to subdue all ; if he rushes into Gaul, it is to acquire wealth through plunder, or an army devoted to his plans ; if he crosses the sea to carry the Roman eagles into an unknown country—a conquest destined to confirm that of Gaul—it is merely to seek for pearls supposed to be found in the British seas. If, again, after conquering the most terrible enemies of Italy beyond the Alps, he meditates an expedition against the Parthians, with the view of avenging the defeat of Crassus, it is, maintain certain historians, because his constitution required activity, and a campaign strengthened his health. If he accepts with gratitude a crown of laurels conferred upon him by the Senate, it is to conceal his baldness ; and lastly, if he is murdered by those on whom he had lavished his favour, it was because he aspired to royalty ; as if, indeed, in the eyes of his contemporaries as well as of posterity, he were not greater than any king. Ever since Suetonius and Plutarch, such are the petty interpretations bestowed upon the most noble actions. But how are we to recognize the greatness of a man ? By the influence of his ideas, when his principles and system triumph over his very death or his defeat. Is it not indeed the marked feature of genius to live beyond annihilation itself, and to extend its empire over future generations ? Cæsar vanishes from our sight, and yet his influence rules stronger than in his lifetime. His antagonist, Cicero, must needs exclaim :—"Every one of Cæsar's actions, writings, words, promises, and views are even now more prevalent than when living." For many a century it was sufficient to tell the world—such was the will of Cæsar—and the world obeyed.

The preceding lines are enough to show my object in writing the present history. That object is to prove that when Providence raises such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne, or Napoleon, it is to chalk out the road which nations are to follow—to imprint on a new era the stamp of their genius—to fulfil in a few short years the labour of several centuries. Happy those peoples who both understand and follow their leaders ! Woe to those who both misapprehend and oppose them ! They are like unto the Jews, who crucify their Messiah ; they are at once both blind and guilty—blind, for they do not see their own helplessness to prevent the ultimate triumph of what is right—guilty, for they only delay progress, by impeding its speedy and fruitful fulfilment.

In fact, neither Cæsar's murder, nor the captivity of Saint Helena succeeded in destroying two popular causes, which were overthrown by a coalition that assumed the garb of freedom. Brutus, by killing Cæsar, plunged Rome into the horrors of a civil war ; he did not prevent the reign of Augustus, but he rendered possible the rule of a Nero and a Caligula. Likewise the ostracism of Napoleon by a combined Europe has not prevented the

resurrection of the empire ; and yet how far are we still from the solution of the most difficult problems, from the appeasement of certain passions, from the satisfaction of certain popular cravings, already secured under the first empire.

Such is the theory—Providential men or popular Messiahs are to be followed blindfold by a confiding generation, on pain of hurrying to wreck and ruin. The man of genius may prove himself an aspiring usurper, or pitiless conqueror, intent upon the realization of his own ambitious plans, deaf to every plea of humanity that may thwart his views of personal aggrandisement ; still all around, kings as well as nations, statesmen, magistrates, warriors, all must bend before *his* will, for within *his* breast lies imbedded the germ of a happy future, which it would be folly to crush, guilt to oppose. Doubtless his contemporaries, or immediate successors, entertained different ideas as to his secret motives, and, judging from his daily acts, they ascribed to him a somewhat mixed character, usual in mortal man—that strange compound of shining virtues and glaring vices ; but after all, their unvarying testimonies are marked down as tokens of mediocrity, if not even of jaundiced-eyed jealousy. Now it may be as well to ask ourselves whether this fine-spun system is not itself a deviation from those very laws of moral criticism which the author so justly points out as the groundwork of historical research ? Is it not going against every rule of evidence, and building up beforehand an edifice destined to deceive our eyes and beguile our conscience ? Is it not moulding a figure according to our own fancy, not according to the prescriptions of truth and science ? Granted that Cæsar rose far superior to all his contemporaries ; granted that he detected, with the keen glance of genius, the real weakness of his troubled times ; that he quickly perceived how inevitable was an impending monarchy, whatever might be its form or name, what then ? Why should he not bend the energies of his master-mind to the realization of his secret plans, and prepare the way for his future dictatorship ? Many were those beside him who ran the same race, and revelled in the same dream, though the golden circle was farther from their reach. What could prevent Cæsar from aspiring to the supreme rank ? Sylla and Marius and Pompeius had trampled upon the institutions of their fatherland and drenched its historic soil in blood ; Catiline had well-nigh succeeded in his desperate conspiracy ; wherefore should a man above them all have *doubted* or hesitated as to the final issue ? Nay, more, as we *proceed through this first volume*, we find that almost every *other figure of mark* is sacrificed to the ideal hero of the day,

to the successful statesman and warrior, who trod on the liberties of his country, and paved the way for that government which has become a byword for the most execrable tyranny that ever left its bloody imprint on the annals of mankind. Catulus, the honest *princeps* or leader of the Senate, is represented as a weak, besotted, benighted aristocrat, who takes his stand upon obsolete forms and antiquated notions; Cato, as a mere caricature of his celebrated ancestor; Cicero, as an eloquent special pleader, wavering in his views, hurried on by the stream, courting popularity, or cringing before the all-powerful triumvirs, simply to satisfy his own inordinate vanity, or allay his terrors! Is this fair? Or rather is it not coming round by a different road to the very result which the author deprecates, that of making both men and things agree with an *à priori* system—the system of hero-worship?

But there is another consequence of the theory we can by no means wink at or conceal. If every man of aspiring genius, like a Cæsar or a Napoleon, is to be considered as a Messiah, it is all over with freedom and free men. We have but to fall down and worship the idol, as a direct representative of Providence, or rather of fate, as his majesty is fond of expressing it. As for ourselves, we confess to having been brought up in a different school; we have been taught to kneel before God alone, and to revere a Vincent de Paul or a Thomas à Beckett far more than the most mighty genius, when that genius proves a despot, however enlightened in other respects he may be. Both in Cæsar and Napoleon, in Cromwell, Louis the Fourteenth, Frederick the Second, there are many dark spots, and if our eyes are wide open to their bright sides, why should we be blind to some of their actions, which no honest man, above all no Christian, can approve.

We have thought fit to enter our protest at the very outset against the system adopted by the author of *Julius Cæsar*, because it supplies a clue to the whole work, and is, in our opinion at least, derogatory to the dignity of man. We will even venture to affirm that the immediate consequences of that system did not occur to the writer's mind, or he would have modified his theory so as to make it coincide at least with the practice of his own reign. For, indeed, a most striking feature of the Imperial Government is its conformity to the popular will and tendencies of the nation. During the first years of its existence, the whole French people was unanimous in its advocacy of a strong arm to put an end to the periodical anarchy of the time being; and the foremost in their denunciations of popular institutions were the men who now stand up for freedom. Few were those who remained faithful to the

principles of their own lives ; and such was the general rush towards an absolute government, that perhaps we ought to compliment Napoleon III. for not reckoning upon the permanence of this transitory feeling. Of late years, however, the nation has awakened from its torpor ; a new generation has grown up, and, forgetful of former calamities, it now pants for free institutions ; thus reversing the picture which Tacitus drew of the Romans in the days of Augustus. At the same time, the French Government seems gradually relaxing its hold, and preparing the way for a return to those forms and rules which under every clime mark the advent of liberty. Would or could Cæsar have done this ? We say, No ; though upon the whole Cæsar was better than his times. But Christianity has not in vain ruled the world for eighteen long centuries, and the only true Messiah has so enfranchised man, that he can never more crouch as the Romans crouched, under the yoke of despotic power. Should Napoleon III. thoroughly understand this, he may leave one of the brightest pages in the annals of French history.

Having once fulfilled what we consider to be a conscientious duty, we may fairly recommend to the reader the present volumes. They open with a retrospective review of Roman history and of the institutions of the city from its birth. The author having naturally at his disposal, not only the resources of antiquity which are open to every scholar, but commanding likewise the numberless acquisitions of modern science, makes free use of both, and yet with a sobriety which does credit to his literary taste. The reader is interested and enlightened, not crushed or bewildered, by a display of erudition. He may wish for a style more brilliant, for a more animated picture of men and manners, such as Macaulay knew how to draw ; but still in this very sedateness there is something which impresses the facts strongly upon the mind, and brings home to our understanding that we have to do with a man who is himself at the helm, and knows what it is to breast the surging waves—a fact, by the bye, which establishes a sort of similarity between him and the historians of antiquity, many of whom had a share in the government of their respective countries. To this, perhaps, still more than to their native genius, may be attributed that absence of meretricious ornament—that simple, sterling, sober propriety of language, which are so peculiar to the productions of a Thucydides, a Cæsar, a Sallust, and a Tacitus.

Another remarkable feature of the present history is the *full and clear comprehension* of the value of aristocratical *elements in the constitution* of a country. One can easily see

that the author has been no inattentive observer of British society, as is testified by the following comparison between the Roman and English patricians :—

At the beginning of the fifth century from the foundation of Rome (418), the Senate remained omnipotent, in spite of the plebeian victories; for independently of such means as it had at its disposal, it was at liberty to elude the plebiscita which it had to apply. If the influence of a preponderating class tempered the practice of political liberty, still the laws fettered in a far higher degree the enjoyment of individual freedom. Thus, not only was every member of a family subjected to the unlimited authority of its head, but every citizen was bound to obey numberless obligations of a stringent character. The censor kept a vigilant watch over the purity of the marriage tie, over the education of children, the treatment of slaves and clients, the cultivation of lands. "In the opinion of the Romans," says Plutarch, "no individual was at liberty to marry, to bring up children, to select his own mode of living, to give banquets—in fact, to follow his own wishes and tastes, without previously undergoing an inspection and an ordeal."

The State was at this period very like England's before the Parliamentary reform. For several ages the British Constitution had been extolled as a palladium of freedom, though even then, as at Rome, birth and fortune were the only sources of honour and power. In both countries the aristocracy, lording over the elections through intrigues, through bribery or rotten boroughs, was enabled to return patricians in Rome or noblemen in England, and a man without the elective franchise was no citizen in either. However, if, before 1789, the English people had no share in the management of public affairs, they were right to boast of a liberty which shone forth so splendidly amidst the dark and silent atmosphere of the continent. A disinterested observer does not examine whether the stage on which the gravest political questions are discussed is of vast extent, or whether the actors are more or less numerous: he is, above all, struck with the grandeur of the scene. So we are far from blaming the nobility, either in Rome or England, for having maintained their supremacy by every means which the law or custom placed at their disposal. The patricians were bound evidently to preserve their power as long as they were worthy of it; and we are ready to acknowledge that, without their perseverance in the same system of policy, without those lofty views, that rigid and inflexible virtue, which are so many characteristic features of an aristocracy, the edifice of Roman civilization would have never been reared.

At the time when Rome entered upon the conquest of Italy, previous to that of the world, our author endeavours to show the different combinations of circumstances which facilitated this great undertaking and insured its success. Those prominent traits of the Roman policy in regard to the conquered nations have been *so often* brought out in their true colours by Montesquieu, Mommsen, Drumann, Merivale, and other

eminent writers, that we shall refrain from enlarging on the subject. But still it may be well to remember that the posterity of Romulus were the first to set such an example, utterly ignored by the Greeks, though their distant colonies on the Mediterranean shores never voluntarily cut the link which bound them to the mother country. This greatly accounts for the extraordinary success of the Romans, even setting aside the innate superiority of their own internal organization. As the Imperial author very properly observes, the Senate, by bestowing upon the citizen certain rights and privileges, which every one found it beneficial to possess, gave a strong impulse to lawful ambition; and one of the most remarkable outlines of ancient society is precisely this general tendency, not to overthrow, but to enjoy the privilege. Both in the city and in the State, malcontents and even insurgents did not, as in modern times, aim at pulling to pieces, but they themselves endeavoured to enter within the precincts of the legal sanctuary. So that every man, according to his rank and status, had a lawful goal before his eyes: the plebeian was ambitious of rising to the level of the aristocracy; the Italiots sought to share in the Roman sovereignty, not to impugn it; the Roman provinces, to be declared the allies and friends of Rome, not to recover their independence.

We may consider this period as the golden era of the Republic, but too soon superseded by those scenes of misrule, violence, and civil bloodshed which ushered in the Syllan and Marian proscriptions, and then the Triumvirate, and then with Cæsar himself the downfall of the commonwealth. Just as he is about to describe these troubled times, the Emperor pauses as if to take a farewell view of the preceding age in a chapter on the fair regions which enclose the Mediterranean—a chapter wherein every scholar, as well as the mere historical tyro, may glean valuable information. The picture of ancient trade and commerce is complete, thus supplying a deficiency of the most popular works in modern times. It forms altogether an admirable essay on political and commercial geography in those distant times, and would be sufficient to distinguish any writer.

The reader who, not contenting himself with a superficial observation of men and events in the study of ancient history, endeavours to gauge the deeper causes of the rise and fall of heathen nations, is struck by an ever-recurring phenomenon. The rise is usually sudden, the fall no less rapid, just as certain lovely flowers bloom in the morning, and fade ere the sun sets over their fleeting efflorescence. The Greece of our fond recollections lasts but the age of Pericles—nay, less,

hardly fifty years of that noble century; and then comes Alexander with his conquering legions, and then a final collapse. When Rome had subdued Italy, and bestowed her citizenship upon the Italian race,—when she had made Carthage one huge heap of wreck and ruin, what became of her boasted austerity of manners, of her social virtues, her high feeling of honour and equity, her chivalrous adherence to principle in preference to utility, to oppression, to violence, to craft of every description? We have scarcely turned the page, when we are hurried headlong into scenes of moral depravation within the family circle, of scurrilous infidelity scoffing at the Gods, of barefaced iniquity in the Senate, of bloodshed, riots, bribery, both in the Forum and in the courts of justice; whilst the provinces are subjected to an immense system of depredation, plunder, and oppression, in order to gorge and enrich a few hundred patricians or middlemen. How is this? And, above all, how is it that there exists, in this respect, such a marked contrast between ancient and modern civilization? On the one side, a corroding principle seems to prey upon the very vitals of heathen society, and to snap asunder the thread of its existence; on the other, after periods of corruption, and violence, and social convulsions, equal, perhaps, to those of old, we never fail to witness the development of a healing power, cancelling past evils, infusing new moral strength into the individual, and thus gradually invigorating once more the body politic, leavening the whole mass to such a degree that a period of degeneracy and languor is frequently succeeded by a far higher flight towards the zenith of power and excellence. Again we put the question, How are we to account for this? to what historian are we to turn for an explanation of the problem?

Unfortunately the answer is most simple—to none. Begin with Montesquieu and Gibbon, continue with the host of German writers who have spun out in every form the history of old Rome, and conclude with a Mérimée, a Michelet, an Amédée Thierry, or even the imperial publication we are now reviewing, you will find no reply to this all important question—the very nucleus of a philosophy of history. So we must try to answer for ourselves.

The most superficial acquaintance with the nature and essence of the soul is sufficient to show us that any obscurity, any ignorance as to the link which connects the rational with the supernatural, will soon vitiate the whole mind of man. In other words, suppose any nation, however sound and perfect its organization, *to be ignorant of the nature of God, and you are sure to meet with cracks and flaws no less in the founda-*

tions than in the superstructure of the body politic. Man's duties towards his Maker being unknown, or partially concealed by polytheism, his notions grow equally loose as to his duties towards his neighbour. The very idea of vice and virtue becomes gradually obliterated, so that in the long run vice itself is placed upon the altar and worshipped with far greater devotion than moral dignity, deprived as the latter is of its sole source of strength. Hence the astonishing facility with which the most polished nations of antiquity rush into a vortex of moral and political corruption, of which we can hardly at present form a conception. Those alone who are well versed in the study of the Roman poets and annals know the truth of our affirmation, and how far the Christian revelation has lifted mankind out of this turbid stream. But let us realize, at any rate, the baneful effects on society of the following vices, which were prevalent among the Romans towards the latter end of the Republic, or about one century before Christ:—Adultery and fornication in its worst forms; might substituted for right, and applying wholesale to slavery. The slave was a thing, a chattel, or a nonentity, according to his master's will or caprice. He might be chained to a post, as the porters at the entrance of a villa, or sleep at night underground, and bound in the *ergastulum*, or be tortured by some young girl in her teens, merely because the poor unfortunate had broken a favourite vase, or forgotten to feed a petted mullet of the fish-pond. Now imagine these acts of immorality, tyranny, injustice, cruelty, bribery, debauchery, and sensuality, repeated day after day, night after night, in every street of Rome, in every Italian city or colony, in every province, in every region, for months and years, and what a long vista of degradation and decline at once opens upon us! How the stagnant cesspool is constantly sending up its pestilential exhalations! How deeply it oozes forth in every direction, until it permeates the whole soil! We turn aghast when, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, some great crime such as that of a Winsor, or a Pritchard, or a La Pommerais, is revealed in its naked horrors, as if to show how deep-rooted is the evil principle in the human soul; but what if we had a wholesale system of abortion or exposure of newborn babes? What if we considered it as a right in a father to abandon his own children? What if we had temples for a cult of open immorality, under the advocacy of some foul oriental demon? Could any providential hero, any pseudo-Messiah, save us from utter destruction? Where is *the Cæsar*, himself a prey, let it be remembered, to many a *headstrong* passion, who could stop us in our course down

the inclined plane? True, his genius might prop up and abut for awhile the tottering edifice, but the strong shoulders of the giant once removed, who is to continue his work? Cæsar murdered, did Roman society obtain a reprieve worth mentioning? We know that Octavius emerged into Augustus, but after Augustus, what a constant downfall from bad to worse, even under the best emperors!

Such are the considerations and views it would be useless to look for in all modern histories of Rome, with one exception, however, supplied by Count Franz de Champagny, in his excellent work on the Cæsars and the Antonines, which we reviewed in April. We confess to having expected something of the same Christian philosophy in the publication now before us. It would seem that a Sovereign possessed of so much insight into the secret workings of worldly policy; so well taught in the school of adversity; so suddenly raised to one of the most exalted stations, should have perceived at a glance the real cause of that weakness which is apparent in ancient society. But we say it with feelings of disappointment, from one end to the other of these volumes we meet with the same bold policy of expediency; the same utilitarian views; the same prevalence of principles which might grace an elaborate essay written by some old heathen philosopher, but appear quite out of place in our times. We are ever referred to fate and destiny as ruling over human affairs, instead of Divine Providence. On other occasions we are startled by some extraordinary assertion brought out with a coolness that baffles explanation. Here is a striking instance of our meaning. In his youth, Cæsar being obliged to conceal himself in the neighbourhood of Rome to escape from the persecuting bands of Sylla, changed his abode every night, though labouring under fever. He was, however, caught by the dictator's bands of assassins, but having bribed their commander, Cornelius Phazita, by a timely present of two talents (about £500), his life was spared. "Let us observe," adds his imperial historian, "that when Cæsar himself succeeded to the supreme power, he met once more this Phazita, but treated him with kindness, and *forgot the past.*" The author cannot mean assuredly that Cæsar would have been justified in avenging himself on a man who had saved his life, even at the expense of a bribe, and yet what other construction can we put on the sentence?

It is certainly in no carping spirit that we make these observations, which we would have far preferred to have omitted—let us at least hope that as the work progresses, the new historian of Julius Cæsar will develop views more reconcilable to what we might term the general conscience

mankind. Above all we sincerely regret that from the very first a system should have been adopted which tends to justify every aspiring genius in overthrowing the constitution of his country, instead of reforming it; of establishing by dint of sheer force his own absolute authority, instead of banding together every talent, every energy, to stem the torrent, and rise superior to the evil influences which are at work in society. When a man is pointed out as a Messiah, of course the whole mass of historical evidence is warped and made to bear in his favour; whilst on the contrary, every incident which may tell against him is attenuated or considered as a downright calumny. In the work before us there are numerous instances of this kind, and yet why should Cæsar be held up as an unblemished character, when every vice and every act of unscrupulous ambition on his part is exactly in accordance with the vices and even the crimes of his age? In heathen virtue there is always something hollow and infirm in purpose, as is fully shown by the moral character of a Cato, a Cicero, or a Marcus Aurelius. But why should the great Roman orator be constantly held out as a sort of puppet in the hands of a proud oligarchy; as a changeling, ever serving the time and purpose of the day? As you read on you are singularly surprised with the fact that what we should call parliamentary eloquence and statesmanship are objects of bitter hatred to the writer, who endeavours to personify in Cicero certain eminent personages of his own country. We freely confess our dislike to such a system, so totally averse to our notions of real impartiality.

And yet what an instructive period for a Frenchman, more especially for a French emperor, to study. There he may find the same passions; the same political parties; the same extreme opinions; the same quarrels; the same friendships; the same animosity. Such is the external sameness of man. On opening history at any page, our first impression is to mark numberless differences between one period and another; our second, to acknowledge that every period is very much like its forerunner. Tear away the cloak, the toga, or the coat, and you have no more a Greek, a Roman, or a Frenchman; you have before your eyes Man, with his passions, his intellect, his whole being. He who does not fully understand this needs hardly to study history.

The seventy years which preceded Cæsar's age and life are some of the most interesting in the annals of mankind, without even excepting our own, for scarcely any have supplied so much valuable information. Cæsar himself wrote his campaigns, which are a model of precision and sound good sense,

wherein the ability of the statesman shines through the simplicity of the soldier. Sallust, a man bound to Cæsar by every tie, is an author somewhat like our modern public writers, with their proneness to sophistry and to pedantry. He retires from our view in order to place his own reputation in a favourable light,* and to preach a sort of morality to his old party; and by so doing he indites one of the most curious narratives in antiquity. Then come two Greeks, Plutarch and Dion Cassius, both liable to suspicion, the one for his admiration, the other for his disparagement, of the Roman republic. And yet both are well worth reading, the enthusiast more especially; for there is always more good faith, more sterling truthfulness, in the enthusiast than in the satirist. But the great historian of these exciting times is Cicero. Setting aside his famous harangues, what other epoch would supply us with a whole collection of letters written to a brother, to a wife, to a bosom friend, about the daily events, by the most sensible, most impartial, and most keen-sighted observer; the more keen-sighted, indeed, that he is more wavering in politics. One would really have imagined that an authority of such high standing would have found more favour in the eyes of a modern Cæsar.

But in regard to the Cæsar of heathen Rome, does he in fact deserve that ambitious title of a popular *Messiah*, which his new biographer bestows upon him? Did he positively alter the state of the world over which he ruled supreme? Did he reform the vices, purify the morals, enlarge the liberties, increase the welfare, of the people? Perhaps the best way of replying to this question will be to cast a hasty glance at the condition of society at the period when Cæsar seized the reins of power, and then to leave to the imperial writer the task of proving his theory in his subsequent volumes.

The period included between the Syllan proscriptions and the battle of Actium may be counted among the most active in the history of the world. Revolution becomes permanent. When war is not raging on the field of battle, it glares forth in the forum; when the legions do not bribe their commanders to lead them on to plunder Rome, driving before them the forlorn Italians like so many sheep to the shambles, we

* Observe the following passages:—"Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, a studio ad rempublicam latus sum; ibique mihi multa adversa fecere" (Catil. III.) And farther on he adds, "I have devoted but little of my time to war, to hunting, to horsemanship; but I have strengthened my mind, having both read and listened abundantly, with a view of apprehending through what means nations rise to their highest eminence, &c."

have before us thousands of freemen and freedmen, and bondsmen and gladiators, deliberating at the foot of the Capitol, sword or cudgel in hand. Such is their state of peace! The whole of Italy, or 900,000 men, have a right to the electoral franchise. What a surging sea must this assuredly have presented!

In every corner, in every by-place, men are in a fever; be it from offended pride or the resentment of their sufferings, they seem intent upon sharing in the great dismemberment of the Roman power. Wandering shepherds, vagrant descendants of the old Samnites, hosts of fugitive slaves, at once the oppressors and booty of a barbarian world, all are ready to answer the call of any Catiline. The Scythians, though so far off from Rome, rise against it at the beck of Mithridates. Asia, though its best blood had been sucked by Roman covetousness, jumps into thousands of crazy skiffs, and the whole sea is infested with pirates. Again, the Marian party, expelled from Italy, having found a refuge in Spain, aims, under Sertorius, at building a new Rome over and against the old Rome of the patricians. Gaul, subdued and already half-Romanized, revolts against the conqueror, and more than sixty insurgent nations foam and seethe around Cæsar. 1,200,000 men perished in the Gallic wars! On the other hand, the Sicilian shepherds, a pack of slaves whom their masters did not even pretend to feed, seize upon their unwieldy staves, and, with simple goatskins on their backs, set up for brigands. To reduce them, campaign upon campaign becomes necessary, and another million of human lives is sacrificed. Lastly, the gladiators, tired of killing and being killed for the pleasure of a Roman audience, take into their heads to slay and die on their own account. Spartacus plants his tent at the very gates of Rome, which but a few years before was almost taken by a horde of Samnite herdsmen.

And yet, in the midst of all these bloody divisions, the empire stands erect. Cæsar subdues Gaul; Mithridates gives up Asia; Sertorius, whilst upheaving Spain against Rome, really secures it to Rome; every dying party drags along with it in its fall some tottering royalty or some independent nation;—an expiring republic expands as if to bequeath its newly-acquired possessions to the future monarchy. Nay, more: civilization itself is hardly endangered; this writhing world is full of enlightenment. They are by no means barbarians, those men who massacre their fellow-citizens in the Forum. No; they are endowed with every accomplishment: their manners are polished and gentlemanlike; their minds are highly *cultivated*; they have studied at Athens, speak Greek as well

as Isocrates himself; fight for Zeno quite as readily as for the Republic; plunder a province merely to enrich their own galleries; and slay men by thousands, in order to obtain possession of a Praxiteles. Cæsar is an orator, a grammarian, and a poet; Verres, a sort of Winckelmann. During one year of retirement from public affairs, Cicero translates the whole *cyclos* of Greek philosophy; and Epicureism becomes naturalized in Rome only under the poetical garb with which Lucretius has enrobed it.

Such is the bright side of Roman civilization; but beneath it all was rotten—rotten to the core; the social system itself was rotten. The great cause of this rottenness was luxury; and that luxury was very different from what we moderns understand by the term. We are disposed to consider as a trite saw of the old philosophers the famous lines—

“ Lævior armis
Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.”

And yet the ancients had very good reasons for holding such language. Luxury among them was by no means, as with us, an exchange of labour and wealth between the opulent and the working classes,—an exchange carrying along with it a certain compensation for its evils. Throughout all antiquity the working-man was enslaved: he received no salary but as a favour, could stipulate no prices, nor proportion his production according to the laws of consumption. Enjoying no freedom, he was not stimulated by competition, nor by the hope of bettering his condition. What we call industry amounted to nothing else but a duty fulfilled by the slave towards a taskmaster; what we call commerce was, among the Romans, only an all-devouring system of usury. Free labour and free industry are boons conferred upon mankind by Christianity; there is scarcely any trace of either beyond the eleventh century and the Crusades.

Such being the state of things, the whole world fell back upon agriculture as its last resource. But at that time what was the condition of agriculture itself? It is all very well for Virgil to exclaim—

“ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint
Agricolæ.”

In reality, there was no happiness for them, or rather they were bound down by such a yoke of tyranny as we can hardly conceive. And yet if we do not, it will be difficult to understand either Cæsar or his age. We have no wish to explain

the nature of the *ager romanus* and the *ager publicus*; the task has been so often and so well done, that it would be presumptuous on our part to go over the same ground; but it is necessary for our purpose to show that the greater part of the soil was in the hands of the *nobilitas*, or new-fashioned nobility, and of the knights, or *novi homines*, as they are so frequently called by Cicero.

The possession of certain magistracies entitled a man to a seat in the Senate; the right of bearing the likenesses and images of one's family on public occasions (*jus imaginum*) made a nobleman; your fortune alone made you a knight. The farming out of the taxes, and other obscure but lucrative stations, were ever filling the knight's purse. These publicans, as they were called, formed a most extensive system of commercial companies, spreading throughout the whole empire, and corresponding through a special system of postage from East to West, from Asia to Spain. Their central point is naturally at Rome, where they have a supreme direction (*magister societatum*); their influence almost overrules that of the Senate; they are all-powerful in the Forum, where blood was so often shed to support their interests. The knights are now a third power in the State, mediating between the Senate and the people, pretending even to separate seats in the Amphitheatre—a privilege which the Senators themselves did not always enjoy.

And then they held in their hands usury—that great resource of the old aristocracy. Little by little, either through long possession, or leases, or as money-lenders on mortgages, a vast amount of private and public lands became their property, thus originating the system of *latifundia*, which contributed so largely to impoverish both Italy and the world. Nor was it merely from rapacity that these middlemen were ever increasing their landed property (*continuuare agros*); they likewise yielded to a feeling of dignity. A civilized Roman, in other words, a Roman gentleman, required plenty of room around him for all his splendour—room for his villas, for his gardens, planted with exotic trees; room for his aviaries, his large fishponds, his crowd of friends, clients, freedmen, and slaves. How could a park of a few acres content a tax-gatherer who had dwelt in the kingly palaces of Asia? So he was obliged to add acre to acre, to acquire by right or by might the neighbouring inheritance, to expel the poor man who was in debt and could find no bail; to usurp the patch of land of a soldier who, on parting from his home to join a legion, left behind him a family yet too young to till the ground; to do a job now and then with some legionary, who returned centurion

after twenty years' service, but exhausted by continual hardships, and quite unable to go through the duties of husbandry. The *latifundium* was of a most encroaching nature, absorbing gradually every small estate, and growing from a moderate-sized property into a large province.

But will these lands so easily acquired be at least cultivated with care? No; for the very title-deed of the new possessor is of a doubtful, precarious, temporary character; there is more of the creditor than of the owner in his nature; he may be a keeper, he is by no means a gentleman farmer. Besides, to farm one's own grounds is now beneath a Roman's dignity; to let them out is a source of petty squabbles; a farmer discusses and maintains his own interests, and often turns out to be a bad payer; and then at the very time of sowing or reaping, a war may carry him off to the army. Far better is the slave, an animal, a beast of burden, who can labour as long as you please under the lash of another slave like himself; who, in his old age, may still be sold for a few dollars, and who, best of all, will never be deemed worthy of fighting under the Roman eagles. Yea, the slave—such is the proper tool, and a cheap one, to boot; for as yet no one fears a dearth of slaves. Have not we got in the market numberless Thracians, Africans, Spaniards, all manacled, all bearing on their backs the brand-mark of servitude? And throughout Greece and Asia, are there not thousands of dealers in human flesh, ever on the look-out even for freemen, of whom they bring over whole cargoes to Rome? So the *latifundium* will be given over to slavish hands; the *tugurium* of the poor Roman husbandman will be pulled down, as in our days the cottage of the evicted Irish peasant; whilst the wide-expanding villa ever goes on encroaching, with its gangs of labourers, who sleep at night bound to each other in the *ergastulum*.

True, the slave hardly can be said to cultivate the soil, or he does it with a broken spirit, with no heart in his business; but who cares for that? After all he makes a tolerable shepherd; so that sheepwalks and pasture-land may easily supersede corn-fields and vineyards. The system answered well, and made more than one rich capitalist. Thus, by degrees, small estates were merged into large principalities, luxury replaced useful labour, the slave expelled the husbandman; the shepherd, the substantial yeoman. After all, this rapid increase of fortune it merely pampered the inertness and sensual indolence of the wealthy. Moreover, the Italian soil was considered as a pleasure land: a gentleman must have one villa at Tivoli to be near to Rome; another near Naples, for the sake of the

sea-breeze ; a third in the Apennine ravines, for the sake of solitude, with roads built exclusively for the use of the happy possessors, with hostelries erected for himself and his friends. Such are the requirements of Roman pride and luxury. Of course a plentiful income must be found somewhere to support all this magnificence ; and so we have made sure of fertile lands in Sicily, capital investments of money in the provinces, shops and large warehouses let out in the best parts of Rome, in fact, our fortune lies everywhere else but at home. Never mind, we are Roman citizens ; as such our property must be established on the best principles of Roman law, and on the privileged soil of Italy.

But what will become of the free population thus displaced ; of that *plebs rustica*, the very pith and marrow of the commonwealth ; the fruitful nursery of so many armies, deemed so highly superior to the *plebs urbana* in former times ? They are no less proud and privileged, as being of Roman birth ; they deem themselves equal to the patrician order ; but then, as they are generally poor, they become an object of contempt, fit for eviction and for being a prey to merciless usury. Private industry is all in the hands of the slaves, and accrues to the benefit of the wealthy ; so it proves totally unproductive in their hands. The protective laws, such as the *L. Porcia* *L. Sempronia*, which we might call the bill of rights of a Roman citizen, are not even always respected in favour of the plebeian tenant who dwells in the country, and he is sometimes whipped like the bondsman, or sent out into some distant province, there to work and drudge like a common slave.

Whenever, in the study of a historical character, we wish to scan the depth of his genius and measure the degree of influence he has really exerted either over his contemporaries or posterity, it is of high importance to ascertain what is the condition of the society over which he swayed, and which he stamped, as it were, with the imprint of his own spirit. How are we to fathom the workings of his great mind, if we have not before our eye the obstacles he had to overcome ? And what obstacles can be greater than those arising out of the moral degradation of a nation, or out of the constant violation of such economical laws of production and consumption as are indispensable to the well-being of any civilized country ? That is the very reason why we have dwelt at some length on the social rather than on the political condition of the Roman republic when Cæsar assumed the supreme power. It will now be an easy task to draw up the balance and account, so to speak, of what he really did to strengthen that huge fabric which he bequeathed to his successors. But how such

an important side of the question should have escaped the author of the work we have now before us, is in our eyes utterly incomprehensible.

As soon as Cæsar became an influential leader of the popular party, we ever see him tending to undermine the authority of the Senate, and to please the people by dividing the public lands among the poorer classes. On one occasion, he settled no less than 150,000 inhabitants of Rome in distant colonies, in order to rid the city of the most unruly portion of its population. This measure was certainly a wise one; and yet it hardly satisfied even those who benefitted by its enactments. They preferred by far a life of laziness in Rome to the most honourable activity of an agricultural life. At any rate, we can see no reason why Cæsar should have so steadfastly opposed the old senatorial traditions, unless it were to satisfy his own ambitious purposes. This our author will hardly admit, and yet almost every page of these troubled times tends to confirm our views of the case. Had he been something more of the *Messiah*, and something less of the man, his great aim would have been to reform the morals of his countrymen, and to alter the condition of labour in the heathen world. But this was more than any genius, however transcendent—than any statesman, however powerful and able, could accomplish or dream of. So it was no fault of Cæsar's if the very idea of such a revolution did not even cross his mind. We know in what quarter that revolution was to arise—he could not. So under Cæsar, as well as after Cæsar, this huge mass of Roman corruption, iniquity, cruelty went on, preying upon the very vitals of society, destroying one by one every principle of standing order, until the notions of order, justice, industry, labour, and so forth appeared in the eyes of men something antiquated,—something fit for old-fashioned enthusiasts, or, at the best, for the pompous declamation of a sophist. Such is the light by which we ought to view Cæsar's genius and Cæsar's times; it is far safer, we venture to affirm, than the boldest theories about Providential men, and national *Messiahs*, as the second volume now before us places beyond dispute.

That volume opens with observations—which we find repeated farther on in a more developed form, and as both these passages may be said to contain the spirit and leading idea of the whole work, it may be as well to lay them before the reader. On beginning the narrative of Cæsar's expeditions in Gaul, his imperial biographer expresses himself in the following terms:—

When Suetonius attributes the idea of these expeditions carried on by the great man to the sole wish of enriching himself by booty, it is an insult on history and common sense, and he converts a most noble design into a most vulgar object. When other historians impute to Cæsar the sole intention of seeking in Gaul the means of conquering the supreme power, they display a false perspicacity ; judging of events by their final result, instead of coolly weighing the causes that produced them. No, it was not sovereignty which Cæsar sought for in the Gauls ; it was by far rather that pure and exalted glory, arising out of a national war, carried on in obedience to the traditional interests of one's country (pp. 9-11).

Again (p. 349) :—

Certain writers who feel absolute irritation at the sight of glory do all in their power to lower it. *They* seem to believe that they thus will weaken the judgment of former times ; *we* prefer to strengthen it by showing why the reputation of certain men has filled the world. To place in a strong light heroic examples,—to prove that glory is the lawful reward of great actions, is merely bowing respectfully to the public opinion of all ages. A man who has to contend with almost insuperable difficulties, and yet who overcomes them by his own genius, that man offers a spectacle ever worthy of our admiration ; and that admiration is all the better grounded, in proportion as there yawns between the object and the means a wider abyss.

Now, if we take every word of the above lines—and there is hardly one from which any man of common sense would dissent—so thoroughly true and evident is this language, that it amounts almost to common-place. Napoleon the Third must therefore have a particular object in view, when he comes forth so solemnly to affirm what no one would venture to contradict in its general bearing. That object we soon discover, for every particle of evidence against Cæsar's ambition, or against the usual arts of bribery and corruption, to which he had recourse like all his rivals and contemporaries, is attributed to envy, or hatred, or narrow-minded prejudice, or political blindness. Of course, thanks to this method, Cæsar stands out blameless, emblazoned in a sort of immaculate halo, something like the halo, we fancy, with which the imperial biographer surrounds the eminent founder of his own dynasty. Nay, we strongly suspect, that had not a certain political Messiah of modern times been constantly looking over his nephew's shoulder, whilst pondering over the Commentaries, and Plutarch, and Dion, Appian, Cicero, and others, the very idea of attributing the same character to Cæsar would not even have crossed his Majesty's mind. But is this history ? How are we to bestow our well-deserved admiration upon that bold figure of the old Roman dictator, if all his failings and his vices are *thus white-washed*, in order to satisfy this fine-spun theory ?

Or how are we to account for the fact that a Merivale and a Mommsen—to mention them alone—have never been once struck with the same bright conception? They both acknowledge the great superiority of Cæsar over his competitors; they both admit the effete degeneracy of the Roman aristocracy, the unruly turbulence of the mob, the inability of the popular party to effect any real good, the utter disorganization of the central no less than of the provincial government; in fact, they fully acknowledge the necessity, nay, the existence of a real monarchy in the hands of Cæsar long before it was formally established; but they are not blind to the means, foul or fair, which he used to secure success. In our eyes, this is paying in reality a higher tribute to Cæsar himself than by inventing theories founded upon no positive evidence. A brief review of those troubled times will justify our assertion.

According to the author of *Julius Cæsar*, the latter left Italy for Gaul, merely with the view of increasing the influence of his fatherland and of subduing the most dangerous among those barbarians who had for ages threatened the very existence of the Roman Empire. How do facts agree with this bold theory? Shortly before this important event took place, Pompey had returned from the East, and might easily have seized the crown, if his innate irresolution had not constantly baffled his fondest hopes. "The diadem lay at his feet, he had but to pick it up," says, graphically, M. Mommsen; for the aristocratical oligarchy had been thrown overboard, and the popular party—though headed by Cæsar himself—was powerless to restore a genuine republican government. For a long period the Roman commonwealth had been hurrying on to an inevitable catastrophe, in other words to a monarchy, whatever form it might ultimately assume. The power of the Senate had just succumbed to the liberal opposition of the middle class, supported by the strength of the army. A new order of things was expected by every thinking man, though the old names, and persons, and institutions might be preserved; as for the rest, it was a matter to be discussed between the democratic party and the commanders of the legions. The Asiatic provinces had been newly modelled and regulated as to their administration by the victorious Pompey, whom the population greeted as a second Alexander, and whose freedmen or lieutenants they worshipped as so many princes. Thus, with his sovereign power, his vast treasures, his army, and his reputation, he really appeared in the eyes of men as the future monarch of the Roman empire. The late anarchical conspiracy of Catiline, attended by a civil war, had proved beyond dispute, that a government deprived of all authority, for want

of a military force, offered no defence against the grinding tyranny of the moneyed interest, no more than against the mob. So, according to all appearances, the year 62 B.C. (692 U.C.) would usher in a change of the Constitution, merely another term for the establishment of Royalty.

Doubtless, at this period, Cato, Catulus president of the Senate, Crassus, Titus Labienus, Cæsar himself, would combine against the Eastern Conqueror; but the latter was at the head of his veteran legions, and could reckon upon the support of all those in the city who had anything to lose, whilst the former could hardly levy a single legion in the existing state of affairs. The very aristocracy itself would have gladly given up their hollow and useless privileges, for the sake of rank, and influence and wealth in the sovereign's court. It is well known how all these expectations were brought to nought by Pompey's own supineness and vacillations; how he disbanded his army on landing in Italy; and how he soon became an object of contempt for every party, bearded by the Senate, cajoled yet deluded by the democrats; feared by none. From that day, we fancy, that Cæsar must have taken the measure of the man; for let us remember that his future rival had no real feeling of self-renouncement or true grandeur: he was deterred from realizing his ambitious views by nothing else but sheer pusillanimity.

And yet still he was Pompey, the only ruler of the day whose arm was powerful throughout the whole peninsula, thanks to his scattered but faithful soldiers; and to bid for an alliance with him against all comers was well worth the trial. Cæsar *did* make that trial, and was successful. During the political calm which ensued upon Pompey's return to Rome, the youthful head of the democratical party had made the most of his time to increase his own influence. But two years before, he was little better than Catiline, whose conspiracy he had certainly abetted;* he was, moreover, on the eve of becoming a bank-

* We borrow the following observations from M. Mommsen:—"According to evidence of the most indisputable character, Crassus and Cæsar, supported, more than any others, Catilina in his pretensions to the consulship, when Cæsar, in the year 690 (64 B.C.), brought before a court of justice the murderous agents of Sylla, he obtained a condemnation against most of them, but let off scot free the most dangerous and most infamous of them all—I mean Catiline. Doubtless, on the list of the conspirators, which was divulged in the sitting of the 3rd of December, the names of these two influential men are not to be found; but it is notorious that the informers had denounced, not *only those who were prosecuted*, but *many other innocents*, whom Cicero *thought proper to strike off the list*; yet in after times, when he had no *interest in disguising the truth*, he positively named Cæsar as one of the *abettors*. Another indirect but most significant presumption against both,

rupt adventurer. But since then he had gone through the prætorship, and obtained, with the government of Ulterior Spain, the means of repairing his broken fortunes, and of obtaining military renown as a victorious imperator (62-60). Even before his departure from the capital, his old friend and confederate, Crassus, showed himself most willing to enter upon a confederacy with him, in the hopes of combining their efforts against Pompey, the great object of the latter's hatred. So he consented to pay off a large portion of Cæsar's enormous debts. When Julius returned to Rome, with full coffers, to canvass for the consulship, he found the situation materially altered in his favour. The most keen-sighted among the leaders of the democrats were fully aware that henceforward the sword alone could bring about a change in the government, and they courted Pompey just as many a French democrat cajoles the modern Cæsar. But they were not in the slightest degree disposed to support him sincerely; they hoped, on the contrary, by playing off the one against the other to paralyze the two rivals, and to establish their own influence on the ruins of both, leaving out of sight that the situation of public affairs was very different. Above all, within their own ranks important changes had taken place, since many of their best

is the fact that two of the least dangerous prisoners, Statilins and Gabinius, were handed over to the care of the senators, Cæsar and Crassus. Had the prisoners made their escape, the public would evidently have held their jailors as their accomplices; if not, they would be compromised as turncoats among their own associates. But the following scene in the Senate throws a still stronger light upon the case. Immediately after the imprisonment of Lentulus and his companions, a messenger sent to Catilina by the city conspirators was seized by the government agents. On being secured against future punishment, he made a very full confession in the Senate. However, as he came to the circumstantial parts of his evidence, when he denounced Crassus as the originator of his message, the senators interrupted him, whilst Cicero proposed, not only that the affair should go no further, but that the informer should be detained in prison, notwithstanding the previous promise of pardon, until he should recant his deposition, and even make known the persons who had commissioned him to bring forth such a piece of slandering evidence. Now, here we have positive proofs that the man was well acquainted with the particulars, since, when incited to make an attack upon Crassus, he is said to have answered that he did not wish to take the bull by the horns; but we see further that the Senate, headed by Cicero, was unanimous in not pushing the investigation beyond certain limits. The public was by no means so chary; for the young men who had armed themselves against the incendiaries were incensed against none so bitterly as against Cæsar. On the 5th of December, as he was coming out of the senate, they levelled their swords at his breast, and he narrowly escaped the fate which he met, seventeen years afterwards, on the same spot."—*Römische Geschichte, 3ter Band, S. 181, 4te Auflage, 1866.*

It will hardly be believed that the imperial writer takes absolutely no notice of all these circumstances.

men now admitted the necessity of a monarchical form of government, though grounded on free institutions and on the ascendancy of the middle class, which was, indeed, the soundest part of the social body. The future monarch was to be the representative of this ideal system, which Cæsar himself seems at this time to have partially entertained. But it amounted to nothing more than an idea, to be rudely contradicted by stern reality. The Roman body-politic was rotten to the core; what the Romans needed was an iron hand to govern them with military power, not a sort of constitutional sovereign. Of this truth the subtle mind of Cæsar must have soon become thoroughly convinced; hence his resolution to form for himself a strong army as the only road to power; nay, perhaps the only way of realizing his own views, which were doubtless superior to those of his rivals and contemporaries. So a coalition was formed between all these sundry elements against the aristocracy, who bought and sold their votes just as Pompey, Crassus, Cæsar, and their multitude of adherents, no less openly bought and sold their own. In this, as well as many other respects, there was no perceptible difference; the almost universal rottenness was daily gaining ground, and nothing could henceforward prevent the rot from doing its work,—no, not even a Cæsar himself. This fact seems to have escaped his Imperial biographer.

So Cæsar became a Consul, and made sure of both Gauls for five years, with the supreme command over several excellent generals, the rank of *proprætor* for his lieutenants, and many other important advantages. Certainly, not the least of those advantages was the fact that he could recruit his legions among a population well known for their steadfast opposition to the exclusive, narrow-minded rule of the Senate and the Forum. At the same time, measures were taken by the three *grandees* to secure the best positions to their subordinates; whilst, on the other hand, Pompey's veterans were supplied with lands in the rich Capuan territory. The Senate was thus held in check in the South of Italy; and, in the North, Cæsar was quite powerful enough to hold his own.

It must likewise be borne in mind that, at this period (58 B. C.), there was not the slightest probability of a rupture between the omnipotent rulers. Pompey's interest was to watch over the maintenance of those laws which Cæsar had carried during his Consulship; and the opposition of the Quixotic Cato did by no means contribute to loosen the bands between the triumvirs; for triumvirs they really were, however the French Emperor may object to the term. The moral superiority of Cæsar consisted perhaps in his honesty in regard

to the fulfilment of his own engagements, and this he did faithfully adhere to, as long as they stood not in the way of his private interest. We do not deem such an encomium a hackneyed one in speaking of those truckling times, and it could hardly be awarded to Cicero himself. A quality so very uncommon probably brought over to Cæsar more stanch adherents than his more dazzling qualities.

But as a proof of what that honesty was at the bottom, we must not forget that at this very juncture, the triumvirs instigated a prosecution against the famous orator who had put down the Catiline conspiracy, and they were the real authors of his banishment. It is well known how "the Father of his country" had been obliged to violate the legal formalities to secure the punishment of the conspirators. Yet the Senate had forced this breach of law on Cicero, though it shrank all the while from the responsibility of the measure. When the triumvirate became all-powerful, he did not, like so many others, bend the knee; nor even did he listen to many a wise hint, whispering in his ear, that he would do better to leave Rome; that he should be provided with a lucrative appointment, &c., &c. Besides, Cicero was a wit, and his pungent *lazzi* flew about the city like wildfire. So he was selected as a warning to others, Clodius let loose upon him like a bloodhound, and finally banished. It was no merit of the triumvirs if public opinion soon revolted at this piece of injustice and made amends by that unparalleled triumphant recall which does credit to the human character, but very little to the political Messiahs of the time being. We are indeed somewhat astonished to find Cæsar tarrying in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, as a support to Clodius in the prosecution of his nefarious designs. Let us drop the curtain on this sad tragedy.

The conquest of Western Europe is certainly one of the most striking events in the annals of mankind. It was the good fortune of the Roman aristocracy to establish unity in Italy; but in other countries they failed to fulfil the same mission. According to their ruling idea, foreign nations were considered rather in the light of booty and a source of fortune for the most influential members of the nobility:—hence arose that system of extortion which made the name of a Roman proconsul odious throughout the whole world. On the contrary, it was the peculiar glory of the Democracy or Monarchy—for they both go hand in hand—to adopt a different policy. What the irresistible power of the Roman government had prepared in the East and West; what the system of Roman colonization had continued—thus gradually carrying towards

the West a higher degree of civilization—was followed up with renewed vigour by the popular party. Caius Gracchus, its eminent founder, had first initiated the movement; but the time was come when it was to be fully developed. The two leading principles of the new policy may be thus laid down:—To concentrate and unify wherever the Greco-Roman civilization already ruled supreme; to colonize wherever the contrary was the case. In the times of the Gracchi, a victorious general, Flaccus, had applied the system to Southern Gaul; but the reactionary period which ensued, acted as a drawback on its completion. The Roman Empire remained, in many regions, an immense tract of land, thinly inhabited, badly governed, and without any definite limits. Spain and the Greco-Asiatic possessions along the Mediterranean shores were scarcely distinguishable from the mother country; but in the interior, and on the coast of Northern Africa, the Roman domination was insulated among whole tribes of semi-barbarous and nomadic nations. This was particularly the case with Carthage and Cyrene, and the same may be said of inland Spain. It seems astonishing that the government should not have followed up a policy of concentration, and yet so it was: the gradual decline of the navy even loosened more and more the link between Rome and these outlying possessions. When the popular party recovered a momentary ascendancy with Marius, the old plans of Gracchus were resumed; but this was, of course, of short duration. However, the downfall of the Syllan constitution, towards the year 78 B.C., enabled the Democratic leaders to return to these plans with greater efficiency. First of all, the restoration of the Roman rule on the shores of the Mediterranean was thoroughly effected, and then established throughout the East, reaching to the banks of the Euphrates. But the work of extending Roman civilization beyond the Alps, and of shutting out from the North and West the Gallic and Teutonic barbarians—a work still unaccomplished—was undertaken by Caius Julius Cæsar. It would alike be committing an historical error and a blunder against common sense, to maintain that the great conqueror of the Western World had no other object in view but to form an army for himself, considering the Gauls as a military school for his soldiers, as may be the case with Napoleon the Third in regard to Algeria. Undoubtedly, he was not the man to lose sight of this great design, as a means of establishing his own autocracy at no distant period; yet, as he was not a vulgar *mind*, but, on the contrary, a soaring genius, he used the very *means* he collected for his own purposes to attain a higher end *than that of private interest*. Granting that Cæsar required a

large military force for his own party views, still, the conquest of Gaul, at least, he did not effect with a party spirit. As the Imperial writer very justly observes, the Romans were under a stringent necessity of repelling, once for all, the ever-surging invasions of the Germans, were it but to secure the blessings of peace to themselves. This was, certainly, a high and most important aim; nevertheless there was one still higher, which Cæsar fully apprehended. In former times, when Latium grew too narrow for the multitude and activity of the Roman population, the intelligent policy of the Senate had provided new homes for them by the conquest of Italy. Now that Italy became, in its turn, too small to contain the tide of emigration, the same system was to go on, but on a more extensive scale, and commensurate with the important changes that had taken place in the social status of Rome itself. So when Cæsar crossed the Alps, he was fired with a noble idea, with a lofty aspiration—that of winning for his countrymen an unbounded supply of new settlements; for the Senate, a new source of regeneration, through the infusion of new blood among its members, by the adjunction of more vigorous races.

Thus we do full justice to Cæsar's genius and Cæsar's high qualifications for his undertaking. We are not among those whom His Majesty accuses of envying glory; nay, more, we consider the Roman conqueror as one of the fittest instruments, in the hands of Providence, for preparing the advent of the sole and true Messiah, who alone renewed the face of the earth. That either Cæsar or any of his followers could not have the slightest idea of such a contingency is self-evident, but we, who live under the Christian dispensation, can read it fully in no less evident characters, and we are entitled to affirm that he who is blind to the fact is the very first to narrow the bounds of history within the most limited compass. Above all, we must once more enter our protest against a theory which makes of Cæsar a demigod, moving in a dreamy land above common mortals, unassailed by common passions, untainted by common vices. Unfortunately, on more than one occasion, his conduct proved the contrary. When it suited his purpose, he knew how to stoop to the most ignoble intrigues—to bribery, to public and secret corruption, to the murderer's dagger, to all those guilty actions, in fact, which are the usual accompaniments of an absorbing ambition, coupled with all-powerful means.

It cannot form a part of our present Review to follow the French Emperor in his highly-interesting narrative of Cæsar's conquests, though it would fully repay our trouble. M. Mommsen had already gone over the same ground

way which seemed destined to discourage all future endeavours in that direction; but the Imperial writer commanded resources, which naturally were not at the disposal of any private individual. The results of these researches as to the topography of Cæsar's battles, sieges, and expeditions have been embodied in the text, and in an atlas that is perfection itself. Doubtless, the Emperor's own opinion on many of these subjects is open to more than one objection; but still you follow him with a willingness due mostly to the clear brevity, and correct technicality of his descriptions. Here and there, however, we detect certain startling inaccuracies, which will probably disappear in a future edition.

Whilst Cæsar was successively subduing the Gauls, Pompey assumed in Rome the position of the prime triumvir. He was considered as such by public opinion; the aristocracy proclaimed him in private *the Dictator*; Cicero, taught by bitter experience, bent his knee before him; and Bibulus, Cæsar's former colleague, fired against him his most pungent squibs and sarcasms in the halls of the Opposition. In fact, matters could hardly be otherwise, for Pompey was incontestably still hailed as the first general of his age. Cæsar might be proclaimed a promising young soldier, full of talent and rising ambition; but then he was so notoriously unwarlike in his manner, he had altogether something so effeminate about him! Such were the current saws of the day; and who could expect a well-bred aristocracy to sift the platitudes that flew about concerning the obscure victories won on the banks of the Tagus or the Arar? So Cæsar, in the eyes of the multitude, played at first the part of one of Pompey's lieutenants, for the benefit of his senior general, just the same as a Flaccus or an Afranius had done in bygone times, though not with such signal success. Besides, leaving in the shade other circumstances of minor importance, Pompey ruled over the Roman empire, Cæsar over two provinces. Pompey commanded the soldiers and the treasury of the whole State; Cæsar had but 24,000 men, and only a small amount of money at his disposal. Pompey had been allowed to fix for himself the term of his power; Cæsar, though intrusted with his command for a lengthened period, was bound to give it up at the end of five years. On Pompey, in fine, had been bestowed the most important undertakings by sea and by land, whilst Cæsar had merely to guard Northern Italy, as a safeguard for Pompey's security.

It is well to remember this difference in their mutual positions, as it will enable us to take in at a glance the enormous advantages Pompey lost in a very short time. His

first duty and interest would have been to secure the tranquillity of the capital by a series of measures, which it was no arduous task to carry into execution. But in undertaking this, he had presumed too much on his own energy: to hold the reins of government was precisely by far too much for his capacity. In the course of a few months, Rome became the scene of the most scandalous anarchy, which reminds us more than once of certain days in the Paris of 1848. Clodius reigned supreme over the mob, whilst Pompey endeavoured to outvie him with his bands of freedmen, gladiators, and slaves, whom he let loose against the mob-king. Naturally enough, the arch-ruler soon became helpless and ridiculous, and this feeling, which rankled within his own breast, soon turned into anger and hatred. His very helplessness drove him into desperate measures.

In the mean time Cæsar had pushed on from conquest to conquest until he reached the Rhine and the British Channel. The report of these victories, flying one after another to Rome, like so many claps of thunder, could no longer be ignored nor pooh-poohed by the aristocracy. The effeminate and long-derided Sybarite had, all of a sudden, become the idol of the people, so that Pompey's laurels were completely thrown into the shade by those of his youthful rival. For a rival indeed now he was: no more an obscure adjutant. To be sure, both triumvirs were bound by closer ties than those of a political character; but yet what a difference already in their mutual relations! Now was Pompey obliged to seek for support against his ally, in order to match his power. To apply to the people was a sheer impossibility, for he had irritated the mob by his late quarrel with Clodius. His only hope was therefore in the Senate. "Besides," observes very properly M. Mommsen, "even a man of Cæsar's genial stamp had learned to know that a democratical policy was utterly worn out, and that mob-tendencies would by no means lead to the throne. During the present interval between the republic and monarchy, to set up for a prophet and doff the mantle which Cæsar himself had long ago cast off; to mimic the great ideal of Caius Gracchus would have amounted to downright folly. The very party which, at a later period, took its name from the democratical agitation, did not even weigh a feather in the issue of the forthcoming contest."* It is hardly possible to draw a more correct picture of the crisis; at the same time, the above words flatly contradict Napoleon's

* *Mommsen's Römische Geschichte*, 3ter Band, S. 295. Berlin, 1808, 4te Auflage.

theory, which makes Cæsar a constant representative of popular opinions and feelings.

So Pompey took his stand with the Senate, whose importance now began once more to rise in proportion. Nay, as soon as it became apparent that Cæsar did not so much aim at reforming as at overthrowing the Republican constitution, the ablest men of the popular party went over to Pompey's side. Perhaps at this very last moment, had these men been endowed with any degree of public virtue, energy, and talent, they might still have preserved from imminent destruction the long-revered institutions of their forefathers. With the help of the Senate, and the support of numberless republicans scattered throughout Italy, they might have withstood the power of the two arch-triumvirs. But Cæsar knew well with whom he had to deal. His gold poured in full streams towards Rome; and from Rome another stream of high-born, but necessitous ladies, of thriftless young nobles, of speculating, half-bankrupt adventurers, flowed towards Gaul, there to draw from the source itself, whilst those who were obliged to stay at home had recourse to Cæsar's agents, who were generous and open-handed to every man of any influence. They had strict orders, on the other hand, not to compromise that exalted name by intriguing with any demagogue of the mob-party. The very edifices which Cæsar built at his own expense in the city—edifices wherein the jobbing capitalists of the time found more than one source of profit, were in themselves a speculation. The same may be said of his splendid games and festivities. All this was making political stock for Cæsar, or for the future monarch, but had nothing to do with Messiahs, or ideas of reform.

Let us hurry on through the internal events of these years, which forced Pompey to throw himself once more, much against his own will, into the arms of Cæsar, and renew a second confederacy at Luca. The Imperial biographer makes much of this famous meeting, as a set-off in favour of his hero. Let us endeavour to see the matter as it stood, in its naked reality. Although Cæsar was informed day by day of every incident of importance which took place in Rome; although he watched the events, from the southern limits of his province, with intense anxiety, as far, at least, as the conduct of the Gallic War would allow, he was not yet ready to throw down the gauntlet. However, it was necessary to act at once with firmness and decision. The aristocracy was daily gaining ground, and almost denounced war against him, no less than against his two helpless colleagues. According to all probabilities, his return to Gaul would become the signal of decided

hostilities. So in April of the year 56 B.C., Crassus left the city to meet Cæsar at Ravenna; shortly after, they both repaired to Luca, where they were joined by Pompey. The latter had alleged, as a pretext for his departure, the necessity of superintending in person the arrival of corn from Sardinia and Africa. The most distinguished adherents of the triumvirs flocked to the provincial town, whilst a whole procession of noblemen soon set in from Rome, to the amount of two hundred senators alone, without reckoning other persons of distinction. Evidently, Cæsar held, at this critical moment, the very existence of the commonwealth within his own grasp. But that was a strong reason for not jeopardizing his position by any act of rashness on his part. So he used the opportunity to establish the tripartite alliance on a stronger basis. The most important commands after that of Gaul were awarded to his two colleagues, and their possession made sure of both by financial and military measures. Cæsar reserved for himself the prolongation of his own command until the year 49 B.C., that is to say, for five years longer. At the same time, he was authorized to raise his forces to ten legions, to be paid out of the public treasury. Now, all this was setting at defiance the authority of the Senate. But indeed this was not all. The future consulships, together with a body of troops, to be located in Southern Italy, for the purpose of awing the Opposition into obedience, such were the different precautions adopted by Cæsar for the future. All questions of importance being thus settled, he treated in a light, off-hand way every other secondary difference, and we may presume that his winning manners did the rest. Even Clodius was persuaded to send back to their kennels his political bloodhounds—not the least feat, by the bye, of the all-powerful charmer.

The whole negotiations and series of measures bear upon them the stamp of Cæsar's master mind. Throughout, they offer the character of a compromise. Pompey had come to him more like a political refugee turned bankrupt than as a rival. Cæsar might have at once declared the coalition broken altogether, or taken it up again on his own terms. In either case Pompey remained, as before, a zero. If a rupture did not ensue, still he was obliged to bow before his great rival's protection. Did he, on the contrary, break with Cæsar, he could but fall back upon a hateful alliance with the Senate—the most hollow of all combinations. We may pause here to inquire what reasons could induce the conqueror of Gaul to make such enormous concessions to his inferior and hostile competitors? Most probably, in the first place, he was not yet sufficiently master of his own soldiers to push them

headlong into rebellion against the lawful government of their fatherland, which they had been accustomed, from their childhood upwards, to serve. It is all very well to talk of political Messiahs, and of high-flown systems of progress; there are home-strung ties and feelings which men are not prone to break at once asunder. We firmly believe that such must have been the case with Cæsar, and the eagle eye of the statesman detected in his present situation a flaw that no other could easily discover. On the other hand, he would have been obliged to recall his army from Gaul before its final subjugation. To his credit be it said, he preferred the extension of Roman civilization and Roman power to his own immediate interest, however that interest, as a candidate for the throne, stood in the way of his brilliant victories. Finally, a feeling of a still purer nature may have inspired his conduct on this occasion; in times not very distant he had himself been helpless and unknown, in the same position as Pompey was now to him. The great man had then proffered a saving hand, and retired to the background, in order to leave free room to the aspiring youth. And then, had he not married, and did he not yet fondly love Cæsar's only Julia? In the soul of the statesman beat also the heart of a father. Doubtless, all these considerations, and fears, and views, swept to and fro before the great Roman's eyes when he resolved to conclude at Luca the second triumvirate.

It would be tedious to push on any further a review of Cæsar's acts and policy previous to the civil war, the period at which closes the second volume of his new historian. It would merely present the spectacle of the same ability, the same arts and tactics, displayed to serve the objects of an inordinate ambition. But as to those higher views for which Napoleon III. gives him credit, we must confess our utter incredulity on the subject, and we shall wait until he supplies us with such historical evidence as may justify these assumptions. Yet, this does not destroy our admiration for the illustrious man who was so decidedly superior to all his contemporaries, through his clemency, for instance, a virtue almost unknown to antiquity. Our object has simply been to bring down the idol to its proper level, by showing that its lower parts were not of pure gold. For that purpose, we have had recourse to the most indisputable authorities,—the same, indeed, which his Imperial Majesty had before his eyes, though he seems to have read them in a spirit somewhat different from what we understand by the word IMPARTIALITY. The modern History of Julius Cæsar, in fact, reminds one far too frequently that *there once lived* such a personage as Napoleon the First.

ART. II.—CANON OAKELEY'S LYRA LITURGICA.

Lyra Liturgica. Reflections in verse for Holy Days and Seasons. London : Burns, Lambert, & Oates. 1865.

Institutiones Liturgiques. Par le R. P. DOM PROSPER GUERANGER. Svo. Paris, 1841.

Origines et Raisons de la Liturgie Catholique, en Forme de Dictionnaire. Par l'abbé J. B. E. Pascal. Royal 8vo. Paris : Migne. 1863.

AMONG the more obvious characteristics of the Catholic Liturgy there is none more striking, and at the same time none less realized in practice, than its division into times and seasons, and the accommodation of its services and forms to the peculiar spirit or genius of each. The Liturgy of its very essence is a public prayer; not the expression of individual intelligence or individual will, but the representation of what may be called the corporate piety of the whole Christian community. In the devotional exercises of the Liturgy, the individual feeling is merged in the common spirit of the corporate worship; and in the arrangement of its services provision is made, by the systematic adjustment of the several parts, for the adequate expression of every sentiment of love, adoration, gratitude, and supplication, which the Church as the representative of all her children, without exception, pours out before the throne of the Almighty Father, as well, or even more, for all, as for each one on his own particular behalf.

And this, although by no means the sole object of the institution of sacred times and seasons, is nevertheless one of its most important results. Not alone does it secure the completeness and harmony of public worship, but it provides in its all-embracing cycle a place for each in its turn among the manifold relations of the creature to the Creator, now bringing into prominence the mysteries of justice, and now those of grace and mercy; pouring out alternately the penitent wailings of the prodigal and the tender aspirations of the grateful child restored to a Father's love; passing in succession from Bethlehem to the Mount of Olives, from Thabor to Calvary; at one time appealing to the love of a Father, at another humbly deprecating the rigour of a Judge; but never, throughout all its alternations, losing sight of the great characteristics

of Christian prayer, and filling up, by this unity in variety, the whole circle of the wants and wishes of our dependent nature.

In truth, it is hardly possible that the public worship of the Church should otherwise adequately fulfil the threefold function of confession, prayer, and praise, which belongs to it, as the public voice of God's servants upon earth. The cycle of Church festivals is in itself, in a certain sense, the liturgical creed of the Church, in which each festival may be regarded as a separate article of her faith, and in which all in common receive the most unequivocal testimony and the most solemn sanction which it is in her power to impart. The same cycle serves to bring forward in succession every variety of petition which the common necessities of sinful man can suggest or prescribe; and by proposing for public reverence in the ever-returning series of Church festivals, each of the mysteries of God's omnipotence in the creation of man and of His mercy in man's redemption, it supplies, as it were, even to the most commonplace and unreflecting souls, unceasing evidences of the greatness and goodness of God, and exhaustless motives to praise and glorify Him.

And hence this distribution of the year into sacred seasons, each subdivided into its own special festivals, is not only found to pervade almost every form of religion known in the ancient world, but is carried out with curious minuteness in the Mosaic dispensation. The three great periodical feasts of the Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, had each its own group of festivals, with their specified offerings, and other sacred accompaniments; and in each there is clearly traceable an appropriateness, whether religious or historical, either of the offering itself, or of the ceremonial which distinguished it, to the particular season to which it is assigned. In the Christian Church the institution is unmistakably of apostolic origin; and it presents from the very earliest date at which it can be traced, the same general characteristics which distinguish the sacred seasons of the mediæval and modern Church. The services of the Lenten period were already sorrowful and penitential; those of the Easter marked by triumph and jubilation. Among the usages which Tertullian, in the well-known passage of his book *De Coronâ Militis*, declares to be apostolic, although without warrant in Scripture, is that which forbids to kneel at prayer on the Lord's Day, or within the paschal season. The mystical associations of the festivals and seasons in which they fall, have always been a favourite topic of speculation. S. Augustine's well-known application of the text, "*illum oportet crescere, me*

autem minui,"* to the circumstance of S. John the Baptist's feast being fixed at Midsummer, just at the turning-point in the length of the days, is a curious illustration of the tendency to dwell upon such analogies. The diversity of practice as to the propriety of fasting upon Saturday, which existed between the Churches of Rome and Milan, although it betrays a want of perfect uniformity in the application of the principle, is nevertheless a proof as well of its existence as of the importance which was attached to it; and in the progress of centuries so much had this feeling grown, that in the age of Michael Cerularius, the Latin practice of marking the contrast between the joyous and jubilant character of the liturgical services of the Easter-time and the sorrowful offices of the Lenten season, by the omission of Alleluia from the latter, was considered of so grave moment by the Greeks, that they made it one of the articles in that impeachment of Latin orthodoxy by which they sought to justify the withdrawal of their communion.

The various ancient liturgies, whatever may be their diversities of detail, are all, without exception arranged on this common plan; and it would be an easy, and in some respects not an uninteresting task, to point out, even in their very discrepancies, constantly recurring illustrations of the principle upon which the distribution is based. But the liturgies, as such, are forms of public rather than of private prayer; nor is it required, even if it were indeed possible, that the private devotions of the people should follow out the same details. Still it need hardly be said, that it is not merely possible, but even desirable to transfuse into private devotion the spirit of the public liturgy of the Church; and although there are numberless mystical shades of sense and feeling which it would be vain to attempt to popularize, yet, as it is clearly the intention of the Church to convey a lesson even in these general forms, we cannot doubt that that intention will be best carried out by endeavouring to accommodate even private prayer at least to the general spirit of the public liturgy in the several seasons. The great body even of more spiritual Christians, it is true, would be quite incapable of following the profoundly mystical senses of the liturgy and the accessories of the liturgy, which have been elaborated by Durandus and the writers of his school; but there are many broad and striking characteristics, as well of individual festivals as of the cycles of festivals, which not only may be appreciated by

* John iii. 30.

the most simple minds, but may serve to stimulate and even to direct, what would otherwise be the most commonplace devotion.

And this result is partly secured by the use, as the guide of individual devotion, of the public service-books of the Church, whether in the original Latin or in versions for popular use into the vulgar tongue. It is attained also in part by the excellent books for meditation and spiritual reading, arranged according to the order of seasons and festivals, which now abound in every language. The Liturgy may be said to have two distinct functions—the didactic and the devotional: one addressing itself to the intellect, the other to the feelings: one designed to bring under view in a series of lessons systematically arranged, and comprising the whole cycle of Christian duty and the entire body of the moral teaching of the Church; the other appealing in succession to the various motives of action, and seeking to elevate these by considerations drawn from the higher mysteries of religion, and to impart to them force or tenderness by appealing to the imagination or the feelings. To the former class belong the Epistles and Gospels of the Mass, and the lessons, chapters, and short chapters of the Breviary. The key-note of the other will be found in the Introit, the Gradual or communion, and to some extent the collects or other prayers of the Mass, and in the hymns, antiphons, verses, and responses of the divine office.

It is only the former of these two uses, both equally important, that can for the most part be reached by the class of books to which we have referred.

The charming little volume which is named at the head of these pages, is the first instalment of an effort to provide for the other. We gave a short notice of it at its first appearance; but it is a work of such singular beauty, that our readers will be well pleased to have it again brought before their notice. It is, according to the modest profession of the accomplished author, an attempt to apply to the Catholic liturgy the method of illustration which has long been familiar to Anglicans as the well-known "*Christian Year*," of the late Mr. Keble,—not, it is true, carried through the entire year, as Mr. Keble has done, but, nevertheless, by drawing upon particular festivals from each and every season, presenting, at least in general, some illustration of the peculiar spirit which will be found to pervade each separate cycle of the festivals of the Church. Most of the festivals, besides their own special theme of devotion or of mystery, have a general bearing on the eccle-

siastical season to which they belong, and of this circumstance the author of the *Lyra Liturgica* has carefully availed himself, in securing the unity of the collection as well as the interest of each particular part.

The general theme, therefore, of Canon Oakeley's volume is the illustration of the spirit of the ecclesiastical seasons. He has done in poetry and in the supernatural order for the ecclesiastical year, as far as his present labours reach, what has been done in prose for the natural year, and in the order of natural science, by Duncan in his well-known "Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons;" and the subjects treated in each season, without filling up the entire series of its festivals, are yet in all cases selected from the season; and their analogies are developed with admirable taste and feeling, in strict accordance with their bearing upon that place in the order of the operations of divine grace which is assigned to the mysteries appropriate to the particular season. The book is not properly a collection of hymns, but rather a series of "thoughts in verse," the thoughts being "adapted to the successive seasons of the Church;" and, in explanation of the comparatively limited range of its subjects, the author professes that his purpose "is rather that of following out trains of thought suggested by particular offices and ceremonies, than of providing the reader with aids to devotion or the different celebrations of the Church in their integrity."

This theme, we need hardly say, is not new. Its doctrinal bearings, of course, have been discussed by most of our leading Church-writers. Father Gretser has left little unsaid upon the polemical question. Benedict XIV., in his well-known work, besides the dogmatical and historical bearings of the subject, has illustrated it upon the practical side from the vast and varied stores of his ritual and liturgical learning. Binterim, Selvagi, Zaccaria, Nickel, and many others, have treated the antiquarian view with a fulness and precision which were in some sense necessitated by the minute investigations and often one-sided representations of the long series of Protestant writers, from Bingham to Augusti and Guericke. Considered practically too, it enters, although in a comparatively commonplace way, into many of our most homely devotional manuals. But Canon Oakeley's special treatment of it may fairly be described as new, at least in English; and we cannot help regarding his *Lyra Liturgica* as a most valuable addition to higher devotional literature. It resembles in its object the well-known German work of Staudenmaier, "The Spirit of Christianity exhibited in Sacred Seasons, Sacred Functions, and Sacred

Art."* But Staudenmaier, besides the poetical illustrations of the festivals and seasons, has also entered fully into the partly mystical, partly philosophical bearings of the Church calendar and the festivals which it comprises. Canon Oakeley has left his "thoughts in verse" to tell their own tale, and has added nothing in explanation of the spirit of the ceremonial which he describes, or of its connection with the order of God's grace for the salvation of man, beyond what is conveyed in his own brief but pregnant lines. And yet it is hardly too much to say that no one who reads the few verses which he devotes to the several sacred topics suggested in the circle of each of the seasons, can fail to catch from them the true spirit of the Church, and in many instances to apply them with fruit in the direction of his own thoughts to meanings and purposes which he himself had failed to discern, but the justice and appropriateness of which he must appreciate when once they have been presented to his mind. We gratefully recognize in the results of Canon Oakeley's studies of the Church calendar, the practical realization of that beautiful prayer with which he himself closes his introductory lines on sacred ceremonies.

Teach us, dear Lord, obedient to Thy rule,
 To con Heaven's lessons in the Church's school ;
 Lest, prone to earth and soil'd by sinful stain,
 We touch Thy holy things with hands profane,
 Forget Thy presence, though Thy steps be near,
 And verge on angels' ground with less than angels' fear.

The *Lyra Liturgica*, which, of course, is divided according to the four ecclesiastical seasons, begins with the winter quarter; and the opening lines on "The Two Advents" abound in beautiful allusions to the connection between the winter considered in the order of the natural seasons and the mystic winter of the Church calendar. In the supernatural order, the Advent is happily symbolized as the—

Twilight of our year,
 Sure token that the sun is near ;
 When darkness melts into a light
 So softly warm, so calmly bright ;
 With threats of doom to sinners sad,
 Commingling alleluias glad.

This is but one of the many analogies which can be traced between the natural and the ecclesiastical seasons. Stauden-

* *Der Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, in den heiligen Handlungen, und in der heiligen Kunst.* Von Dr. F. X. Staudenmaier. Mainz, 1838.

maier draws out very beautifully the lesson which may be gathered from the Advent's falling in the period when the seed is cast into the earth, to lie in silence and obscurity for a time, in order to its preparation for germination, growth, and final maturity. Man, too, before he can receive the germs of heavenly life which his Saviour, whose coming the Advent, silently and without ceremonial pomp, is designed to solemnize, brings with Him to the world, requires a total renovation of sense and heart, without which the divine seed can neither germinate nor ripen.

And among the analogies of this portion of the ecclesiastical year is one which strongly resembles that which, as we have already observed, was traced by S. Augustine as the coincidence of the feast of S. John the Baptist with the meeting-point of the lengthening and decreasing days of the mid-summer; we mean the fixing upon the shortest day of the natural year for the festival of S. Thomas, the incredulous apostle. At this season, as Staudenmaier, with a curious but yet not infelicitous or ungraceful refinement of the analogy, observes, the days, as Advent advances, are becoming ever shorter and more sunless; and in the last week falls S. Thomas's day—the shortest day in the year, and preceded and followed by its two longest nights,—an emblem, he fancifully pursues, of the poverty and obscurity of man's life, and of the spiritual night into which human nature has been plunged by sin. It is not without purpose that for this shortest of days is appointed the feast of S. Thomas, which is rightly presented as a type of the unbelieving mind, and the timid and faltering nature of man when destitute of God's grace, as our glimmering existence resembles the doubting and agitated condition of the unbelieving disciple, before the actual coming of his Lord brought him peace and calm assurance, and converted his scepticism into steadfast faith.

Canon Oakeley has not alluded to these graceful and imaginative but yet instructive and touching interpretations. But he has brought out very beautifully in his lines on "The Two Advents," another mystic lesson, the justice of which must strike even the least observant mind. It is clearly not without purpose and significance that, in the cycle of the Church's year, the two advents of our Lord are placed in juxta-position, and that while the expiring ecclesiastical year closes, in its "Last Sunday of the Pentecost," with the dread "coming of Jesus Christ to judge the living and the dead," the new year of the Church should open with that merciful coming of Bethlehem, the celebration of which is inaugurated by the "First Sunday of Advent."

But Advent hath its double sense,
 Its strain of joy and penitence ;
 Since He, who once in mercy came,
 Shall come to wrap this world in flame.

Then shall the dead awake, and all
 Be gather'd at the Judge's call ;
 And He the nations shall divide,
 Like sheep and goats, on either side.

And He shall say, "Come, all ye blest,
 Heirs of My kingdom, to your rest ;"
 But to the curst, "Depart and go
 Into the place of endless woe."

Judgment and mercy haunt our gates ;
 But Mercy knocks, while Judgment waits ;
 Full eighteen hundred years, and more,
 Have fail'd to drain Love's bounteous store,

If like Thy love Thy judgments be,
 Where, Lord, were sinners frail as we ?
 O loving Judge, O Saviour just,
 Remember that we are but dust !

O, spare us yet a little space,
 To profit by this Day of Grace ;
 Draw us by love, by mercy win,
 Ere judgment come, and wrath begin !

The same impressive thought is carried through the lines on the "Feast of the Immaculate Conception," in which our Lady is presented as the patroness of the two Advents, and in which her true position in the order of God's providence for the salvation of souls is most truthfully and touchingly delineated. We refer to these lines with the more satisfaction, inasmuch, as having been published several months before the appearance of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," the author has been enabled to use them with most happy effect in his admirable reply to that "Eirenicon,"* as showing how accurately the Catholic devotion to Our Lady distinguishes that function of mercy, in its intercessory sense, which is ascribed to her, from the mercy of Redemption which is the attribute of her

* The Leading Topics of Dr. Pusey's recent Work, reviewed in a Letter addressed (by permission) to the Most Rev. H. E. Manning, D.D. By the *Very Rev. Frederick Oakeley, M.A.*

Son alone, and how carefully it guards the appeal of the sinner to both alike, against "the danger of laying too much stress on the merciful aspects of religion."*

Thy Mother's name, so sweet and full of power,
Sheds o'er the sinner's night its gleam of hope,
That Thou, the Guardian of Christ's natal hour,
Wilt turn from us His judgment's fearful scope.

But woe to thee, that in thy mercy trace
Deceitful hues of peace that ne'er shall come ;
And in the sorrowing sinner's pledge of grace
Forget the harden'd sinner's threat of doom.†

The same caution (as though its value in the controversial use which has since arisen, had been unconsciously anticipated) is repeated in the closing stanzas of the same piece. As our present object, however, is not in any sense polemical, we shall rather select the beautiful lines on Our Lady's well-known title from the Litany of Loreto—*STELLA MATUTINA*. Probably there is no single piece in the entire volume which better illustrates the scope and purpose of the author. It applies to their sacred and mystic meanings all the characteristics which this title of Our Lady involves, and we think the analogy between the "morning star" in the order of nature, and the Blessed Virgin under this title in relation to the Advent season, and to the cycle of the Church festivals of that time, is peculiarly beautiful and happy.

STELLA MATUTINA.

The stars retire, when first the sun
His giant race essays to run ;
Those lamps that stud the arch of night
Wax pale before the fount of light.

One only star nor fades nor sleeps,
But still her twilight station keeps,
With eye undimm'd and beams unshorn ;
The bright, the peerless Star of Morn.

When Christmas first reveals its light,
The Church's firmament is dight ;
Her stars still pave the wintry sky,
A great and glorious galaxy ;

* The Leading Topics, p. 80.

† *Lyra*, p. 17.

Martyrs and Virgins,* Pontiffs bold,†
 And Doctors with their words of gold ;‡
 Then comes a void, as, one by one,
 The stars retreat before the Sun ;§

Save that Apostle, whom his Lord
 From chilling doubt to faith restored ;
 Who now beside His Cradle pays
 No tardy vows, no faltering praise.

But Mary all the while is there
 In hymn, or antiphon, or prayer ;
 Shedding o'er every page and line
 A lustre, only not divine.

When Advent lessons first begin,
 We muse on Mary clear of sin,
 And in the Virgin's primal grace
 The promise of the Mother trace :

And meet it were, and duteous, sure,
 That Mother should from stain be pure ;
 Who did, by high prerogative,
 The Manhood to her Maker give.

For eight full days,|| with reverence due,
 We linger fondly o'er the view
 Of her, on whom the Father's eye
 Dwelt with intent complacency ;

For, mirror'd in that glass, He saw,
 Undimm'd by cloud, unspoil'd by flaw
 (Albeit in creature's meek estate),
 The Beauty of the Uncreate.

Years roll away—the Virgin pure
 Is 'stablish'd, lo, in grace secure ;
 Girlhood's soft bloom still gilds her brow,
 But matron honours crown it now.¶

* S. Bibiana.

† S. Ambrose.

‡ S. Peter Chrysologus.

§ The Festivals of the Saints become rarer as Advent advances ; and there is none between December 16th and Christmas Day, with the exception of that of S. Thomas the Apostle. The Feast of the "Expectation" is noticed later. The Blessed Virgin, meanwhile, is commemorated throughout Advent in the Office of the Season.

|| Octave of the Immaculate Conception.

¶ The Feast of the Expectation follows the Octave of the Immaculate Conception after two days' interval.

"Mary in hope"—O Mother-Maid,
What thoughts thy wondering heart pervade !
But wait awhile, and God will ope
Visions, transcending e'en their scope.

Speed on, ye lagging moments, speed,
Till joy fulfill'd to hope succeed ;
And Mary's patient faith have won
God for our Saviour, and her Son.

The "Eclogue" of Christmas embodies very successfully the spirit of the scripture narrative of the Nativity. But a better illustration of the proper subject of the *Lyra Liturgica* is the "Triple Mass" of Christmas. We do not remember ever to have met a more thorough appreciation of the sense of the Church services, or a more intimate identification with their spirit, than is embodied in this exquisite little piece, which, having as it were passed in review the chief incidents of the Advent, and the high mysteries of promise which they foreshadowed or foretold, bursts forth into an ecstasy of joyous contemplation in the presence of their actual accomplishment in the full and abiding glories of the Nativity. There is a dramatic character, too, in the structure of the piece which heightens its effect ; and the beautiful interpretation of the "Triple Mass," and of the place of each in the Church's commemoration of the mystery of mercy, which all alike record, is one of the happiest examples of the "applied sense" which we know in the whole circle of the literature of symbolical ritualism.

CHRISTMAS DAY.

THE TRIPLE MASS.

"Drop down, ye genial heavens, your dewy shower,
Dissolve, ye clouds, into a gushing rain,
Bud forth, thou earth, Salvation's beauteous Flower ;"
So spake the Church in calm imploring strain
Day after day. And now her cry is heard,
And, 'mid the solemn stillness of the night,
Descends, O Father, Thine Almighty Word
Forth from the realms of His imperial might.*
Bride of the Lamb ! put on thy strength, arise,
Thy vests of joy, thy gifts of grace prepare ;
An ampler tide of grateful Sacrifice,
A sweeter incense of prevailing prayer.

* Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia, et nox in suo cursu medium iter perageret, Omnipotens Sermo Tuus a regalibus sedibus venit.—*Antiphon for Sunday after Christmas.*

'Tis done. The Bride goes forth to meet her Spouse,
And spreads her festive board, and dons her best ;
With special rights her faithful Priests endows,
To greet with worthier love her Royal Guest.

Thrice shall the Victim, Sov'reign Lord, to Thee
Be immolated at each holy shrine ;
In homage to the Ever-blessed Three,
Whose purpose issued in this work divine.

And while this triple Act of priceless worth
Pleads for the grant of Thine effectual grace ;
Its slow unwinding gives to men on earth
The various epochs of Thy plan to trace.*

(Like Angels, who the Face of God behold,
And at His Throne their duteous homage plight,
Yet bear their high commission to unfold
His deep economies to mortal sight ;

Or like the stars that pave the firmament,
And chant their joyous lauds from age to age ;
Yet turn on us their lustre, and present
The various wonders of their jewell'd page :)

At midnight's hour,† prophetic mists still hang
Around the glories of Messiah's Birth,
Which David hinted, ere the welkin rang
With the glad notes of holy angel mirth.

At dawn,‡ the shepherds tell with meek surprise
How Heaven enwrapp'd them in its light benign,
And how they sped to feast their wondering eyes
On Mary, Joseph, and the Babe Divine.

But when the day§ hath come, Saint Paul shall preach
Of Him in whom the Father's brightness shone ;
And Holy Church the Word Incarnate teach
In the clear accents of the loved Saint John :

Fall we on bended knee, and Him adore,
Nor own His present Deity the less,
Since veil'd in Infant form ; but all the more
His Might revere, because we love His lowliness.

* The three Masses of Christmas Day, regarded on what may be called their human side, set before us the Nativity under the different aspects of prophecy, narrative, and dogma ; and may thus be considered to represent the Mystery in the three stages of its historical progress.

† Midnight Mass (Introit).

‡ Aurora Mass.

§ Mass of the Day.

The "Epiphany" resembles, in its general character and spirit, the Christian Eclogue already referred to, and possesses quite as much of the true ballad character as is compatible with its devotional use. On the contrary, the espousals of our Lady and S. Joseph may appear to some too didactic for such a theme, although there are few who will not gladly dwell on the practical lesson with which the piece closes :—

Each year the Church her children true
These chaste Espousals bids review,
And cull their lessons sweet ;
That while o'er history's page they roam,
One sinless bond, one spotless home,
Their wearied eye may meet.

Nor let such virtue's arduous claims
Or scare our sight or daunt our aims ;
E'en Failure's self may teach :
Though humbled, we may yet admire ;
Though baffled, still in faith aspire
To heights we may not reach.

Who nothing dares shall nothing gain ;
E'en they who tempt the boundless main
Must step by step begin ;
And he may Satan's work undo,
And Eden's bliss in part renew,
Who weeds his way of sin.

From the feast of S. Benedict, the great father of the religious life, Canon Oakeley has drawn a very touching lesson on The Twofold Immortality of the Saints, of which the saintly sons of Benedict were the first, and for a long time the chief teachers in the West :—

While thrones have fallen and empires part,
Wearing their crowns of grace, that last
In undecaying youth.

And he has made the First Sunday of Lent the occasion of a singularly pleasing and appropriate reading of the example of our Blessed Lord, as the type of the self-abnegation of the Christian. But we prefer to turn to the short but most appropriate piece on Palm Sunday, which cannot fail, we think, to approve itself to thoughtful readers, as realizing most felicitously every association, historical, ritual, and ascetical, connected with the day : the forest of consecrated boughs, uplifted in the hands of priest and people ; the long procession, twain

and twain ; the mystic but highly dramatic halt at the church-gate ; the faithful "upraising their leafy swords" while the gospel is chanted ; and finally the appeal from the outward symbol of the martyr to the inner spirit which that outward badge ought to symbolize :—

PALM SUNDAY.

What sweetly solemn pomp is this,
Where joy and grief unite—
The suckling's praise and Judas' kiss
Blent in one common rite ?

The Church's range, to stranger's eye,
Shows like a forest now,
As priest and people lift on high
The consecrated bough.

Anon they move to measured strain
Of deep pathetic psalm,
In long procession, twain and twain,
Arm'd with the peaceful palm.

Not blithe, as when the fickle crowd
Strew'd branches on the way
Of Him, whom in their rage they vow'd
When next they met to slay :

For how should Holy Church be glad,
Who views with equal eye
The triumph and its issue sad,
So various, yet so nigh ?

We linger at the Temple gates
To chant Thy praises, Lord ;
For while we pause, the "Historian" * waits,
Thy Passion to record.

Stand at your posts, ye faithful bands,
And mark the Gospel words ;
And as they sound, with trusty hands
Upraise your leafy swords.†

'Mid error's strife and war's alarms,
Prepare to do your part ;
Ye bear in hand the Martyr's arms,
Then nurse the Martyr's heart.

* The Deacon who chants the narrative part of the Passion in Holy Week is called the "Historian" (Chronista).

† The palms are borne in the hand during the singing of the Gospel.

Equally happy Canon Oakeley's interpretation of that touching observance of Passion-tide which prescribes the veiling of all statues, pictures, and other sacred representations in the churches. The usage is in itself highly suggestive; but we doubt whether even those who have meditated most profoundly upon it may not derive some novel association, some fresh religious impulse, some till now unfelt inspiration from the simple and highly poetical stanzas in which Canon Oakeley has clothed his own conception of the rite of—

THE VEILING OF THE PICTURES AND IMAGES.

The gleam of joy that dawn'd last week
On sin's review, so blank and bleak,
Was but the sun's retiring glance
Shot on the dreary world's expanse,
Just ere his glowing orb he shroud
Beneath a sable pall of cloud.

Rise on my soul, perennial Light;
Thou art not quench'd, but hid from sight;
Thou hast but vanish'd for a space;
Thou wilt Thy rearward steps retrace;
Thou treadest, Lord, Thy walk of sorrow,
To rise resplendent on the morrow.

Our pictures draped, in mourning guise,
Thy darken'd lustre symbolize;
And envious veils for once deny
Thine Image to the longing eye;
Truth's self must every shadow chase,
Art fails to teach, and forms give place.

Away with sign and semblance now!
None can express Thyself but Thou:
Ye Saints, your 'minish'd honours hide,
Withdraw before the Crucified;
Nor let the bounds of sense control
The vision of the ranging soul.

O suffering Saviour! fill my heart;
Sin was Thy Passion's fiercest smart;
'Twas not the cruel Jews, but we
Who heap'd Thy chiefest woes on Thee;
Our pride—our waste of grace—'twas this
Which stung Thy soul like Judas' kiss.

More, more to Thee than scourge or nail
Was that far-stretching deathful tale

Of human sin, in Eve begun,
And to the Day of Doom to run,
That, in the sad Gethsemani,
Rose to Thy Mind's affrighted Eye.

Of sins completed and forecast
The grim procession came and pass'd :
The sins that moved Jehovah's ire,
The sins that fed Gomorra's fire,
The sins that perish'd in the Flood,
The sins that shed Thy sacred Blood ;
Nor least nor lowest in the line,
Thy sins, poor child of God, and mine.

But we must guard ourselves against the temptation to multiply extracts, of which these sacred topics and the fascinating associations connected with them are fruitful. The summer and autumn quarters are still untouched, and we must leave it to the reader to discover for himself their many beauties. There is one subject to which we have not even alluded, and on which, nevertheless, Canon Oakeley is specially felicitous, and which he treats with an unction and an enthusiasm which cannot fail to warm even the coldest worshipper. We refer to the festivals connected with the Blessed Sacrament. The mingled feelings of love, adoration, and awe, with which he approaches this great Mystery of faith and life, are beautifully expressed in the prefatory lines on sacred ceremonies to which we have already alluded.

But most I love the pomp that gathers round
The Saving Victim, as in love He comes,
At sacerdotal bidding, to renew,
In bloodless form, the Sacrifice of Blood ;
Or mounts His Sacramental Throne, to shed
Calm benediction on adoring crowds.
For this doth image, in terrestrial guise,
The Worship of the Lamb—a glimpse of Heav'n ;
Where angels bow their heads, and veil their eyes,
And wave their golden thuribles, and wake
Unearthly music from their myriad harps.

And, indeed, even without this profession it would be impossible to read any of the poems in which he touches upon this theme without perceiving that for him its very name suggests an impulse which almost amounts to inspiration. In every instance in which he alludes to the Blessed Sacrament, or to any of the ritual or ceremonial observances of its

worship, he seems fully to realize the Christian conception of that awful but consoling Presence,—the Holy Sacrifice, the procession, the exposition, the benediction, the holy viaticum, the perpetual adoration. Not that he has dwelt at length upon any of these, or attempted formally to unfold the treasures of faith and love with which they are fraught; but he has often contrived by a few simple words and by a single turn of thought to stir up the very depths of that loving and reverential tenderness which is almost an instinct in every true child of God, which there needs no refinement of taste to develop, and no effort of philosophy to elevate, but which comes direct from God's own hand, and is at once the inspiration and the reward of true simplicity of heart.

We shall venture upon one other extract, which may in some sense illustrate what we have tried to convey.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

Draw near, ye Christian Priests;
This is your Feast of feasts,
Whence date the glories of your saintly line;
When first the Incarnate God
Himself on men bestow'd;
And laid on you to guard and give the Boon Divine.

One at the altar stands,
And lifts with holy hands
The Victim pure, so loving yet so dread;
O dignity immense!
O joy surpassing sense!
He acts his Saviour's part, and offers in his stead.

His fellows at the Board
Have "eaten, and adored;"^a
Heirs of His charge, and partners of His gift;
Albeit they must forbear
His privilege to share,
And muse in silence on their high vocation's drift.[†]

What hallowing thoughts arise!
What gracious memories
Flow from that Act, and float around its source!
As if the very place
Were redolent of grace,
Where Jesus first ordain'd and set His Priesthood's course;

^a Manducaverunt et adoraverunt.—*Ps.* xxi. 30.

[†] Only one Mass is celebrated in each church on Holy Thursday; and the Priests who do not celebrate communicate at it.

Thoughts of that service sweet,
 Which, bending at the feet
 Of those he call'd His friends, Our Saviour paid ;
 Thoughts on the favour spent,
 With unreserved intent,
 On him who shared the Feast, and then his Lord betray'd.

Where graces most abound,
 There sins are deepest found ;
 With John's affection grew Iscariot's hate ;
 The light which shines when used,
 Is darkness when abused ;
 The love which fires the Saint will steel the reprobate.

With this extract we must close ; but we think there are not many of our readers who will not be induced, by the specimens which we have laid before them with no grudging hand, to make themselves familiar with what remains of the *Lyra Liturgica*. It is, as we have already said, but the first instalment of a task which is capable of almost indefinite expansion, and we trust that, in taking leave of Canon Oakeley, we are but parting from him for a brief space to meet him again ere long in what is plainly a congenial field. He has, in the little volume before us, merely sketched the general outlines of his subject. The details which remain to be filled in are infinite in number and inexhaustible in attractions. There is one great class of subjects to which Canon Oakeley has hardly alluded, and which, nevertheless, overflows with topics of that peculiar character in which his poetical genius would find itself most completely at home. We mean the great sacramental and quasi-sacramental rites which exhibit most strikingly that union of the outer with the inner world, that contact of grace with sense, of spirit with matter, which form the very basis of ritual religion, and which realize in man's service of his Creator the true conception of that two-fold nature which he received from the hand of God. Such are the ceremonial rites of Baptism, of Extreme Unction, of Orders ; the benedictions, the exorcisms, and the personifications of nature and of the material elements with which this ceremonial abounds. The full poetical yet Christian realization of these associations is the true corrective of that subtle and seductive pantheism which underlies the religious æstheticism of such writers as Lamartine, Schiller, and even our own Coleridge. We know no Catholic poet who is more capable of presenting these associations in an attractive form than the accomplished author of the *Lyra Liturgica*.

ART. III.—LECKY'S HISTORY OF RATIONALISM.

History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.
By W. E. LECKY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

IT has been said by a very high authority that the study of history is destined to assume a new aspect, from the application to it of a higher order of minds and a more philosophical method of treatment. We are passing out of the age of speciality into the age of generalization. Innumerable observers have collected facts, and innumerable speculators have multiplied theories; and we now seem to have arrived at that period when it becomes the proper function of the thinker to co-ordinate the stores of knowledge which have been set apart for him by others; evolve laws from the multitude of instances; separate the truth from the falsehood of conflicting theories; conjoin effects with their causes, and trace the half-revealed and far-reaching relations between distant and apparently unconnected phenomena. The influence of such a spirit—long felt in the less complicated sciences—is now, even in England, beginning to act on those which are more intricate. For history the time is rapidly passing away during which a great but much erring thinker could say that it was the unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man that, although its separate parts had each been handled with considerable ability, hardly any one had hitherto attempted to combine them into a whole, or to ascertain the way in which they are connected with each other. On the contrary, he said, a strange idea prevailed among historians that their business was merely to narrate events; so that, according to the notion of history in his day prevalent, any writer who, from indolence of thought or from natural incapacity was unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, had only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he was, *ipso facto*, qualified to be a historian. The time is fast coming when those dreary and monotonous narratives of court intrigues and party cabals will exist only to memorialize an age when the history of kings was substituted for the history of nations, and the consideration of the actions of a few individuals for the exposition of the life of the whole social organization. History is growing to be less of a chronicle and more of a science; her

office is no longer thought to be confined to the registration of a few superficially prominent facts ; but the discovery, by a scientific induction, of historical laws, and the investigation of causes, is chiefly aimed at ; and, as the circumstances which have to be taken into account in such a method of writing history are often dismissed by the older school of writers as almost unworthy of notice, and are, moreover, exceedingly numerous and of almost infinite complication, a far wider and more diversified range of learning and a far greater power of analysis than were formerly either required or expected are supposed in the historian.

It would be idle to imagine that the influence of this more philosophical way of writing history will not extend, or has not extended, to theology. One of its first results has been the unpremeditated vindication by non-Catholic writers of the mediæval Church. And that naturally ; for the action of the Church in the middle ages was founded on their social state, and it was therefore only when history descended into the bosom of society that she could receive a fuller meed of justice. The Catholic Church has been more philosophically treated, and her primary attribute, that she is a kingdom, more perfectly realized ; while a flood of light has been thrown on the historical character of Protestantism, and to that farrago of heresies the conclusions arrived at have been almost uniformly unfavourable. Nor must we suppose that it will affect only the treatment of the external history of Christianity, and leave untouched the history of its dogmas. It has effected, and will hereafter, to a still greater extent effect, that both Catholic doctrines and heretical opinions will be studied not only, as heretofore, in their objective aspect—with respect to their evidence and connections one with another—but more and more in their subjective aspect, as to their influence on the minds of those who hold them. We have, to a great extent, yet to see the results of a profound and extensive study of dogmas in this light ; but to study them in this light is undoubtedly the tendency of the present age. We have thus opened to us a field of investigation almost new, and in its nature very different from the beaten tracks in which controversialists have hitherto followed one another. Whatever be the results that may be thus finally arrived at, there cannot be a doubt but that they will be fraught with immense advantage to the cause of truth ; and in the course of any researches that may be made into the subjective influence of individual dogmas a number of facts—hitherto but little attended to—will be brought forward from the most *various sources* ; so that it will exceedingly behove those who

have to attend to the defence of Christianity to make sure that these are truly alleged and represented.

Mr. Lecky, as we have before noticed, endeavours to apply to religious the more advanced method of secular history. He attempts to trace the subjective influence of religious opinions, the manner in which they mutually affected each other, and in which they acted or were reacted on by the other influences of their time. He does not pay much attention to the question of *evidence*, or to the arguments by which they were supported, except in so far as the use of particular arguments or lines of argument affords him some indication of the temper of the times of which he writes. The very idea of his work—a history of religious opinions—compelled him to attend to this rather than to the alleged evidence of particular doctrines: the latter being the proper province of the theologian as the former is of the historian. But from this necessary one-sidedness of his work Mr. Lecky seems to have been led into a corresponding one-sidedness of mind. Every one will grant that education, disposition, the opinions, and, still more, the tone of those around us, make it exceedingly difficult to treat religious questions on the sole ground of evidence; and Catholics are continually urging this against the Protestants who, by their denial of the infallibility of the Church, multiply indefinitely the number of questions which have to be thus decided; but Mr. Lecky goes farther, and says that there really is not sufficient evidence for us, situated as we are, to come to a reliable conclusion at all. It is natural, therefore, that he should now and then take occasion to sift supposititious evidence and fallacious arguments; and in several places he states with great force the nature and logical value of the reasons given against some or other of the old doctrines now denied by Protestants. An instance of this may be interesting to our readers: the subjoined passage is taken from his second chapter "On the Miracles of the Church":—

If we ask, what are the grounds on which the cessation of miracles is commonly maintained; they may, I suppose, be summed up much as follows:—

Miracles, it is said, are the divine credentials of an inspired messenger announcing doctrines which could not otherwise be established. They prove that he is neither an impostor nor an enthusiast; that his teaching is neither the work of a designing intellect nor of an overheated imagination. From the nature of the case, this could not be proved in any other way. . . . Miracles are, therefore, no more improbable than a revelation; for a revelation would be ineffectual without miracles. But, while this consideration destroys the common objection to the gospel miracles, it separates them

clearly from those of the Church of Rome. The former were avowedly exceptional ; they were absolutely necessary ; they were designed to introduce a new religion, and to establish a supernatural message. The latter were simply means of edification ; they were directed to no object that could not otherwise be attained, and they were represented as taking place in a dispensation that was intended to be not of sight but of faith. Besides this, miracles should be regarded as the most awful and impressive manifestations of divine power. To make them habitual and commonplace would be to degrade if not to destroy their character, which would be still further abased if we admitted those which appear trivial and puerile. The miracles of the New Testament were always characterized by dignity and solemnity ; they always conveyed some spiritual lesson, and conferred some actual benefit, besides attesting the character of the worker. The mediæval miracles, on the contrary, were often trivial, purposeless, and unimpressive ; constantly verging on the grotesque, and not unfrequently passing the border.

Such is, I think, a fair epitome of the common arguments in favour of the cessation of miracles ; and they are undoubtedly very plausible and very cogent ; but, after all, what do they prove ? Not that miracles have ceased, but that, *supposing* them to have ceased, there is nothing surprising or alarming in the fact. . . . This is the full extent to which they can legitimately be carried. As an *à priori* proof, they are far too weak to withstand the smallest amount of positive testimony. Miracles, it is said, are intended exclusively to accredit an inspired messenger. But, after all, what proof is there of this ? It is simply an hypothesis, plausible and consistent it may be, but entirely unsupported by positive testimony. Indeed, we may go further, and say that it is distinctly opposed by your own facts. . . . You must admit that the Old Testament relates many miracles which will not fall under your canon But the ecclesiastical miracles, it is said, are often grotesque ; they appear *primâ facie* absurd, and excite an irresistible repugnance. A sufficiently dangerous test in an age when men find it more and more difficult to believe any miracles whatever. A sufficiently dangerous test for those who know the tone that has been long adopted over an immense part of Europe, towards such narratives as the deluge, or the exploits of Samson, the speaking ass, or the possessed pigs ! Besides this, a great proportion of the ecclesiastical miracles are simply reproductions of those which are recorded in the Bible ; and if there are mingled with them some that appear manifest impostures, this may be a very good reason for treating these narratives with a more jealous scrutiny, but is certainly no reason for maintaining that they are all below contempt. The Bible neither asserts nor implies the revocation of supernatural gifts ; and if the general promise that these gifts should be conferred, may have been intended to apply only to the Apostles, it is at least as susceptible of a different interpretation. If these miracles were actually continued it is surely not difficult to discover the beneficial purpose which they would fulfil. They would stimulate a languid piety ; they would prove invaluable auxiliaries to missionaries labouring among barbarous and unreasoning savages, who, from their circumstances and habits of mind, are utterly incapable of forming any just estimate of the evidences of the religion they are called upon to embrace. . . . To say that

these miracles are false because they are Roman Catholic is to assume the very question at issue.—Vol. i., pp. 173-177.

There is nothing, indeed, that is particularly new in this reasoning; our readers must have frequently seen or heard it urged against Protestants; but it is valuable in Mr. Lecky's history, as showing the view taken of the ordinary Protestant arguments by the higher class of anti-Catholic writers. In a similar manner he disposes of the vulgar arguments against magic and sorcery in a passage which, however, is, we regret to say, too long for quotation (Vol. I., pp. 9-16). He there concludes by saying that the evidence on that subject is so vast and so varied, that it is impossible to disbelieve it without what, on any other subject, we should consider the most extraordinary rashness. The subject was examined in tens of thousands of cases, in almost every country in Europe, by tribunals which included the acutest lawyers and ecclesiastics of the age, on the scene and at the time when the alleged acts had taken place, and with the assistance of innumerable sworn witnesses. As condemnation would be followed by a fearful death, and the accused were for the most part miserable beings whose destruction can have been an object to no one, the judges can have had no sinister motives in convicting, and had, on the contrary, the most urgent reasons for exercising their power with the utmost caution and deliberation. The accusations were often of such a character that all must have known the truth or falsehood of what was alleged. *The evidence is essentially cumulative.* Some cases, it is added, may be explained by monomania, others by imposture, others by chance coincidences, and others by optical delusions; but, when we consider the multitudes of strange statements that were sworn to and registered in legal documents, he confesses that it is very difficult to frame a general rationalistic explanation which will not involve an extreme improbability.

And now, passing to another subject, even Catholics may find in the following passage something worthy of being dwelt on:—

The world is governed by its ideals, and seldom or never has there been one which has exercised a more profound and on the whole a more salutary influence than the mediæval conception of the Virgin. For the first time woman was elevated to her rightful position, and the sanctity of weakness was recognized as well as the sanctity of sorrow. No longer the slave or toy of man, no longer associated only with ideas of degradation, and of sensuality, woman rose, in the person of the Virgin Mother, into a new sphere, and became the object of a reverential homage of which antiquity had had no

conception. Love was idealized. The moral charm and beauty of female excellence was for the first time felt. A new type of character was called into being; a new kind of admiration was fostered. Into a harsh and ignorant and benighted age this ideal type infused a type of gentleness and of purity unknown to the proudest civilisations of the past. In the pages of living tenderness which many a monkish writer has left in honour of his celestial patron; in the millions who, in many lands and in many ages, have sought with no barren desire to mould their character into her image; in those holy maidens, who, for the love of Mary, have separated themselves from all the glories and pleasures of the world, to seek in fastings and vigils and humble charity to render themselves worthy of her benediction; in the new sense of honour, in the chivalrous respect, in the softening of manners, in the refinement of tastes displayed in all the walks of society; in these and in many other ways we detect its influence. All that was best in Europe clustered around it, and it is the origin of many of the purest elements of our civilization.—Vol. i. pp. 234-235.

"But," he is pleased to add, "the price, and perhaps the necessary price, of this was the exaltation of the Virgin as an omnipresent deity of infinite power as well as of infinite condescension." Here we have an example of the extraordinary mistakes which are occasionally made by Mr. Lecky. We by no means accuse him of intentional misrepresentation; and in a work of nearly a thousand pages, of which there is scarcely a page without a note, and scarcely a note without six or seven references or quotations, it was impossible but that some inaccuracies should creep in. But he unfortunately often uses a looseness and generality of reference which makes his notes almost useless to any one desirous of verifying them, and his inaccuracies, some of which bear with them an appearance of great carelessness, are incredibly frequent; while we desiderate in him that fulness of theological knowledge which a writer ought to possess who criticizes dogmatic systems so dogmatically as he does. In the present case he actually seems to think that the Blessed Virgin was regarded as an omnipresent deity because it was believed that she could hear prayers anywhere addressed to her.* But the

* In a note at the foot of p. 235 he tells us that "Even at the present day the Psalter of St. Bonaventure—an edition of the Psalms adapted to the worship of the Virgin, chiefly by the substitution of the word *domina* for the word *dominus*—is a popular book of devotion at Rome." It is, of course, difficult to say what exactly is required to constitute a popular book of devotion, and it is quite possible that the Psalter in question may be used by some persons in Rome; but it is not mentioned (as from its character it might be expected to be mentioned) among the "forty little books" sent thence for Dr. Newman's examination, nor did the present writer, when in Rome, ever either see or hear of it. As to its being composed by S. Bonaventure, Catholic controversialists have again and again urged that it is

teaching of Catholic theologians makes a very great difference between the omnipresence of God and the manner in which the Blessed Virgin and the saints are cognizant of the prayers poured out to them on earth. The Scotists ordinarily teach that God reveals to the saints in glory whatever it is expedient that they should know; the Thomists that they see in the vision of God the prayers and the necessities of men; some have urged the elevation and expansion of even their natural faculties consequent on their entrance into the state of glory, but none have ever supposed them to be present, as God is, to the whole created universe. Mr. Lecky proceeds to state that before the belief that a finite spirit could hear prayer wherever offered was firmly established, it was believed that at least they hovered round the places where their relics had been deposited, and there, at least, attended to the prayers of their suppliants. In support of this assertion he quotes the following words as from S. Jerome: "ergo cineres suos amant animæ martyrum, et circumvolant eos, semperque præsentibus sunt; ne forte si aliquis precator advenit absentes audire non possint," to which he gives the extraordinary reference "Epistolæ, l. iii., c. 13." These words indeed occur in S. Jerome; but they occur as the sarcasm of

apurious: to which we may add the testimony of Oudin (De Script. Ecclesiast. Art. Bonaventure, ch. xi. n. 26):—"Indignum porro mihi videtur, quod Sancto Bonaventuræ Doctore tribuatur." Nor is it even chiefly adapted to the worship of the Blessed Virgin in the manner stated by Mr. Lecky. In the words of the preface of the Roman edition of S. Bonaventure's works, "*initia* coherent cum Psalmis Davidis, quæ vero subsequuntur Beatæ Virgini pulchre aptantur;" and even in the very "*initia*" very suggestive alterations are made, v.g. Ps. 23, "Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus: tu autem sanctissima mater cum Eo regnas in æternum."—Ps. 24, "Ad te domina levavi animam meam; in iudicio Dei, tuis precibus non erubescam."—Ps. 19, "Deus, Deus meus, respiciat in me meritis tuis Virgo semper Maria," &c. We have found, moreover, the changes made in the body of the Psalmus are such as to bear out the distinction adverted to by Dr. Newman, that the tone of the devotion paid to our Lady is distinct from that offered up to God in this, that the worship paid to the Almighty is supreme, profound, and awful; the language employed toward the Blessed Virgin is affectionate and ardent, as toward a mere child of Adam; though subdued, as coming from her sinful kindred. (Development, p. 436.)

We may also observe that Mr. Lecky uses the term "Mariolatry": a piece of very needless offensiveness at the least, but the less wonderful when we consider that he renews the effete charge of idolatry (Vol. I., p. 236, &c.). This kind of thing, however, is infinitely less dangerous than the habitual irreverence of tone, and flippancy of style in speaking of sacred things, which pervades the whole work, which indicates, both a great want of good feeling in himself, and also a great defect of consideration for others; and which has permitted him to insert passages absolutely blasphemous in character. (See vol. I., p. 226, note.)

an opponent which S. Jerome gives only in order to refute it. The passage is quoted from Vigilantius in S. Jerome's book against that heretic; but the saint himself calls it a "portent worthy of hell," and argues in reply to the idea expressed in it, that we cannot set laws to God; that the martyrs follow the lamb wheresoever he goeth; that the demons wander over the whole world; and are the martyrs to be shut up in a box? As to the Blessed Virgin being regarded as a deity of infinite power and infinite condescension, those Catholic writers who in their devotional writings have spoken the most strongly of her power, have merely said that God will never refuse her anything she asks, and that she will never ask anything inconsistent with His Providence. Mr. Lecky shows in many other places the grossest ignorance of Catholic theology. He quotes, in evidence of the present belief of the Roman Church in demoniacal possession, a ritual which, he says, "is used in the diocese of Tarbes." He need not have gone to an obscure provincial ritual for proof of his assertion; he will hardly find any Catholic theologian who denies it; and the most used and best known of our modern theological writers has devoted a special chapter to the subject (Perrone, *De Deo Creatore*, Part I., c. v.) The doctrine of punishment by a material fire "still lingers," he tells us, "in the Roman Catholic manuals for the poor." If by this be meant that it does not remain also among theologians, this is not true; Perrone, one of the most moderate, calls it, "*sententia communiter recepta.*" (*De Deo Creatore*, Part III., c. vi. a. 3.)

In the latter part of his chapter "On the Developments of Rationalism," Mr. Lecky has put forward an opinion that the doctrine of the material character of the penal fire is closely connected with the ancient opinion, that the soul is in some sense material. The doctrine of a material fire became, he says, the foundation of an opinion that the soul is of a material nature; and he refers to Tertullian, citing *De Animâ*, c. viii. This assertion is, however, utterly without foundation. It nowhere appears that this was the chief foundation on which this error was rested. Far from making this material conception of punishment the chief ground of his argument, Tertullian, in the passage quoted by Mr. Lecky, does not argue from the materiality of the fire at all. What he does argue from is the corporeal manner in which Abraham, Dives, and Lazarus, are represented in the Gospel; from Abraham's bosom, the tongue of Dives, and the finger of Lazarus; and he mentions the "*ignis*" merely in an incidental manner, and not to argue from its material nature, but to found his reasoning on the general proposition that whatever is susceptible of "*fovela*" or of

"passio" must be corporeal.* It is, of course, quite conceivable that a writer, who believed the soul to be of a material nature might argue from the commonly received opinion of a material fire; but the origin of this opinion was in fact quite different. Some of those who held it even believed the "fire" of hell to be metaphorical. But before the advent of Christianity the minds of the people had been constantly and persistently directed to the sensible and the material; from the ranks of the people Christianity was recruited; and it is not wonderful if somewhat of their former habits of thought clung to those who were converted. It was only by degrees, and after a patient and silent opposition to prevailing habits of thought, that Christianity succeeded in spiritualizing religious conceptions; and the time which elapsed before this had been effected—a period of more than three hundred years—

* After giving a number of philosophical reasons, he proceeds thus:—"Quantum ad philosophos, satis hæc; quantum ad nostros, ex abundanti; quibus corporalitas animæ in ipso Evangelio relucebit: *Dolet apud inferos anima caputem, et punitur in flammâ, et cruciatur in linguâ; et de digito animæ felicioris implorat solatium roris.* (The words in italics are those quoted by Mr. Lecky.) Imaginem existimas illum exitum pauperis lætantis, et divitis morientis? At quid ibi Lazari nomen, si non in veritate res est? Si enim non haberet anima corpus, non caperet anima imaginem corporis; nec mentiretur de corporalibus membris Scriptura, si non erant. . . . Nihil enim, si non corpus. Incorporeitas enim ab omni genere custodiæ libera est, et immunis a poena et a fovea. Per quod enim punitur aut fovetur, hoc erit corpus. . . . Igitur si quid tormenti sive solatii anima percepit in carcere seu diversorio inferum, in igne, vel in sinu Abrahæ, probata erit corporalitas animæ. Incorporeitas enim nihil patitur, nihil habens per quod pati possit; aut si habet, hoc erit corpus. . . . (et aliquibus interpositis) . . . Sic et diviti apud inferos lingua est, et pauperi digitus, et sinus Abrahæ. Per has lineas et animæ martyrum sub altari intelliguntur." In another place Mr. Lecky quotes from Tertullian a passage (c. 30 of the *De Spectaculis*) as furnishing a striking example of the kind of disposition produced by realization of the doctrine of eternal punishment. Let the reader, however, compare the passage itself, with the context preceding it, with Mr. Lecky's comments (vol. 1, p. 356). Nor is Tertullian a fair example of the spirit of the early ages of Christianity; the contrast between him and the body of the Church is evidenced by the dispute de Coronâ, and by his secession to Montanism. Mr. Lecky, indeed, represents the early Christians as a demon-ridden race. "Wherever they turned, they were surrounded and beleaguered by malicious spirits, who were perpetually manifesting their presence by supernatural acts. Watchful fiends stood beside every altar; they mingled with every avocation of life, and the Christians were the especial objects of their hatred" (vol. 1, p. 28); where there is much more of the same kind. But Mr. Lecky ought to have remembered that if the early Christians believed in the presence and power of demons, they also believed in the presence and active ministration of angels and holy spirits; and, if he overlooked this, he might at least have remembered his own words at pp. 218, 219, that the general tendency of the early church was one diametrically opposed to a tendency to dilate on the sterner portions of Christianity.

was one of no little confusion in this regard. But no one seems to have been led into the error of supposing the human soul to be material by the notion of a material fire. Some believed this to be the case because they could not see how it could possibly be otherwise; they were unable to rise to the idea of a spirit, properly so called; they could not conceive anything to be real, and not material. That this was the case, in particular, with Tertullian, cannot be doubted, whether we consider his way of speaking in the whole book *De Animâ*, in the book *Adv. Praxeam*, c. xi., and in the *De Carne Christi*, c. xi., or the pre-eminently sensuous and realistic character of his mind. The Platonic philosophy was another foundation of this opinion respecting the human soul. Some writers who were especially attached to Platonism, as Origen, explained the Platonic doctrine of emanation as meaning that God Alone is a pure Spirit, all beings proceeding from God having a trace of materiality greater or less as they are more or less removed from Him. They therefore believed all created spirits to be in some sense material; and forms of expression which may seem properly to belong to this opinion remained, as is often the case, long after the opinion itself had vanished. But the source of the whole error was, as is evident, the materialized method of conception of pre-Christian times.

But Mr. Lecky goes much further than this. He tells us that this opinion of the materiality of the human soul—which, if we except at most two or three writers, had certainly died out in the sixth, if not in the fifth century,—was the dominant opinion in the middle ages:—

Under the influence of mediæval habits of thought, every spiritual conception was materialized, and what at an earlier and a later period was generally deemed the language of metaphor, was universally regarded as the language of fact. The realizations of the people were all derived from paintings, sculpture, or ceremonies that appealed to the senses, and all subjects were therefore reduced to palpable images. The angel in the last judgment was constantly represented weighing the souls in a literal balance, while devils clinging to the scales endeavoured to disturb the equilibrium. Sometimes the soul was portrayed as a sexless child, rising out of the mouth of the corpse. But, above all, the doctrine of purgatory arrested and enchained the imagination. . . . Men who believed in a physical soul readily believed in a physical punishment, men who materialized their view of the punishment, materialized their view of the sufferers.

"We find, however," he proceeds, "some time before the reformation, evident signs of an endeavour on the part of a few writers to rise to a purer conception of the soul." And he goes on to attribute this to "the pantheistic writings that flowed from the school of Averrhoes;" and to ascribe to the

Cartesian philosophy "the final downfall of the materialistic hypothesis."—Vol. i. pp. 373-378.

It is not too much to say that the whole of this is entirely unsupported by evidence. Any one who likes to glance over the Coimbricenses *De Animâ*, the beginning of the second book of the Sentences, the questions *De Animâ* in the Summa of St. Thomas, the recapitulation of the scholastic theology on that subject in the third volume of Suarez, or the very earliest treatises *De Angelis*, will see that, far from there being merely "a few writers" who maintained the spirituality of the soul, the notion of immateriality was as well defined in the dominant scholastic philosophy as ever it was by Descartes; whose doctrine that the essence of the soul is thought, was clearly stated by the scholastics in the sense that intellection can only belong to the spiritual, and not to the material and the extended.* The manner in which the Scholastics explained the punishment of a spiritual being by a material fire affords us a test-question on this subject. Did their "intense realization" of this doctrine lead them to infer the materiality of the soul? Certainly not. On the contrary; because all thoroughly realized the spirituality of the soul, all felt this difficulty regarding the manner of its punishment; but, although there was sufficient diversity among them as to its explanation, not one had recourse to the materialistic hypothesis.

Nor is Mr. Lecky correct in stating that the Arabian philosophy had a spiritualizing influence on philosophy and theology. That philosophy eminently favoured the "multiplicatio entium sine necessitate," than which nothing is more unspiritualizing. Some of those who held it expounded the doctrine of matter and form in a manner dangerous to the spirituality of the soul.† They held the perilous doctrine of emanation, and it would be quite a mistake to suppose that the description of error which they taught had any conformity of spirit with the poetical and sentimental pantheistic theories of the present day.‡

* See S. Thomas Contra Gentiles, l. 2, c. 49, 50, 51, 65, cf. 66, where an immense number of arguments, in great part, of course, drawn from the philosophy of the day, is heaped up to prove the spirituality of the soul.

† See S. Thomas, Op. de Angelis, cap. 5.

‡ The part of the doctrine of Averrhoes which excited the greatest commotion was his psychology, which, together with his doctrine of necessitarianism, was the source of most of his other errors. According to the scholastics, the substances supporting and underlying the attributes of things are composed of two parts—substantial form, which is active, and matter, which is passive, and was said to be informed by and to receive the form.

It is chiefly from the character of the then religious art, which (of course) represented spiritual subjects by material symbols, that Mr. Lecky argues that the middle ages materialized all spiritual conceptions. Thus, in a note to p. 232, vol. I., he speaks thus :—

The strong desire natural to the middle ages to give a palpable form to the mystery of the Incarnation, was shown curiously in the notion of a conception by the ear. In a hymn, ascribed to S. Thomas à Becket, occur the lines :—

“ Ave Virgo, Mater Christi,
Quæ per aurem concepisti,
Gabriele nuntio.”

And in an old glass window, now I believe in one of the museums of Paris, the Holy Ghost is represented hovering over the Virgin in the form of a dove, while a ray of light passes from his beak to her ear, along which ray an infant Christ is descending.—Langlois, *Peinture sur Verre*, p. 157.

And our readers will remember remarks of a like bearing in the quotation last given. Such criticisms are, however, to us merely evidence of so many curious misapprehensions. They merely show that an acquaintance with the history of religious art is but a very inadequate preparation for writing the history of religious dogmas. It is perfectly impossible to

Substantial forms are either material or spiritual : the material are “ tied down to quantity,” or extended, in which they differ from the spiritual. But a far broader distinction than is now generally supposed to exist, was made by the mediæval philosophy between intellection and the lower cognitive manifestations of the mind. The latter could belong to the material, and be the result of organization ; but the former was the proper and distinctive attribute of a spiritual form. Such forms were angels, and human souls. In the properly intellectual process they supposed two powers to be concerned, the *intellectus agens* and the *intellectus possibilis*. The *intellectus agens* was supposed to be an illuminating and revealing power : it produced ideas, and it was the function of the *intellectus possibilis* to receive and contemplate the ideas which it presented. Now Averrhoes taught that the human soul was corruptible and material. The only power it itself possessed he asserted to be a cogitative power. This was all that properly belonged to man—a function of the organic and corporeal soul. But this soul was assisted by a higher order of intelligences. The *intellectus agens* and *possibilis*, the operation of which we feel in ourselves, do not belong to us, but to certain separate spirits who co-operate with the inferior energies of the human soul, and it is by participation of their intelligence that we have intellection.

Averrhoes based his doctrine on certain passages in Aristotle's *De Animâ*, which are fully discussed, together with his abstract arguments, in S. Thomas's opusculum, *De Unitate Intellectus*. Their doctrine may be found, as usual, summarized in Suarez, *De Animâ*, l. 1, c. 12, n. 12, and the commentators in Sent. l. 2, d. 17 & 18.

represent spiritual things in painting and sculpture otherwise than by material images. Nothing is more common than so to represent them even among Protestants of the present day; nothing was more common in the Old Testament, the very stronghold of the ancient anthropomorphites. We feel no inclination to deny that it is exceedingly difficult for the poor and the ignorant to rise to the conception of a spirit, and almost all mankind represent to themselves even the very Deity under some refined material image; but when such representations occupied a prominent position in public worship, there was an opportunity, and that frequently made use of, of correcting an untruthful imagination.

We have no hesitation in saying that there is far more unconscious anthropomorphism among the Protestant than among the Catholic poor. The doctrines of revelation make known a world akin to, yet not the same as, this; they tell of an order of things itself unseen, but possessing counterparts and shadows here. It is, therefore, not wonderful that there exists a constant tendency to forget that these are but imperfect types and symbols, and to remodel the truths of faith into conformity with what we see around us. To correct this tendency is one of the functions of the science of theology; and the conclusions of theology, infiltrating among the people, keep them from sinking into earthly and anthropomorphic views of religion, these conclusions being communicated by the ordinary resources in the hands of the Church, which, certainly, are far more efficacious in the Catholic than in the Protestant system. Indeed, of all the reproaches which have been directed against the theology of the middle ages, that of being in its spirit gross and material is one of the most unfounded and the most unjust. With far greater truth might such a reproach be directed against the Protestant theology of the last three centuries. In the middle ages, theology had a code and a standard of her own; she was the queen of the sciences; she regulated and moulded the ideas of the time. Now, condemned to occupy a subordinate position, she is content to take her ideas from those current in the world, and to use her terms, not in their proper and theological signification, but in meanings derived from the manner of their present use in physical science and in common life. An example of this occurs in the case of the word *person*, the loss of the theological meaning of which among Protestants has confused, if not obliterated, the doctrine of the Trinity. In Protestantism, the belief of the people lives chiefly by a tradition propagated through no recognized theological channel; a tradition which, consequently, daily grows more feeble and less definite; which is

continually becoming more and more corrupted, more low, and earthly, and anthropomorphous. Look at the common Protestant idea of the happiness of the blessed. The great Catholic doctrine which places the essence of the beatitude of man, not in a prolongation and refinement of the pleasures of this world, not even in the sight of Christ's humanity, but in that vision of God as God which is emphatically called beatific, has almost faded out of sight. They look forward to an earthly millennium, which is little better than a glorification of commerce, material prosperity, and natural virtue, to be succeeded by a heaven of which the joys very much resemble those which some Catholic theologians with Suarez* assign to infants who die without Baptism. But against the reproach of lowness and materialism of conception being ever directed against the theologians of mediæval times, the doctrine of the beatific vision, which they so fully and so beautifully evolved, stands a perpetual protest. For in what was this coarseness and lowness of thought more likely to appear, than in their conception of the greatest happiness of man? Or who were more likely to teach what is far removed from vulgar and worldly conceptions than men who placed the sum of all happiness in the vision and fruition of the Divine Essence, which, according to them, could be seen by no corporal eye,† and in which was, they said, that joy which eye had not seen nor ear heard, neither had it entered into the heart of man to conceive? The whole of the scholastic treatise *De Deo Uno* is but another magnificent protest against such an accusation. The heresy of Gilbert Porretanus‡ would never be condemned by the Protestants of the present day; nor has ever the conception of the divine simplicity in perfection been so fully realized as it was by those much abused theologians. The mediatorship of our blessed Lord is now commonly apprehended by Protestants in a manner which makes a real difference of character between the Father and Son; but no one who knows anything of the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation can imagine that these theologians would have tolerated for a moment a notion so frightfully heretical. With respect to Psychology, the scholastic age saw the death of Traducianism; and any one who has attended to the earlier scholastic opinions respecting the manner in which spirits suffer in the penal fire,

* *De Peccato Originali*.

† S. Thomas, in 1^o 2^a q. 12, a. 3; and the other older authors in *Sent.* l. 1, d. 1, & l. 4, d. 49.

‡ *Lombardus in Sent.* l. 1, d. 33, 34; and the commentators ad loc.

will have seen that they are of a more "spiritual" tendency than those of most Protestant theologians.*

Mr. Lecky's criticisms on the opinion that the penal fire is literal and material, and on the supposed general materialism of religious conception in the middle ages, have led us into somewhat of a digression. We have yet, however, one more remark to make. While he concedes that after the time of Averrhoes "a few writers" endeavoured to rise to a more spiritual manner of conceiving the truths of faith, he asserts that in the preceding period, before his influence and that of such sects as the Beguins had begun to be felt, the state of things was infinitely worse. From the sixth to the twelfth century materialism in religion was absolutely dominant. That the period preceding the advent of the scholastic epoch was one of great depression of theological science, cannot be doubted; and the amount of what may in a general way be called anthropomorphism current at any period is to a great extent conditioned by the want of general cultivation. But it is very easy to overrate this depression. The episcopal and synodical letters, for instance, which were exchanged concerning the subject of Adoptionism do not present to us theological science at, by any means, a low ebb. The same may be said respecting the controversy in the ninth century on the Eucharist; and the controversy on Predestination, if it do not reveal any large amount of historical learning, at least exhibits considerable activity of mind. Such of the writings of authors of that period as the present writer has looked into, show an amount of learning and acuteness which was certainly unexpected by him. That period was necessarily uncritical; but we regard the taste for allegorizing, then as formerly prevalent, to be an indication of something very different from a degraded and material habit of thought. The great teacher of the pre-scholastic age was St. Augustine, one of the most spiritual of the fathers; and the writer who was chosen to supplement him was S. Gregory the Great, who went farther than, and improved on, St. Augustine himself. And, as to the religious art of that period, Mr. Lecky has himself alluded to a peculiarity which, strangely enough, seems

* Sensation and "sensitive imagination" appeared to the scholastics to be of so material a character, that they would not admit that these and other sensitive affections can exist in a separate spirit; and, consequently, those theologians who explained the punishment of separate spirits by the analogy of the soul and body, were compelled to admit that the pain must be different in kind from the "*passio conjuncti*."

to have given him no disquietude as to his general conclusion. In that period, he says:—

We do not find the smallest tendency to represent God the Father.* Scenes, indeed, in which He acted were frequently depicted, but the First Person of the Trinity was invariably superseded by the Second. Christ, in the dress and with the features appropriated to Him in the representations of scenes from the New Testament, and often with the monogram underneath His figure, is represented creating man, condemning Adam and Eve to labour, . . . or giving the law to Moses. With the exception of a hand sometimes extended from the cloud, and occasionally encircled with a nimbus, we find in this period no traces in art of the Creator. At first we can easily imagine that a purely spiritual conception of the Deity, and also the hatred that was inspired by the type of Jupiter, would have discouraged artists from attempting such a subject, and Gnosticism, which exercised a very great influence over Christian art, and which emphatically denied the divinity of the God of the Old Testament, tended in the same direction; but it is very unlikely that these reasons can have had any weight between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. For the more those centuries are studied, the more evident it becomes that the universal and irresistible tendency was then to materialize every spiritual conception, to form a palpable image of everything that was revered, to reduce all subjects within the domain of the senses (Vol. i., pp. 224-5).

The most celebrated of the theologians of the middle ages is undoubtedly S. Thomas Aquinas. S. Thomas, however, comes in for an extra share of misrepresentation. At p. 72, vol. ii., we read of him, that he was one of the ablest writers of the fourteenth century—he died in the thirteenth—and that “he assures us that diseases and tempests are the direct acts of the devil, that he can transport men at his pleasure through the air,” and that “omnes angeli, boni, et mali, ex naturali virtute habent potestatem transmutandi corpora nostra.” Now all this is precisely what S. Thomas denies. In the first place, any one would imagine from the manner in which our author writes, that the great mediæval theologian imagined that, in the ordinary course of things, diseases and tempests are produced by Satanic agency. S. Thomas never taught any such thing, but over and over again refers both the one and the other to natural causes.† Mr. Lecky ought to have

* We cannot ourselves, as Catholics, admit that there is necessarily the smallest impropriety or inexpediency in pictured or sculptured representations of God the Father (See Denzinger, n. 1182 and 1432); yet we may fairly argue that the absence of such, at the period in question, disproves Mr. Lecky's assertion that the dominant tendency of that period was anthropomorphous.

† *V. g.*, Comm. in Ps. xvii., and in Arist. Meteor. l. 2, lect. xvi.; cf. *Summa*, l. 2, q. 80, a. 2.

written "may be;" but the meaning of the words would have been very different, and their point would have been taken away. Secondly, while S. Thomas teaches, in accordance with Holy Writ, that the demons can exercise power over material things, he also teaches that they cannot directly change the qualities of things, nor produce any preternatural change except local motion: nor that at their pleasure; for it is a principle with him that God does not permit them to do all that which they have *per se* the power of doing.* Thirdly, as to their natural power of transmuting our bodies. We have not been able to find the exact words quoted above, but many similar phrases occur in the *objections* in the ninth article of the *Quæstio de Dæmonibus*, which, it is sufficient to say, S. Thomas solves by saying:—

But on the other hand, S. Augustine† says, "Non solum animam sed nec corpus quidem nulla ratione crediderim dæmonum arte vel potestate in brutalia lineamenta posse converti." . . . I reply that, as the Apostle says, "all things made by God in order," whence, as S. Augustine says, "the excellence of the universe is the excellence of order. . . . and therefore Satan always uses natural agents as his instruments in the production of physical effects, and can so produce effects which exceed the efficacy of the natural agents;‡ but he cannot cause the form of the human body to be changed into that of an animal, because this would be contrary to the order established by God; and all such conversions are, therefore, as Augustine shows in the place quoted, according to phantastical appearance rather than truth.

At p. 350 of vol. I., Mr. Lecky tells us that the mediæval writers taught that God would make the contemplation of the sufferings of the lost an essential element in the happiness of the blessed. He does not know of what he writes. It was taught that the essential element of their happiness—the *Essentia Beatitudinis*—is the vision of God; all else accessory and subordinate. In a note, to justify his assertion, he adds these words:—"St. Thomas Aquinas says, 'Beati in regno celesti videbunt pœnas damnatorum ut beatitudo illis magis complaceat.'" The quotation is not accurate. After quoting Isaiah, ult. 24, he says, "Respondeo dicendum ad primam questionem quod a beatis nihil subtrahi debet quod ad perfectionem beatitudinis eorum pertineat: unumquodque autem ex comparatione contrarii magis cognoscitur, quia contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt; et ideo, ut beatitudo sanctorum eis magis

* *Quæstiones de Malo*, q. 16, art. 9, &c.; *Quæstiones de Potentiâ Dei*, q. 6, art. 5.

† *De Civ. Dei*, l. 18, c. 18.

‡ *L. c.*, which exceed their ordinary effects, because he can use them more skillfully (*cf. ad. 11*).

complaceat, et de eâ uberiores gratias Deo agant, datur eis ut pœnam impiorum perfecte intueantur.”* The passage of St. Thomas, as given by Mr. Lecky, is just one of those which may very well bear either of two meanings. It might mean something very repulsive and very cruel. But the unmutilated passage can bear but one interpretation. St. Thomas does not say that they rejoice in the sufferings themselves; but that they are permitted to see them, in order that they may feel yet more intensely how precious is their own beatitude, and thank God the more heartily for their own escape. At p. 395 of vol. I., Mr. Lecky quotes from Wall’s treatise on Infant Baptism† a statement to the effect that St. Thomas asserted the possibility of the salvation of the infant that died, without Baptism, within the womb. “God,” St. Thomas is asserted to have said, “may have other ways of saving it for what we know.” No reference is given; and Protestant authors are, as is well known, generally unreliable in their statements respecting the Scholastics. St. Thomas teaches a contrary doctrine in the third part of the *Summa Theologiæ*, q. 68, Art. I. and II.; and Cardinal Cajetan, an eccentric theologian, but exceedingly well versed in the writings of the Angelic Doctor, who held the opinion in question, was never able to produce, out of the multitudinous writings of the latter, anything in his favour.

In a note to his chapter on the Industrial History of Rationalism, Mr. Lecky charges St. Thomas with what is nothing less than moral obliquity. The Duchess of Brabant, he says, had a scruple of conscience about tolerating the Jews. She therefore consulted St. Thomas; “who replied, among other things, that the Jews were doomed to perpetual servitude, and that all their property being derived from usury might lawfully be taken from them.” Mr. Lecky is inaccurate both as to the confiscation of their property and as to the perpetual servitude. St. Thomas does not say that all their property was derived from usury, and it would, indeed, have been rather a rash judgment in him to say so. But the Duchess of Brabant had apparently desired to impose new burdens on the Jews, and in writing to St. Thomas had stated that all their property seemed to be derived from usury; to which he replied, that *if this were so*, they might lawfully be compelled to make restitution. Nor does this by any means imply that all their property was to be taken away from them, as appears from

* Supplementum ad tertiam partem Summæ, q. 94, a. 1.

† Vol. ii. p. 211.

St. Thomas's letter among his opuscula,* and from his general doctrine respecting restitution.† With respect to the perpetual servitude, what St. Thomas does say is this: "*Although according to the laws the Jews be, or were, through their own fault doomed to perpetual servitude, and thus princes could appropriate their possessions as their own, yet this is to be understood leniently, so that the necessities of life be by no means taken from them. But since we ought, as the Apostle declares, to walk honestly in the sight of those who are without, of Jews, and Gentiles, and the Church of God, as the laws declare, compulsory service is not to be required of them, which they were not wont to perform in time past.*" He goes on to say that if ill-gotten goods were taken from the Jews, it would be unlawful for her to retain them, but they would have to be restored to those from whom they had been unjustly taken; and even under these conditions he declines to sanction any proceeding against them, but only "*si nihil aliud obsistat.*" Mr. Lecky also quotes, he says, the "*Histriones*" of St. Thomas. What the Histriones of St. Thomas are, we have not, we confess, the most remote idea.

Mr. Lecky professes to give the analyses of various theological beliefs and tones of thought which have prevailed in other times. Of these, however, he has had but little or no practical experience. He consequently puts before us only certain restricted points of view, which have strongly impressed themselves on his mind in the course of his studies and meditations. We are hurried along by his words as by a flood; but while the effects which some particular doctrine possibly *might* produce if it were held alone are vividly set before us, he totally loses sight of those other doctrines, which were organically connected with it, and modified and regulated its action. To evade one difficulty he falls into another: he concentrates his gaze on a point that he may see more clearly; but, confining it there, loses sight of those harmonies and contrasts, which make up the beauty of the whole. In one direction this defect has had very great influence. "*Veritas*" is, it is said, "*in medio*"; the present age has gone wrong all on one side; and Mr. Lecky, who is an advanced disciple of the present age, consequently considers that preceding ages have gone wrong all on the other. He sees that there is a very great difficulty in adequately realizing phases of thought so very different from those which

* Opusc. xii., in calce Opusculi de Regimine Principum.

† Summa, 2, 2, q. 61-62, &c.

now prevail. And, because of this, he expends his strength on the points of difference, neglecting for their sake things nearer to his apprehension; and the very natural consequence is that he gives us a distorted and exaggerated picture in which the common elements are not sufficiently brought out.

An instance of this occurs in his treatment of the subject of eternal punishment. The general disorganization and want of order which pervades his work is quite insufficient to account for the pertinacity with which he again and again recurs to the subject. Like the whole anti-Christian party, and very naturally, he detests the doctrine with his whole spirit; and he allows this detestation to colour his whole views of the middle ages. He attributes to its influence whatever he finds, or imagines himself to have found, of a hard, cruel, and repulsive character in their theory and practice. He begins by misinterpreting the character of the doctrine itself. He separates it from the conditioning doctrines which were taught along with it, and which regulated and directed its influence. He dwells almost entirely on the terrible side of the then existing Christianity, and almost altogether neglects the operation of the concurring principle of love, the opposite pole of the Christian motives. And then he concludes that to its influence was due the severity of punishments in the middle ages. A universal terrorism was produced. The sense of the divine mercy was destroyed. The sufferings of the lost were at first regarded with horror; but as men became more used to the thing, the horror was changed to indifference, and the indifference to a barbarous delight in the contemplation and even the infliction of pain. It will not require many arguments to show that such a method of treatment is monstrous. Mr. Lecky ought to have noticed that the causes which in the middle ages led to peculiar stress being laid on the doctrine of eternal punishment, were causes external to, and mostly in direct opposition, to the Church; and that their tendency was met by a corresponding realization of an opposite pole of Christian feeling.

We cannot better introduce what we have to say on the severity of punishments, and the alleged callousness of disposition in mediæval times, and, indeed, on Mr. Lecky's whole criticism of the subject of eternal punishment, than by a passage from a most able writer:—

One of the effects of civilization (not to say one of the ingredients in it) is, that the spectacle, and even the very idea, of pain, is kept more and more out of the sight of those classes who enjoy in their full the benefits of civilization. The state of perpetual personal conflict, rendered necessary by the

circumstances of former times, and from which it was hardly possible for any person, in whatever rank of society, to be exempt, necessarily habituated every one to the spectacle of harshness, rudeness, and violence, to the struggle of one indomitable will against another, and to the alternate suffering and infliction of pain. These things, consequently, were not as revolting even to the best and most actively benevolent men of former days, as they are to our own; and we find the recorded conduct of those men frequently such as would be universally considered very unfeeling in a person of our own day. They, however, thought less of the infliction of pain, because they thought less of pain altogether. When we read of actions of the Greeks and Romans, or of our own ancestors, denoting callousness to human suffering, we must not think that those who committed these actions were as cruel as we must become before we could do the like. The pain which they inflicted, they were in the habit of voluntarily undergoing from slight causes; it did not appear to them as great an evil as it appears, and as it really is, to us, nor did it in any way degrade their minds.*

The scale, in fact, according to which degrees of pain were computed, was much less minute then than now. This arose from the imperfect subdivision of labour in society, and the consequently more frequently recurring necessity of personally putting forth powers of endurance and of action; from the continual wars and commotions; from the imperfection of the mechanical appliances which now alleviate suffering; from a sterner and rougher manner of living, necessitated by the undeveloped state of the social arts; from the intimate intermingling of the civil and the military life, arising out of the feudal system; and from a multitude of other causes. To these, however, we must add another of far more potent influence. The inchoate mediæval nations were only emerging from a state of barbarism; and the associations of that barbarism still tenaciously clung to them, in the gloomy superstitions common among northern nations, in cruel ordeals, in internecine warfare, in the whole texture of their social and national traditions. The causes referred to by Mr. Mill were in operation almost as much in the civilization of Greece and Rome as in the middle ages; but this circumstance, which is one on which we need not dilate, increased, and must have increased, to an enormous extent the activity of the tendencies on which he remarks. If, indeed, there were two nations exactly alike in every particular, except that the one believed eternal punishment and set small store by pain, so as severely and even barbarously to punish offences, while the other did neither of these things,—we should in that case plausibly assert a direct causal connexion between holding the eternity of future

* *J. S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions; Art. Civilization.*

punishment and a hardness and callousness of temper. But we cannot argue in this free and easy manner, where the instances from which we have to make our induction are so multifariously different as are the social condition of the present day and the social condition of mediæval times. We must not thus arbitrarily single one from out of a multitude of causes. Reasoning from the known principles of human nature, we can say with all confidence that the causes just enumerated must have operated, and operated very powerfully, to produce the many and severe punishments, the carelessness for and of suffering, the trials by ordeal and by torture, which existed at the period of which we write. And thus we also see that those representations of the torments of the lost, on which Mr. Lecky expends such a vast amount of rhetoric, must have produced these effects immeasurably less than they would now produce; far more powerful means had to be resorted to then to produce an amount of feeling for which gentler methods now suffice.

Nor has Mr. Lecky fairly represented the doctrine of eternal punishment in itself. To contemplate the infliction of pain naturally produces, he says, a callousness and hardness of feeling. This statement embodies only a half truth, and the reasoning founded on it is in the highest degree fallacious. When the Catholics of ancient times contemplated the anguish of the lost, the habits which they endeavoured to form were habits of horror for the sin which entailed that anguish. There is a great difference between thus actively contemplating suffering, and beholding it merely in a passive manner, and with a view to some other end. The surgical operator, the public executioner, the soldier, who look at it in this latter light, may and do in time become hardened and indifferent. But it is far otherwise in the former case; and there is a great difference between reflecting on the pains of others, and reflecting on pains which may one day be our own. It is reasonable and natural to suppose, and it is found to be in reality the case, that one who contemplates the sufferings of others merely and purely as of others, and habitually avoids referring them in any way to himself, will in the end become hard and cruel. But the very essence of sympathy consists in an unconscious association of ourselves with others in their sufferings. The Calvinist, therefore, the believer in "assurance," who fancies himself to be one of the elect, and from his security safely thinks of all the torments of the reprobate as things in which it would be sinful for him even for a moment to imagine that he can have part, may but grow callous at the *thought of Hell*—may even delight to think of it, and revel in

the representation of the anguish there. But such a spirit is altogether opposed to the whole bent of Catholic meditation on that subject. The Catholic, when he meditates on these torments, thinks of them as of others, only that the thought may more vividly come home to himself; he thinks of them as of what he may one day have to endure. And again, the thought of our own personal suffering can make us hard and firm only when we consider it as a thing not to be avoided, but to be braved. It is almost a truism to say, that those men are of all the most soft and timid, who are continually representing to themselves means of escape from vividly-imagined dangers. And no Catholic would meditate on these torments that he might nerve himself to brave them, but that he might seek means to avoid them. Catholics, of course, accept, on the ground of God's Word, that awful doctrine of our Faith which we are now contemplating. So far as they argue for it from reason at all, they say that this doctrine is the necessary sanction of the moral law; and the force of that argument will be felt by none more strongly than by Catholics themselves, who, from holding the existence both of a future temporal and of a future eternal punishment for sin, are better able to judge what effects would be likely to be produced, if hell were, in the common teaching, resolved into a kind of purgatory. But it must never be forgotten that in the Catholic religion the doctrine of eternal punishment is taught under certain accompanying conditions, which intimately affect its practical bearing. The first of these conditions is the doctrine of purgatory, of which M. Comte thus speaks:—

Il serait facile de reconnaître que l'institution, si amèrement critiquée, du purgatoire fut, au contraire, très-heureusement introduite, dans la pratique sociale du Catholicisme, à titre d'indispensable correctif fondamental de l'éternité des peines futures; car, autrement, cette éternité, sans laquelle les prescriptions religieuses ne pouvaient être efficaces, eût évidemment déterminé souvent ou un relâchement funeste, ou un effroyable désespoir, également dangereux l'un et l'autre pour l'individu et pour la société, et entre lesquels le génie Catholique est parvenu à organiser cette ingénieuse issue, qui permettait de graduer immédiatement, avec une scrupuleuse précision, l'application effective du procédé religieux aux convenances de chaque cas réel.*

In reading this quotation, it must be remembered that M. Comte was not a Catholic, and regarded the Catholic Church as merely a human institution. But, the truths to which that unhappy thinker here draws attention, are so evident, that they hardly require proof. If the sole future

* *Philosophie Positive*, vol. v. p. 269 (Ed. 1864).

punishment of sin be believed to be an eternal punishment, such as is that of hell, it is not difficult to perceive what effects will follow. The timid, and those who are naturally religiously minded, will form a gloomy and austere notion of religion, which will produce some of the effects noted by Mr. Lecky, and in the end, by provoking a necessary reaction, work the destruction of all religion whatever. Those, on the contrary, who are irreligiously inclined, will be still further moved to give up all idea of religion as impracticable, and will be disgusted by its tone and spirit; while the doctrine of eternal punishment will lose its force by being applied to light and trivial offences.

But we must also notice another condition of the realization of this doctrine, which is provided in the Catholic system; and which, like that of Purgatory, has been rather neglected by Protestantism. It has been noticed by some writers that the sacramental system of the Church provides an admirable safeguard, and one in an especial manner necessary in the Middle Ages, against outbreaks of fanaticism. According to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the Sacraments are the great means, channels, and conditions of grace. And this produces a system and an order, a definite method of procedure in the spiritual life, which, assisted by the ascetical and mystical theology so minutely cultivated, abundantly directs enthusiasm and represses fanaticism. And we do not doubt that if Protestantism, with its doctrine of private judgment and private direction, had been the form of Christianity existing in the Middle Ages, Christianity would have sunk into a condition of which Paganism and the Gnostic heresies alone afford a parallel. But this sacramental system has also another, though a co-ordinate effect. Grace is insensible and unfelt; to confound it with the natural religious feelings and emotions is to make religion no longer a discipline and a duty, but a sentiment. And because it is unfelt, it is necessary that it should ordinarily be given through some external and sensible rite, in order to ward off undue and pernicious doubt and anxiety. Now, according to Catholic teaching, while, on the one hand, it is impossible for any one to know with absolute certainty what is his spiritual state before God; on the other hand, the doctrine of confession and absolution supplies all with a means of knowing, with a greater or less amount of probability, what their real condition is. On the morally beneficial tendency of the first part of this teaching it is unnecessary to dilate, and any scrupulosity or vain terror which, if it stood alone, it might excite, is amply provided against by the second. And thus, through the correlative doctrines of purgatory, of the consequent dis-

inction between mortal and venial sins, of confession and absolution, and by means of its moral theology, Catholicism provides that the doctrine of eternal punishment shall press with greater or less force, exactly as its influence is more or less required. It does not leave the believer to the diseased imaginations of his own mind, but provides an external code to which he must submit, and an external direction by which he will be guided. It provides a means by which he may know whether he is or is not in a state of sin, and a definite remedy whereby he may extricate himself from it; while it holds out a hope of salvation to all, and teaches that no man ever existed whose case was so desperate that he could not, if he co-operated with grace, as he has the power of co-operating, look for pardon. With the heretical sects the case is widely different. The very name of Calvinism calls up associations on which it would be painful to dwell. The conjunction of the doctrines of eternal punishment and necessitarianism must always, even where these doctrines are but to a very inadequate extent realized, produce a type of religious thought and feeling as repulsive as it is degrading. Of this it would be superfluous to speak. But Protestantism repudiated the practice of confession and the doctrine of absolution. Then, indeed, wherever the eternity of punishment was realized, it produced a diseased and unhealthy state of mind. Anxiety, doubt, terror, were necessarily the predominating feelings in the minds of men; an anxiety which could be calmed no longer now that there was no confessional, and a doubt which admitted of no direction now that each man had to be almost entirely his own counsellor, while all were faltering and divided as to the "direction of the ways of life." The "doctrine of final assurance" was, indeed, put forward to remedy the evil. But that doctrine only served to aggravate it. For to one class of minds it only supplied a new cause of terror; and to another it gave a very fruitful occasion of cultivating a disposition perhaps the most detestably proud, callous, and selfish, which has ever appeared among mankind.

We must not, however, be supposed to deny that, through causes the character of which may partially be gathered from the preceding remarks, the doctrine of eternal punishment was very prominent in the middle ages. And how, it will be asked, did the Church of those ages meet this extraordinary prominence? To have met it by merely insisting on the blessedness of heaven, would obviously have been most inadequate. Our natural constitution, and the circumstances of our life here, are such that our ideas of happiness, and especially of permanent happiness, are, as it has often been urged, far less definite and far

less acute than our ideas of pain; and for this reason it has been wisely brought about that what has been made known to us of the blessedness of heaven is far less definite and complete, than is what we know of the punishment of the wicked. But for this very reason, the prominence of the doctrine of their eternal punishment could not be efficaciously met by insisting on this blessedness. But there is another set of ideas and feelings directly opposed to the despair and unmitigated fear which would be produced by the sole contemplation of the torments of the lost; and it is a set of ideas and feelings which nowhere find so natural a home as in Catholicism.

From the manner in which the doctrine of the Incarnation is dwelt on in the Catholic system, and from the consequently almost human character which is given to the love of God and to the contemplation of the Divine Perfections as set forth in Christ, there results an ardour, an intensity, an active continuity of that love, which is simply incomprehensible to those who are external to the machinery of the Catholic Church. If it be asked, then, how did the church of those times meet the extraordinary development of the doctrine we have been considering, the answer is patent to the most superficial reader of the mediæval saints and theologians. They met it by an, at least, equal development of the doctrine of Divine love. S. Bernard, Hugo of S. Victor, S. Anselm, all especially breathe in their works this sweet and devout spirit. The writings of S. Bernard, and those passages of such exquisitely tender devotion which occur in the writings of S. Augustine, became, in particular, the texts on which succeeding writers expanded and dilated. A spirit of meekness and tenderness of devotion, an intense and fervid love of God, are the themes on which they peculiarly delight to dwell, and the virtues on which they peculiarly love to insist. It was this age that produced the "Imitation"; toward the close of it appeared the "*Paradisus Animæ*:" and whoever was the actual author of the former work, it possesses remarkable affinity with the spirit and even the style of Gerson. Nor was this temper of mind confined to purely mystical writers. The writings of S. Francis of Assisi, of S. Bridget, S. Catherine of Sienna, and others, attest, indeed, that the type of sanctity was, in some sense, changing under its influence; but it passed on to the great theological teachers of the age. S. Thomas of Aquino, the best and greatest of them all, lived and struggled in the very midst of the conflict with infidelity which was then agitating the Church, and yet even he found time to write a number of short *spiritual* treatises which display the most tender and the *most delicate* devotion. This is especially seen in his book

"De Beatitudine." Richard of S. Victor wrote a work "De Gradibus Violentæ Charitatis," "On the degrees of violent charity." S. Bonaventure received the name of "The Seraphic Doctor" from the ardour of his piety; the titles of a few of his works—"De Septem Itineribus Æternitatis," "Stimulus Amoris," "Amatorium," "Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum"—will be sufficient to show its character. The tender and loving spirit, which those great doctors manifested in their devotion, broke out also in their correspondence with their friends, as may be perceived even from the extracts from the letters and sermons of certain of them which the Count de Montalembert has inserted in his "Monks of the West." Other momenta of a more general nature show the operation of the same tendency. For the first time detailed lives of our blessed Lord came into general circulation. Devotion to the Passion assumed a far more prominent position than before; of the spirit which animated it we have a most touching example in the little book attributed to S. Juliana of Norwich. The Canticle of Canticles suddenly took a place in the affections of the pious, which even in the primitive Church it had never known. S. Bernard composed on it his celebrated "Sermones super Cantica," S. Bonaventure and Richard of S. Victor both wrote commentaries on it; S. Thomas has left us two, and it was while dictating the second of these that he passed out of this world, celebrating the blessedness of divine love. Nor can we altogether omit to notice three devotions, two of which certainly exercised a very considerable influence. In an age in which the spirit of love and devotion to our Blessed Lord had assumed such large proportions, in which the doctrine of the Incarnation was for the first time completely treated in a scientific manner, and in which the subject of original sin was more profoundly investigated, and the questions concerning the Immaculate Conception consequently began to be cleared up and to assume a definite form and coherence, it was natural that a great devotion should manifest itself to our Blessed Lady. And of the tendency and the effects of this devotion Mr. Lecky has himself spoken. The character of the devotion to S. Joseph, also, is sufficiently well known, and it was first, we believe, treated at length by Albertus Magnus. Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was to an indefinite extent stimulated by the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi; and it, of a truth, is a devotion which of all others breathes a spirit of tenderness and of love.

We can now only make a few concluding remarks. We have already given a *general estimate* of the work, on a few points of which we have here touched; for we considered it better to

speak of two or three connected subjects more fully, than to distract ourselves and our readers by flying comments on the many and very diverse subjects there treated. We have only explicitly to add what we have before implied, that we consider it a very dangerous book. It is all the more dangerous, because Mr. Lecky is not a furious fanatic; because of his spurious candour; because of his partial admissions; because of his engaging style. And in an age like the present, when the dogmatic principle is so bitterly attacked by those without, and sits so lightly on the necks even of believers, it is exceedingly dangerous. For, as was to be expected, it sets the dogmatic principle utterly at defiance, and from beginning to end is a continued protest against it. Mr. Lecky's idea of education, and his theory of the manner of formation of religious opinions, are alike thoroughly opposed to it. In education he would have the bare principles of morality only, as far as possible, inculcated; dogma, as far as possible, excluded; and if any amount of dogmatic teaching is unavoidably admitted, it is to be taught only so as to rest as lightly as possible on the mind, and with the proviso that the opinions then taught will have to be reconsidered in after-life. With respect to the formation of religious opinions, his book teaches a kind of Hegelianism. Society is continually changing, and the best thing we can do is to follow the most advanced minds in society. There is an everlasting process, in which we can never be sure that we have definitely attained to the truth. The end of this, of course, is to make all opinions uncertain. We may know what we like best, or what the tendencies of society incline it and us to believe; but we can never, as to religious opinions, know what is objectively true.

It is not very difficult to discover what is the nature of this process which is called Rationalism. In former times the religious spirit predominated over the secular; but from a variety of causes, and in particular on account of the immense development of secular science since the time of Bacon and Descartes, the secular scientific spirit has since predominated over the religious. And Rationalism is merely one of the results of this predominance; a consequence of the application to religious subjects of secular habits of thought. This may manifest itself, now in one way, now in another; in the denial now of Transubstantiation, now of the doctrine of the Trinity; but its root and origin is the same: it tends (and this quite takes the romance out of it) to the elimination of the religious ideas, and it is strengthened by whatever strengthens what we have called the secular-scientific, or weakens the religious, spirit. *Hence that dislike of authority and that over-clouding of the*

moral character of religious truth; hence that distaste for the miraculous and the mysterious, and that tendency to put into the background, and even to deny, the doctrine of grace; and if the internal wants of those who have just "escaped from the wilderness of Christianity, and still have some of the thorns and brambles sticking to their clothes," make it necessary that something should be substituted for that which is being taken away—a baseless and often unreal sentimentalism is substituted for honest religious duty and earnest devotion. It is only too much to be feared that the world will educate itself out of this also; and that, in the case of those who refuse submission to the Catholic Church, the secular spirit will more and more grow towards its full ascendancy, and therefore towards a total extinction of the already weakened religious ideas.

ART. IV.—FATHER HYACINTHE BESSON, O.S.D.

Un Religieux Dominicain. Le R. P. Hyacinthe Besson. Sa Vie et ses Lettres. Par E. CARTIER. Paris: 1865.

"MY original purpose," says the author of this most interesting and edifying Memoir, "in writing the life of Père Besson was simply to perpetuate his memory among his religious brethren, and to preserve some personal reminiscences connected with the establishment of the order of Friars Preachers in France; but, as I studied that sweet and beautiful countenance, I felt a glowing desire to make it more generally known. It seemed to me that to make men acquainted with P. Besson was to promote the glory of God. When he was on earth, the sight of him touched men's hearts, and made them better. Why not, then, make him known to those who never met with him in life? Why not recall, as far as possible, the charm of his presence and the unction of his words? He will still teach the lesson which he had so well learned of his Divine Master—to be meek and humble of heart. Neither was his a life devoid of external interest. It was associated with all things holy in his time; it flowed like a pure, transparent stream amid widely-varying scenery in France, Italy, and the East. As an artist, a religious, and a missionary, he was alike distinguished by the beauty of his

intelligence, the activity of his zeal, and the devotedness of his charity. His virtues won for him a place in the great heart of Pius IX., and the infidels themselves venerate the spot where his ashes repose in the land of the Patriarchs and Prophets. To write such a life is to further the cause of truth, for the most persuasive evidence of truth is holiness."

The portrait of Hyacinthe Besson is traced with a loving yet a discriminating touch, by the hand of one who knew and loved him as a brother. The Dominican of the nineteenth century stands before us, like a figure in one of Fra Angelico's frescos, which he seemed destined to revive no less in his own person than by his art,—with the lily and the torch of S. Dominic going forth in the might of his gentleness, conquering and to conquer, by the threefold power of charity, purity, and truth. The *Monachella*, as our Holy Father loved to call him, in allusion to the feminine gentleness and purity of his character, was endowed by divine grace with such a masculine vigour and straightforward singleness of purpose, as commended him to the choice of his superiors, and to the illuminated eye of the Sovereign Pontiff himself, as the fittest instrument to cope with contending wills and opinions in his own Order, and to grapple with the still more perplexing difficulties attending the relations of the Holy See with the Christians of the East.

The father of Charles-Jean-Baptiste (in religion, Hyacinthe) Besson, an old soldier of the army of Condé, died of the consequences of a wound received in the service, a short time before his birth, in 1816. The first years of his childhood were spent under the roof of his maternal uncle, who seems to have belonged to what in England would be called the class of substantial yeomanry. He loved in after-life to recall to mind the images of that holy and happy household, in which customs lingered, long since swept away from all save such lonely and primitive spots as here and there had escaped the effects of the revolutionary volcano, or had been preserved, as relics of happier days, beneath the crust left by its scathing lava. The evening prayer of the assembled household—the men on one side, the women on the other, with the master and the mistress at the head of each division—the children kneeling to ask their parents' blessing, ere they went to rest—the abundant almsgiving—the reverent tending of Christ's poor by the wealthy and prosperous housewife, who counted it an honour to perform for them the lowliest and most revolting offices—all these are so many pictures from the ages of faith; but the most touching, perhaps, is that which belongs to an *age of unbelief*—the venerable religious driven forth from her

convent, finding her cloister beneath her nephew's roof, and her work in teaching the Christian doctrine to the merry-hearted children, who with hushed voices and soft tread gathered round the door of her quiet room.

A sudden reverse of fortune broke up this happy home. "The prosperity of this Christian household vanished, without exciting a murmur." M^{de}. Besson was driven to Paris to seek a subsistence for herself and her child by the labour of her hands. In one of his touching letters to that beloved mother, P. Besson thus reminds her of those days and nights of toil and suffering :—

MY GOOD MOTHER,—Our Lord long ago marked you with the sign of the Cross, as one of the chosen sheep of His fold. I have never lost the sweet remembrance of all that we went through together in the street *Trois Frères*, though I was too little then to understand all that you suffered, watching by my side in those cold, long winter nights, with only a little chaufferette to warm our poor garret. You suffered it all with joy. Oh ! my poor mother, when I remember how you would take off some of your poor clothes, cold and weary as you were, to cover me, my heart swells with tenderness and with a desire to make you a return worthy of your love. Your unshaken confidence in Divine Providence gave you courage to overcome the hardest and most depressing trials.

These days of anxiety and privation were not of very long continuance. The mother and son found generous and faithful friends, by whose assistance, in the course of a few years, they were placed in a position of independence. The foremost of these was the venerable Abbé Leclerc, for whom P. Besson ever bore a filial affection only second to that which he cherished for his mother. Under the guidance of this holy priest Claude made his first Communion, and from him he learned that love of the poor which, throughout his after-life, distinguished him, as it had characterized his benefactor.

The Abbé Leclerc earnestly desired that the talents and high qualities, of which he discerned the early promise, should be consecrated to the immediate service of God. He proposed to Madame Besson to place her son at the *petit séminaire*, with a view to his training for the priesthood. The mother's heart shrank from the sacrifice, and she sent him instead to a school, where he imbibed many of the theories of the day, drifting farther and farther from the old royalist traditions of his early home, and unhappily from the sacred truths of the faith which in his mind were inseparably connected with them. Yet the grace of his Baptism and the sanctity of his first Communion were never desecrated by vice, nor the image of his mother, "the only woman he ever

loved," sullied by any lower affection or dimmed by the atmosphere of the seducing world of Paris. The light of faith was eclipsed indeed for a time, but it was living still, and ready to leap into a blaze, when the fog-damps around it should be dispelled by a fresh effusion of light from on high. From school Claude passed to the study of the art which was with him a passion, and we may almost say a religion; and with many of his companions in the same pursuit he became a disciple of M. Buchez, the leader of "the most Christian of all the socialist schools of the day." But the heart of Besson could find rest in nothing short of the truth of God. Wearied out with the search, he and some of his companions fell back on the lessons of their childhood. "A party was formed for the study of the Catechism;" and in the month of May, 1837, a deputation from the young republicans sought an interview with the venerable Curé of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, drawn thither, it may be, by the prayers of that marvellous confraternity.

More than twenty years afterwards (says M. Cartier), the venerable Abbé Désgenettes related to us under the shadow of the old trees in the garden of the Carmes, whither he had come to celebrate the Feast of S. Thomas of Aquin, his first interview with these young socialists, many of whom were then gathered round him in the white habit of S. Dominic. They wanted at first to lay down some conditions previous to their submission to the Church.

"M. L'Abbé," said their spokesman, "we all acknowledge the truth of Christianity, and we all desire to follow its precepts. But we must tell you first of all that we are Republicans, and that we desire to remain faithful to our principles." "My friends, that need not prevent you from being Christians; I hear the confessions of republicans, as well as of legitimists."—"What! you will not refuse us the Sacraments, though we are republicans?"—"Religion never asks to what political party men belong. She tolerates all opinions, and yours may be that a republic is the best form of government. Only if a disturbance should arise, and you come to consult me before you go out to the barricades, I may, perhaps, advise you to stay at home. Meanwhile, you can confess your sins, and receive Absolution."

The young men were charmed by this spirit of toleration, of which they had not believed a priest to be capable; and the good Curé of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, delighted with their uprightness and sincerity, conceived a particular affection for them, and soon overcame all their remaining prejudices.

Claude Besson had visited Rome before his conversion, but it was with far other feelings that he made a pilgrimage thither in the autumn of 1838. "He looked back with a feeling of remorse on those sanctuaries where he had not knelt, on the

dust of the martyrs, the holy and historic earth, which he had not venerated. It seemed to him that he was bound to make a pilgrimage to Rome to atone for the past, and to satisfy his faith as well as his love of art."

Six weeks of the following summer were spent at Assisi, at the shrine of the Saint of Poverty, to whom he had a special devotion, in the study of the works of Cimabue and Giotto. From this period dates his vocation to religion. He kept it concealed for a time; but his mother's anxious eye detected his secret, and, moved by the sight of her anguish, he gave her a promise never to leave her without her consent. In December, 1839, Père Lacordaire writes thus to one of his friends:—

"Besson is coming here early in March to make a copy of the *Madonna de la Quercia*, a miraculous image consecrated by more than three centuries of veneration. We have chosen her for our Patroness, and mean to carry the picture with us wherever we go, until the day when we shall be able to install it solemnly in our first French convent." When he had finished his work, the young artist knelt down at the feet of our B. Lady, and, laying his colours and brushes on her altar, he made a solemn vow never to touch them again, if only she would obtain for him his mother's permission to enter religion. The sacrifice was heroic; for, such was his intense devotion to his art, that he was wont to say that he could scarcely imagine the happiness of Heaven without it. His prayer was at last heard; he had returned to Rome for the Festival of Easter, and, notwithstanding his silence, his mother had guessed the wishes of his heart. One morning, after a last struggle with herself, she sought her son in his studio, and said, "My child, I know your wishes, and will no longer oppose them; I have but few years to live, and it will be happiness enough for me to see you happy."

Before Claude had time to reply, the door-bell rang, and P. Lacordaire came in from La Quercia to thank the young artist for his copy of the *Madonna*. Besson repeated to him the words just uttered by his mother, adding, "Father, will you have me?" Three days afterwards he was received at S. Sabina.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of M. Cartier's book is that which opens with the history of the Noviciate of the fervent little company of French Dominicans at S. Sabina and at Bosco, so full of the memories of S. Dominic and S. Pius. He traces with a sympathising (though, as it seems to us, a singularly impartial) hand, the struggles, the failures, and the triumphs of the work of restoration which they were called upon to direct.

In 1839, P. Lacordaire, by an heroic venture of faith, had left the admiring crowds which surrounded his pulpit at Notre Dame, to assume the proscribed habit of S. Dominic in the

Chapel of the Minerva, at Rome. Ten years afterwards, P. Jandel, one of his first companions, and, like P. Besson, a former disciple of the school of Buchez, was appointed by the Sovereign Pontiff Vicar-General of the Dominican Order. With a view to carrying out the reforms which the Holy Father had long been anxious to effect, P. Jandel immediately summoned P. Besson, his dearest and most trusted friend, from the direction of the house at Nancy, where the first noviciate had been formed in France, to aid him in his arduous and difficult task, by his singular gift of prudence and power of conciliation. During the time that he spent at Rome as Prior of S. Sabina, P. Besson resumed, under obedience, the practice of his beloved art, and began the series of frescos which now adorn the restored chapter-room of S. Sixtus. The work was one of especial interest to Pius IX., whose first visit to the new Fra Angelico is thus described:—

He chose, without giving notice of his intention, the Convent of S. Sixtus as the object of one of his daily drives. The entrance of the Holy Father's carriage and escort into the deserted court before the Chapter-room failed to distract the artist's attention from his work, and he had to descend from his scaffold, with his apron before him, and his palette and brushes in his hand, to receive Pius IX., who enjoyed his surprise, and made him tell him all his plans as to the restoration. He then conversed with him for some time upon France and the reform, ending with these memorable and characteristic words, "You Frenchmen are full of zeal; you are excellent for action, but you have not sufficient prudence. Rome has the gift of prudence because our Lord has endowed her with it. Do you see?—as a man, I am not worthy to grind your colours, or to serve you as a lay brother at S. Sixtus; but as Pope, I feel within myself that I have an enormous power. 'Sento in me un pezzo enorme;' " and then, turning towards the crucifix, 'It is not I who live, but Jesus Christ Who lives in me.' "

P. Besson was soon called away from this labour of love to sterner service befitting the great missionary name which he bore in religion. The peaceful labours of Fra Angelico were to give place to the hard conflicts of S. Hyacinthæ.

The Dominican mission at Mossul, near the site of the ancient Nineveh, which dates from the days of the holy founder himself, needed a hand of no common gentleness and firmness to save it from destruction.

The *Monachella* laid aside his colours, and went forth into the old regions of the East to restore the tarnished glory of the Catholic name by the sanctity of his example, and to win, by the sweetness of his charity, the hearts of the Chaldean Christians, who, though restored to Catholic unity, still bore *the marks of their long-continued state of schism, and of the*

degrading effects of Mussulman rule and Mussulman example. Here was a field wide enough for the enthusiastic philanthropy and ardent patriotism which the young socialist of former days had brought with him into the true home of all high and holy aspirations, and consecrated to God under the banner of S. Dominic. It had been the dream of his boyhood to see his country take the lead in spreading the doctrines of universal fraternity. The work of his manhood was to labour at her restoration to her true position, as the *eldest daughter of the Church*, and to work with her and for her in extending that true brotherhood, that celestial liberty, with which Christ alone can make us free, to all the nations within reach of her influence. By raising the tone of the Eastern Christians in Union with Rome he hoped to act upon the wide-spread communities still in separation, with whom they are united by the strong bond of a common origin and a common ritual.

P. Besson was recalled to Rome and S. Sixtus after two years of arduous and successful labours in the East. "He had increased," says his biographer, "the number of schools, and raised the tone of education; he had laid the foundation of a seminary for the Chaldean clergy, with whom he had established the most friendly relations, and installed four French religions, full of zeal and activity, under the enlightened direction of Mgr. Armanton, in the Dominican Convent of Mar-Yacoub, which he regarded as the centre of all the future triumphs of the Church in those regions."

P. Besson made a pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Palestine on his way back to Rome, where the severest trial to which his sensitive heart could have been exposed awaited him. During his absence a question had arisen concerning religious observance, on which the two men whom he most loved and revered on earth, P. Lacordaire and P. Jandel, were divided. His own convictions had been originally on the side of P. Jandel, by whom he was now sent into France to use his well-tryed judgment and patient charity in the settlement of the question. By careful investigation, and by long conference with P. Lacordaire, he came to the conviction that the first father of the reform had carried it as far as the present state of things rendered prudent or possible, and that the more perfect observance of the primitive rule desired by himself and P. Jandel ought not now to be enforced. By this sacrifice of his own long-cherished view he was the means of restoring peace to the Order, but at the sacrifice of his own. P. Jandel received him on his return to Rome with unabated affection, but the fear of having lost in some degree the confidence of his old friend and superior lay heavy at his heart, and was aggravated

by the knowledge that his conduct had been represented to the Holy Father as the result of a weak subserviency to the overmastering will of P. Lacordaire. He returned with a heavy heart to his frescos at S. Sixtus, and worked hard to finish them with only one further desire—to end his days in some quiet cell in France. But new troubles had arisen in the mission at Mossul, and his heart responded to the earnest entreaties of the brethren there for his return. He obtained with some difficulty the consent of the Holy Father, who desired to keep him near his own person, and who gave him his parting blessing from his sick bed.

“The ave had just rung,” writes his companion, Père Rouard de Card, “when we were brought into the Holy Father’s room where he lay ill in bed. ‘Here is P. Besson,’ said his Holiness, ‘who has set his heart upon going to the East. I should like to have kept him in the West, but what can be done? *Spiritus Dei ubi vult spirat.*’

“We remained for half an hour with his Holiness, who was pleased to ask us various questions concerning the mission at Mossul, France, Belgium, and Holland, and to converse with us on the present position of the Church.

“‘It seems to me,’ said Pius IX., ‘that our Lord says to me as He did to S. Peter, *Duc in altum.* Like him, I am on the wide sea, exposed to every wind and every storm, and, like him, I am tempted to cry, *Domine, salva nos, perimus.* But then it seems to me that our Lord reassures me, and bids me walk upon the waters. Poor S. Peter began to sink when he found himself on the water. If I had been in his place, I should, doubtless, have done the same. After all, what matters it, so long as my faith fails not?

“‘If our Lord does not help His Vicar, whom will He help? *Et porte inferni non prævalebunt adversus eam.*’”

The Holy Father finished the audience by this heartfelt benediction :—

“I bless the Dominicans of the mission of Mossul, of Belgium, and of Holland. I bless the whole order of S. Dominic. I bless the religious who are weak, that they may become strong; and those who are lukewarm, that they may become fervent. I bless those who are strong and fervent, that they may become stronger and more fervent still. I bless them all, that the Holy Spirit may perfect their hearts more and more in the unity of faith and charity.”

Père Besson left Rome in 1859. Two years of unremitting and of (humanly speaking) unrequited labour followed his return to the mission which he had left so flourishing, and whither he had now returned to see his work neutralized by the factious intrigues of the Chaldean Patriarch and a party among the bishops and clergy. The history of this last trial

of his life, and of the unflinching courage and loyalty with which, uncheered and unsupported, he maintained the rights of Rome, while the misrepresentations of his enemies caused her to look coldly upon him, is full of painful interest and instruction. Well-nigh spent with the unequal struggle, he began once more to sigh for a cell in France, when a virulent typhus fever broke out at Mossul. This fearful scourge roused Père Besson from his depression, and seemed to revive his failing strength. He devoted himself with heroic charity to the care of the sick. At first he restricted his visits to the poor, leaving the rich to the care of the physicians; but all sent for him, and, unable to refuse his help to any one, he traversed the city from morning to night, bearing remedies and consolation to Catholics, schismatics, and Mussulmans. The houses which no one else dared to approach were his especial care; he sat for hours by the bedside of the dying, breathing the infected air of rooms crowded with the sick, and left them only when night obliged him to return to the convent. His life was consuming away unperceived by himself alone, so joyfully did he sacrifice himself for that Chaldæan Church which had inflicted so much suffering upon him.

Père Besson was struck down at last by the pestilence, and, after ten days of patient suffering, received the crown of a martyr of charity. One only brother in religion, one only priest of the Latin rite—Père Marie Augustin Rose—was at his dying bed, and he was too much exhausted by labour and sorrow to be able to officiate at his funeral. The office was chanted by Chaldæan monks around the lonely grave, where the missionary, says M. Cartier, "took possession of the land which he had laboured to convert." Over it has been erected a chapel to his patron Saint, "which stands like a beacon light to guide the sons of S. Dominic to follow in his path."

ART. V.—IRISH WRITERS ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

University Education and Ultramontaniam. By JOHN MACDEVITT, D.D.,
Dean in the Catholic University of Ireland. Dublin: Kelly.

University Education in Ireland. A Letter to Sir John Acton, Bart., by
WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN, Ph.D., Professor of Chemistry in the Catholic
University of Ireland. Dublin: Kelly.

Freedom of Education: What it means. By JAMES LOWRY WHITTLE, A.B.,
Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin: Hodges & Co.

A Letter to the "Daily News" of March 29, 1866, signed J. D'Arcy, A.B.,
Trinity College, Dublin.

WE have no intention at this moment of entering on the general question of Irish University Education. It is not till the episcopal negotiations with Government have been brought to a satisfactory termination, and the new system is finally determined, that the time will have arrived to consider its various bearings on the spiritual interest of Ireland. At present we shall but make a few miscellaneous observations, on the various brochures named at the head of our article. Nor should we probably have done so much as this, had it not been for the comments made on this REVIEW in three of their number.

Of those who most cordially approve the general principles which we advocate, none (we imagine) have ever examined our pages one-half so carefully and exhaustively, as Mr. Whittle has done with the view of *protesting* against those principles. Our articles, our notices of books, our record of foreign events, have all been diligently ransacked by that most diligent and unwearied gentleman, for every thing which may enable him the better to frighten Englishmen with the bugbear of "Ultramontaniam." Dr. Sullivan in his reply cites Bishop Clifford's straightforward remark, that "the views which we advocate are worth just as much as the arguments with which we support them, and no more. If the subjects we treat," adds his Lordship, "are open questions, they remain open subjects after they have been treated just as much as they did before" (p. 49, note). If, indeed, we were to express any regret at the Bishop having so spoken, it would only be because his words might be (without his intention) understood by some as implying, that we had put forth some greater

claim of authority than he here concedes; but our readers are well aware how far this is from being the case. We may expand the Bishop of Clifton's language somewhat as follows. There are various open questions in the Catholic Church, on which we have as much right to our opinion as Mr. Whittle has to his; and on which we have argued to the best of our ability for one particular side. Such, *e.g.*, before Rome and the English Bishops had authoritatively spoken, was the question of a Catholic college at Oxford. On all such matters the views which we humbly advocate "are worth just as much as the arguments by which we support them, and no more." There are other questions, which Mr. Whittle indeed may *consider* open, but in regard to which we maintain that the Church has infallibly pronounced. Should any Catholic contravene *her* teaching on any subject whatever,—and should he not have the plea of invincible ignorance,—he would commit a grave offence; not of course (how unspeakably preposterous a notion!) because he differs from the DUBLIN REVIEW, but because he is rebellious to the Church's voice.

We will illustrate his statement from a topic, which is mentioned by Dr. Sullivan in connection with this REVIEW. Nothing can be more Christian than this distinguished philosopher's whole tone and temper; and we tender him our best thanks, for the courtesy with which he has throughout treated a publication from which it is evident he so decidedly dissents. We are further particularly glad to observe his language in pp. 60, 61. For he seems plainly there to imply, that he considers the "*Mirari vos*" and the "*Quantà curà*"—whether or no as strictly infallible—at all events as possessing a legitimate claim over the Catholic's interior conviction. And certainly the notion is extravagant, that a Catholic university or college could tolerate any tenet, which has been condemned in either of these two Encyclicals. But Dr. Sullivan (p. 61) understands the "*Mirari vos*" as referring not to "political," but to "religious" toleration; in other words, as proscribing indeed the tenet of indifferentism, but as in no respect pronouncing on the *civil* toleration of religious error. We are amazed that so able a man and so dispassionate a thinker can have acquiesced in a view, which is absolutely irreconcilable with the Pope's express words. We urged this in January, 1865 (pp. 59, 60), and we intreat Dr. Sullivan's attention to the argument which we there drew out. He proceeds indeed (p. 63) to add a certain qualification. "If a community," he says, "profess but one form of religion, I can understand the State pleading the inexpediency of permitting the introduction of opinions which, under cover of

religious propagandism, may originate *political and social disturbances*." But we cannot admit that he thus succeeds in bringing himself into harmony with the Church. Every reader will understand the above passage as implying, that the civil power has no right of repressing religious error with a view to the people's *religious interest*, but only with a view to the prevention of *political and social disturbances*. Now Pius IX., in his "*Quantâ curâ*," expressly denounces a certain tenet, as contrary to "the doctrine of Scripture, of the Church, and of the holy Fathers." What is that tenet? That "that is the best condition of society, in which no *duty* is recognized as attached to the civil power of restraining by enacted penalties offenders against the Catholic religion, except so far as public peace may require." The Pope, you see, sharply *condemns* any notion, that "offenders against the Catholic religion" may not be punished as such by the civil power, except so far as may be requisite for the public peace; i.e., for the prevention of "*political and social disturbances*."

Has the Pope then, as Mr. Whittle seems to think, proscribed all civil toleration of religious error, as being in itself unlawful? On the contrary, Perrone points out (quoted by Dr. Sullivan p. 63, note) that under certain circumstances such toleration is "not lawful only, but even necessary." On two previous occasions (to speak of no other) we have argued that neither Papal Encyclical is in the slightest degree inconsistent with this opinion. (See Jan., 1865, pp. 62-68; and April, 1865, pp. 487-492.) We cannot express our reasoning more briefly than it is there stated; and we can only therefore refer Mr. Whittle to the passages themselves. He is, of course, thoroughly well acquainted with them; as he is with every proposition, great or small, which has been put forth in the new series of this REVIEW: and we think, therefore, he would have acted more fairly, if among his other extracts he had introduced the following:—

We are very far from being of the number of those who blindly admire everything mediæval, and disparage everything modern; on the contrary, we think that the Catholics of this day have many inestimable advantages denied to their forefathers. But we must ever contend that the relation between Church and State which existed theoretically in the middle ages, is the one normal relation; and that had the Church been enabled to continue her work of civilization under the same conditions, the superiority of modern times would not be (as it is) very questionable, but would have been incontestable and most signal. And just as the civil power in these islands would act rightly and laudably in repressing all attempt at the introduction of polygamistic or atheistic error, so in those *days was it the sacred duty and high privilege of a Catholic monarch to*

repress all heretical inroads on Catholic peace and unity. So much material force was, at all events, legitimate, as might suffice for the purpose of repression; and, in estimating the degree of this force, one circumstance should never be forgotten, which, on the contrary, seems never remembered. It is the very idea of punishment, that he who undergoes it shall be in a far more painful condition than others are. At a time, therefore, when the ordinary condition of humanity was that of severe and continuous suffering, it was an absolute necessity that punishment for every kind of offence should wear an aspect of pitilessness and sternness, which very naturally appals the modern "gentlemen of England who live at home at ease."

But so soon as the unity of Christendom was really at an end, and Protestantism took permanent root in Europe, the whole policy of repression needed to be reconsidered. And passing to the present day, let us suppose Catholics to be ever so predominant in numbers throughout a given country, so long as there exists in that country even one hereditary Protestant sect, we have no hesitation in affirming these three propositions:—(1) Catholics are not required by the "*Mirari vos*," or by any other authoritative teaching, to withhold from that sect full "religious liberty." (2) *They would act most unwisely and (in fact) unjustly by attempting to withhold it.* Nor (3) would the Popes urge them in an opposite direction. We admit that in such a state of things a certain civil pre-eminence ought to be given to the Church, analogous in some respects to that enjoyed in England by the state religion. We mean, that it ought to be the one recognized national religion, enjoying such privileges as are implied in that condition; privileges, however, which would be perfectly compatible with the most complete toleration of other Christian denominations. *Certainly, then, we make no unreasonable demand here in England, when we claim that liberty from our Protestant countrymen, which they would most assuredly receive from us were circumstances reversed.* And the case becomes even stronger when we consider that if (as is reasonable) those only should be regarded as constituting one religious body who agree with each other on what they consider essential, it is doubtful whether any single religious body in England is larger than our own. We have spoken of England: as applied to Ireland, of course, the whole argument becomes indefinitely more powerful, as in that country the State Church cannot lay any colourable claim to being the Church of the nation (Jan., 1865, pp. 65-6).

We implied at starting that this topic affords a good illustration of those instances, in which we have spoken with a certain peremptoriness, which we are as far as possible from regretting or disavowing. We have never to this moment seen the slightest attempt fairly to confront the "*Mirari vos*" and the "*Quantâ curâ*," and to explain their phraseology otherwise than as condemning in principle the liberty of worship and of the press. The Church, we say, fully permits any Catholic to hold that, under the particular circumstances of *this or that particular country*,—as for instance where Protestant

sects have an hereditary existence—such liberty is a far less evil than any practicable alternative; but she does *not* permit him to hold that it is in itself good. We cannot then consider *this* an open question.* We hold it an obvious duty to speak with much severity—not, indeed, of *individuals* who may have indefinite excuse for misconception—but of those Catholics as a *school*, as a *class*, who refuse submission to the Church's plain and indubitable teaching on the subject. Dr. Sullivan indeed cites the Bishop of Orleans (p. 61) as interpreting differently the "*Quantâ curâ*": but there is no ground whatever for such a statement; as will be evident to any one, who carefully studies that prelate's celebrated pamphlet.

In a similar spirit we would comment on Dr. Sullivan's implication at starting (pp. 1, 2), that he is opposed to the principles advocated in this Review, because he is one of those "who believe that it is possible to combine a sincere attachment to the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, with the fullest and freest cultivation of all human science, and the honest adoption of the political principles of free nations." Now first as to the latter part of this sentence. We are not aware of any Catholics on the face of the globe, who consider themselves precluded by their religion from "the honest adoption of the political principles of free nations;" so long as they refrain from regarding liberty of worship and of the press as positive blessings, and so long as they renounce one or two other kindred errors which the Church has also condemned. But as to the former part of the clause, we desiderate fuller light. The Holy Father has ruled in the Munich Brief that "the Catholic cultivators of natural science must have [ever] before their eyes *divine revelation as their guiding star*: under the light of which they may be protected against quicksands and errors; where in their investigations and arguments they may perceive that they may be led thereby (*as is very often the case*) to put forth matter more or less opposed to the infallible truth of those things which have been revealed by God." Moreover we would remind our readers, that the Catholic Episcopate throughout the world has accepted, not only the Munich Brief itself, but also the "*Quantâ curâ*," which testifies to that Brief as authoritative. When Dr. Sullivan, then, speaks of "the fullest and freest cultivation of all human science," we shall be glad to know whether he does or does not claim, for such

* It has sometimes been suggested that it is at all events imprudent to bring before *public attention* the Church's teaching on this head. We would entreat our reader to look at some remarks in our last number (p. 445-7) in *reply to such a suggestion*.

science, a greater liberty than the Pope has conceded to it. If he do not claim a greater liberty for it, we can see no difference in this respect between his principles and our own. But if he *does*, his opinion is *not* consistent with "a sincere attachment to the doctrines of the Catholic Church," because it directly contradicts one of them. We may add also—which he himself will be the first to admit—that the doctrine (if really taught by the Church) is of most vital and unspeakable importance, in the present aspect of the philosophical world.

Mr. D'Arcy writes from Trinity College, Dublin, in opposition to his fellow-collegian, Mr. Whittle; but his language towards this REVIEW is by no means so courteous as Dr. Sullivan's. He considers that we "foist" our speculations "on the public as the infallible pronouncements of Catholic opinion;" and that we "ought to be treated with the neglect, if not contempt, which we deserve." We challenge him to produce one single instance, in which we have put forth our articles as "pronouncements" of any opinion on earth except our own; still less, "infallible" pronouncements: and we willingly concede to him, that had we done so we should deserve contempt. What the writers in this REVIEW may think, matters extremely little to any one; but what the Pope and Catholic Episcopate may *teach*, is a somewhat different affair. According to Mr. D'Arcy, it is because the writers of this REVIEW are chiefly Oxford converts, that we "preach down," as he expresses it, "liberty of the press and toleration of religious dissent." It so happens that the majority of our writers are neither Oxford converts nor converts at all. But apart from this, is the Pope, then, an Oxford convert? Are the Catholic bishops throughout the world—are the writers in the "*Civiltà*" and the "*Monde*"—Oxford converts? Have *these* men "all the zeal, all the credulity, all the intolerance of neophytes?" How can Mr. D'Arcy bring himself to write so foolishly and absurdly?

Mr. D'Arcy is specially unfair in one extract. He says that we "hold most strange language," because we consider it to have been mischievous, that at a certain period Galileo and others seemed to regard Copernicanism as really true. Our distinct argument was, that at that period the Copernican theory was mainly rested by Galileo on grounds scientifically fallacious; and that scientific probability was then all on the other side. An Ultramontane writer must of course always be in the wrong. But if Dr. Sullivan, *e.g.*, had made the obvious remark, that it is mischievous to regard a theory as scientifically proved at a time when it is actually opposed to scientific probability, Mr. D'Arcy would have been liberal in his assent and applause.

At last, however, it is better to point out what Dr. M'Devitt has implied ; viz., that this REVIEW, notwithstanding its name, has no special connection with Ireland. Of course any Catholic periodical, published in these kingdoms, should pay careful attention to Irish matters, because Ireland is the only Catholic one of the three. But the DUBLIN REVIEW is no more an Irish publication, than the "Edinburgh Review" is a Scotch. A Review, called the "Edinburgh," is published in London by Longman ; and another, called the "Dublin," is published in London by Burns. Accordingly our theological censors are responsible to the Archbishop, not of Dublin, but of Westminster. Neither Archbishop Cullen nor any other Irish Bishop is more responsible for whatever may appear in our pages, than for what may appear in the "Monde" or the "Correspondant."

From the mention of one Quarterly we pass to that of another. We observe with great pleasure, that Dr. Sullivan has inserted copious extracts from an admirable article on Irish University Education, which appeared in the "Home and Foreign Review" for January, 1863. We are delighted that he is in agreement with it ; for it is to our mind conspicuous, not more for its great ability, than for the remarkable soundness and religiousness of its principles. The former qualification was very far oftener found in the pages of that periodical than the latter ; but this article unites both in an unusual degree. Dr. Sullivan, however, almost seems to imply that this particular article, in tone, temper, and opinion, is a fair representative of the Review in which it appeared. If he does mean this, we must express our own earnest dissent from such a judgment, but have no wish to pursue the discussion.

The following admirable passage is one of those extracted by Dr. Sullivan from this article :—

It would require too large a space to carry out an enquiry as to the character of the education which is given in these institutions, even to those who complete their university course ; it is enough to say, that modern history is not taught, and that if it were, the religious sense of some of the pupils would infallibly be offended. Catholic youths could not be required to listen to Protestant versions of that period,

"When love first taught a monarch to be wise,
And gospel truth looked forth from Boleyn's eyes ;"

and the witness which history, impartially investigated, bears to the position and prerogatives of the Holy See could not be listened to by Protestant

students without danger to some of their religious opinions. Some attempt, we believe, is made to teach moral philosophy. We do not envy the professor who approaches the sciences which have reference to freedom of the will, the law of duty, and the other subjects treated of by Locke, Clarke, Reid, Cousin, and those other philosophers to whose works reference is made in the examination-questions at the several Queen's Colleges, with a sincere desire to avoid everything that can be offensive either to Protestant or to Catholic ears. In point of fact, the examination-papers appended to the reports of the presidents of the colleges show that even controversial questions are not avoided. We give a single example: "Wherein did Anthony Collins and Jonathan Edwards agree, and wherein did they differ, as to freedom of the will?" Are the works of Jonathan Edwards suitable reading for Catholic students? They are pre-eminently controversial; and their end and object is to teach ultra-Calvinism. In one word, *moral philosophy and metaphysics cannot be properly taught in mixed colleges, any more than history and theology*. To abstract these sciences from education is to go against the authority of all ages, against the practice of all countries, and to take away the best and most effectual means of developing the intellectual faculties and forming the mind of youth. "*Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum nesciet*," is the motto which ought to be placed over the gates of the Queen's Colleges.

And his own remarks to the same effect are no less striking and important.

Neither can there be a Catholic or Protestant *logic, metaphysics, ethics, philosophic history, or political economy*; for the rational sciences are, all alike, the inseparable inheritance of human reason, wherever it is to be found, as truth itself is one and indivisible. But these sciences have this special characteristic, that, unlike the physical sciences, they do not induce from the phenomena of sensible experience, but deduce from premises of a wholly different order, and concerning which any amount of plausible error may happen to be assumed. For this reason, precisely, the authorities of the Catholic Church were desirous of having such subjects taught to Catholics by persons in whose opinions they could have confidence, and whose knowledge of Catholic doctrines they considered sound. So long as any one admits the principle of a Church, he must admit the reasonableness of this demand. The opponent of all Churches, and the advocate of emancipation from all religious authority, does not, of course, admit such a right on the part of any clergy; but he must admit the right of persons to hold any opinion they choose, and to educate their children as they think fit. To substitute the opinion of the State, which is the opinion of a certain number, for that of the parent, would be tyranny, and worse than any spiritual tyranny. If Catholics, then, choose to admit the right of the clergy to have an influence upon the mode of teaching those subjects which are intimately associated with, *say, perfectly inseparable from, religious dogma*, they are perfectly entitled to do so (pp. 24, 5).

Dr. Sullivan then frankly admits that "*logic, metaphysics,*

ethics, philosophical history, political economy," are all "intimately associated with, nay perfectly inseparable from, religious dogma." It is plain that if all these subjects are absolutely inseparable from dogma, ecclesiastical authority is of right no less simply supreme in deciding how they shall be taught to Catholics, than in deciding what theological course shall be given to clerical students. Yet we find Dr. Sullivan, immediately after the previous extract, saying (p. 25), that "the Irish bishops and clergy" have "overstepped the limits of their own province." But how can this be so, even on his own showing? It is their exclusive function to preserve from injury the Deposit of Faith; and Dr. Sullivan admits that the Deposit of Faith is not more injured by false teaching on theology itself, than by false teaching on "logic, metaphysics, ethics, philosophical history, and political economy." But, in fact, it is even *more* vitally injured by the latter than by the former; because the evil is so incomparably more subtle, and more difficult therefore of detection and denunciation.

Here, then, we part company with Dr. Sullivan. All our readers are well aware of his great eminence in the cultivation of physical science; but his present pamphlet will show them that his intellectual power extends over a far wider range. The work is characterized throughout by great ability and thoughtfulness; and we would particularly recommend to attention its comments, on the different manifestations of public opinion in Catholic Ireland, and on the weight respectively due to them. His narrative of facts also is extremely complete and valuable; and some gross mistakes of Mr. Whittle's are put right. "*Talis cùm sit, utinam noster esset.*" Dr. Sullivan writes in so Christian a spirit, with such largeness of view, such unflagging power, and such full information, that it is very painful to be reminded from time to time, by some harsh and jarring expression, that he is not one of those who yield that absolutely unreserved assent to the Church's whole body of teaching, which we claim as her due.

Dr. M'Devitt's is, in fact, the only one of the three pamphlets, with which we can express unreserved sympathy and agreement. It meets Mr. Whittle's arguments and assertions one by one, and signally overthrows that shallow and pretentious writer. The following extract both is in itself important, and also affords an excellent specimen of our author's mode of doing business.

Thus his argument rests entirely on a fact, and will of course stand or fall with it: *viz., that the Catholic bishops and those who have acted with them*

in their efforts towards the establishment of the Catholic University hold the doctrine which Mr. Whittle calls "Ultramontaniam," and that this doctrine is the principle, the beginning, and the end, of their action in the matter. If, then, this "Ultramontaniam," which he has described as a fact, is, in truth, a fiction, his entire argument breaks down.

Mr. Whittle makes an assertion, definite, clear, distinct. He asserts with much emphasis the existence of a public fact here in our own country, Ireland, in our own time, and under our own eyes. He describes for us with abundant fulness a doctrine, or "set of principles," which he calls "Ultramontaniam," and which he tells us is the creed and principle of what he terms the "Ultramontane" party—a party which is a formidable power in this country. He gives the names of the leading "Ultramontanes" in Ireland; they are the Irish Catholic bishops, and such members of Parliament as have their support at elections, and such gentlemen of the press as they are able to influence.

It is, then, fortunate that we have not to go up to the skies or to cross the seas to look for a test of the truth of this statement. For as the bishops and the members of parliament and the gentlemen of the press are all well known to the public, Mr. Whittle has had no better opportunities of knowing their principles than any other man in the country who has been a careful observer of passing events. Now we have failed to see any reason for saying, that these gentlemen have been what he describes as "Ultramontanes." He is bound to prove his assertion. The plain way by which he could show that he has represented their opinions truly, would be to get from each of them an affirmative answer to the following queries, which contain the principles he has ascribed to them. *I take them word for word from his pamphlet.*

1. Do you hold "that the Church is the heaven-appointed ruler of the earth and all it contains"?
2. Do you hold that "what men call law, liberty, philosophy, are but the creatures of their own licentious imaginations"?
3. Do you "regard human reason as the great *ignis fatuus* of man," and that "freedom of thought, freedom of action, were new and terrible inventions"?
4. Do you "profess antagonism to our whole social system"?
5. Do you teach our unhappy people "that there is no safety for their souls but in keeping everything English at a distance"?
6. Do you hold that "were it possible to extirpate Protestants or independent Catholics here by extreme measures, the Church would be bound to proceed, if necessary, to the persecutions of the Inquisition"?
7. Do you think it right and proper, when useful for the cause of Ultramontaniam, to "mutilate or interpolate" authors? and to have recourse to an "ingenious falsification of history"?

Is our author willing to take their answers to these questions as the true verdict on his assertion? If he is, I shall gladly abide by the decision. But if he will stick to his statement, in spite of anything these gentlemen themselves may say to the contrary, he is bound to produce clear and decisive evidence of the truth of his assertion, otherwise he is open to a condemnation

from every man of honour more severe than anything I will say of him (pp. 11-13).

In regard to the question itself of the arrangement contemplated by the Irish Episcopate and the English Government—as between Catholic and Catholic, we can well understand there being two opinions on its advisableness; but, as between Catholic and Protestant, the objections raised against it (we can use no milder word) are simply shameless.

When we say that, as between Catholic and Catholic, two opinions are possible, we mean this. The present scheme is avowedly a compromise. The Irish bishops have abandoned what they think a higher ideal—viz., a chartered Catholic University—for what, under present circumstances, they hold to be more attainable, or more desirable, or both. Considering that they act in fullest communication with Rome—and considering also the various conditions of the problem—we quite believe that in this they judge correctly. Still it is imaginable that a good Catholic may think otherwise; though, of course, now that the bishops have determined their course, he would not dream of publicly obtruding an opposite opinion.

All this is intelligible enough. But what amazes and disgusts us, is the opposition with which certain liberals have encountered the proposal; nay, and on the very ground of their liberal principles. Nothing can be clearer than Dr. M'Devitt's arguments, or more simply unanswerable.

In the case of Ireland the population is divided into two great and distinct bodies, Catholics and non-Catholics, the Catholics being an immense majority. Among both classes there are some who have no objection to go for their education to institutions established on the mixed principle; but *the great bulk of the nation have a decided objection to this system.* Thus the most important section of the non-Catholic body, and *almost the whole of the Catholic body,* have always shown a partiality for the denominational system. The statesman may regret that there is not a wider preference for the mixed system, still he cannot but take the fact as he finds it. Now the Legislature has determined that such a provision shall be made for first-class education, as will meet the wants of the entire body of the Irish nation. And as the systems are made for the people, and not the people for the systems, is it to be wondered at if a statesman should think it better, on the whole, to give them the institutions for which they have so decided a preference? Then those Irishmen, of whatever class, who elect the mixed system, have already ample provision in the Queen's Colleges, while those of the Established Church, who prefer the denominational system, have in Trinity College a richly endowed denominational University. *The great Catholic body, who have the deepest repugnance to mixed institutions, ask for their Catholic Uni-*

versity the power of granting degrees.* One would suppose there is nothing "extravagantly insolent" in this demand, or anything opposed to the principles of free and enlightened government. The worst that any man, even the warmest admirer of the mixed system, can reasonably say of the Catholic body, is, that they share a certain preference with the Protestant public of Great Britain. And yet the mere hope that so cheap a privilege may be accorded to the Catholic people of Ireland, "has excited surprise and alarm" (pp. 4-5).

In the course of the spring a deputation of liberals waited on Lord Russell in behalf of their view. We remember the general purport of the conversation which ensued; but we have not been at the pains to look back at its record. Rather we have thought it well to draw out an imaginary scene, "founded," indeed, "on facts," but embellished to exhibit more clearly the point at issue.

Deputation. We have called on you, my Lord, in reference to Irish University Education, for the purpose of appealing to you in the name of liberal principles.

Lord Russell. I am glad to gather from your words that you have called to withdraw all further opposition to the Government plan.

D. On the contrary, it is against that plan that we protest in the name of liberal principles.

Lord R. You protest, then, in the name of liberal principles, against the carrying out of liberal principles?

D. It is not the carrying out of liberal principles but of their contradictories, to sanction an educational body, which does not open its door except to one particular denomination.

Lord R. What then do you mean by liberal principles?

D. The principle that no man shall be placed under temporal disadvantage for his religious opinions.

Lord R. I so fully agree with your principle, that it has induced me to promote the measure which you oppose.

D. Exclusive education, supported on liberal principles!

Lord R. Precisely. I ask you this plain question. Is it or is it not a religious opinion—and one prevalent among vast numbers both of Englishmen and Irishmen—that mixed education inflicts on their children a most serious calamity; and that no system is tolerable except the denominational?

D. We believe there are vast numbers so illiberal as to hold this opinion.

* Or rather now, only the attainableness of degrees by its members as such.
—(Ed. *Dublin Review*.)

Lord R. Here then is a certain religious opinion. Liberal principles then require that those who hold it shall not be subjected—in consequence of holding it—to any temporal disadvantage.

D. Certainly. We have no wish to inflict on them any temporal disadvantage, for holding it as strongly, and proclaiming it as loudly, as they please. Liberalism forbid!

Lord R. Well, but tell me. Suppose that a Methodist *e.g.* were allowed indeed, without molestation, to hold and proclaim that Methodism is true; but that he were placed under serious temporal disadvantage, so soon as he began to frequent a Methodist chapel. Could such a procedure be defended on liberal principles?

D. Of course not.

Lord R. Or suppose a Roman Catholic were allowed indeed, without molestation, to hold and proclaim that the Host is the very Body of Christ; but that he were placed under serious temporal disadvantage, if he fell down in adoration before that Host. Could *such* a procedure be defended on liberal principles?

D. No more than the former.

Lord R. Liberal principles then require that men shall be permitted, without incurring temporal disadvantage, not merely to *hold and disseminate* those religious opinions which they honestly entertain, but also to *act* on those opinions; to *put them in practice*.

D. That is so, no doubt.

Lord R. Let us go back then to the particular religious opinion before us, "Mixed education inflicts on children a most serious calamity, and the denominational system is alone tolerable." Those who honestly hold this opinion do not (you will admit) enjoy religious liberty, if they are placed under temporal disadvantage by putting it into practice.

D. We cannot but admit this.

Lord R. Now will you explain to me how this opinion *can* be put into practice? A Methodist as such puts *his* religious opinion into practice by frequenting a Methodist chapel; a Roman Catholic as such puts *his* religious opinion into practice by adoring the Host. But how can he who disapproves mixed education put *that* religious opinion into practice?

D. We can see no other way of his doing so, except sending his children to a denominational system.

Lord R. It is required then by liberal principles, that he *shall not be placed* under temporal disadvantage by so doing?

D. Certainly.

Lord R. But is not the circumstance of his children being unable to attain *degrees*, a most serious disadvantage to him?

D. In many cases, no doubt.

Lord R. It is required then by liberal principles, that every man, who honestly thinks a denominational system of education the only tolerable one, may send his children to such a system, without incurring the consequence of their being unable to attain degrees. In the name of liberal principles you have appealed to me against a measure which those principles imperatively demand. I am engaged in the great work of my life, the carrying out of liberalism; and in the name of liberalism you warn me to forbear. One thing you show very plainly; viz., that you have no real notion of what is meant by the very principles which you clamorously profess. "*Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.*" Or rather "*vos missi abibitis.*"

So the members of the deputation "depart" looking extremely small.

ART. VI.—INTERESTS OF THE CATHOLIC POOR.

Association of the Sacred Heart for the Education of the Children of the Poor in London. Signed, HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster.

Westminster Diocesan Fund. Signed, HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster.

ONE characteristic of our day must strike every man who combines a study of history with observation of the present: we mean, the rise and development of what is technically known as "Social Science." This may be defined, sufficiently for our present purpose, as the application of modern experiment, discovery, and general social progress, to improve the condition of the humbler classes. We say the *humbler* classes, to distinguish it from the mere development of that spirit of luxury, which in the sphere of the "upper ten thousand" is always holding out a prize, like the Roman tyrant of old, to him who shall invent a new pleasure. With such a perverted application of human ingenuity and toil we have, of course, less than no sympathy. We do not refer to it, except by accident or contrast, in speaking of Social Science. Nay, we must regard such over-polishing and adornment of the mere surface of life with grave disapproval,

even with grave anxiety. Bad in itself, it is the forerunner of worse. Not the Catholic moralist or essayist alone, but the general philanthropist, nay, the general observer, must see in the spread and intensity of the "Social Science" of luxurious living a moral and political evil. It is morally evil, for it enervates the character of the individual: hence, too, it becomes politically evil, as it deprives the State of her master-workmen, and weakens the corporate life of the whole. Luxury, and the development of the arts of luxury, can hardly consist with vigorous thinking, with the self-denials of genuine patriotism, with the toil of brain, unflagging effort, steadfast aim and will, by which man has ever wrought out great results for his brother man. It hardly consists with the tempered domestic enjoyments and cheerfully accepted duties of family life, which reproduces in unnumbered homes the miniature of a great ideal of the patriarchal Government and State, precious in the eyes alike of ethics and of political economy. In proportion as the men of a state decline from the old simple, grave, and self-denying public life, which in Pagan times was a rude foreshadowing of the Christian polity, and in Christian times was the type of mind and of man produced by the Church: when

Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum;

when great things were done, great offerings made, for the body politic, out of the staid and generous economy of the individual—in the same proportion has that state too surely entered upon the period of decline. It may be passing through a splendid vestibule, a gorgeous banquetting-hall; but that passage leads out to the scaffold. Be it the age of Augustus; and through a vista of years we see the northern barbarian at the gates of famished Rome. Be it the age of Louis XIV.; a glance forward shows us the rabble of Paris drunken and maddened with the blood of their ancient kings. The throne-room of the *Grand Monarque* melts, as by a dissolving view, into a picture of that altar of Nemesis, the Nemesis of the spurned and neglected poor—the Guillotine.

In pursuance of this train of thought, let it be permitted to us to sketch a character. The name shall be of the past; but the character is of all times. London will do for the background of our portrait as well as ancient Athens; and he has spoken in Westminster quite as probably as from the Pnyx. Alcibiades, then, stands before us, type of the handsome and *not ungifted* lounge of heathen refinement; a being not without talents, not without bravery; a man of virtù though not

of public or private virtue; a *dilettante* and a dabbler in many things he does not carry through, and who can talk brilliantly with Socrates himself; a disjointed mechanism of mere possible forces, without a main-spring, without a motive power beyond the moment: who has never worked consistently since he began to be, nor ever will, while the world endures. We need not go back into a chapter of history to say this: for Alcibiades, or some one very like him, perhaps with less talent, with not more dashing courage, not more listless good nature and *laissez faire*, is at this moment polishing the flagstones of Pall Mall with his boots, or yawning in the bow-window of his club in St. James' Street, or making up his books for the next Derby; or, in some brilliant saloon, displaying a wit that outshines the ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα of the diamonds, sparkle they never so enchantingly beneath the blaze of those hundred-lighted chandeliers. Contemplate him under any of these phases of his existence; speculate *à priori*, before the Great Book shall contain the history of the actual irrecoverable deeds of the life that he is throwing away. What will he effect, what will he store up in any garner, during the energetic portion of his three-score years and ten? He may lead a dashing charge of the 10th Hussars at some Waterloo or Balaklava; for he has the energy of a lion during a full quarter of an hour, till sloth, like the father-in-law in the fable, comes to draw again his teeth and claws. He may take up his pen for about the same space of time; and the very effeminacy of his habitual thoughts, and the practice of an ear attuned to the cadences of articulate music, shall give a softness to his syllables and teach his numbers a flow, to make us look at him twice, in doubt whether it is the Laureate we hear. He is singing some "airy, fairy Lilian," or achieving a stanza of some dreamy "Lotos-eaters." We cannot stay to draw him full-length. *Ex pede Herculem*. Here is a human instep, encased in a boot of Hoby's best; whence (if you, gentle reader, are a Cuvier in comparative anatomy) you may construct the life size Alcibiades of Belgravia, the votary and disciple, not professor—he give lectures! of the Social Science of our privileged classes.

Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas, this "strenuous indolence" and emptiness of all result, in Vanity Fair!

We must plead guilty to a grievous digression from the thought we started with, into which we ought by this time to have made some way. The Social Science we are now to say a few words about, is the science that aims at benefiting the sons and daughters of toil, hard-handed mechanics, grimy coalheavers, wau sempstresses, and the yet more squalid and

miserable classes below them again. It developes a blessed instinct that enables man, in ease or independence, to care for his fellow-man, overtaken, outworn, underfed, and not taught at all. It enables him to look on that brother by faith, not by sight, and efficaciously to resolve, at the cost of whatever physical or moral repugnance, to do him a benefit. It leads its disciples into the haunts of squalor and fetid misery, into the hotbeds of contagion, and rookeries of abject want; if not into the very dens of crime, at least into the solitary cell by which society punishes that crime. It breaks through the barricades which custom had built up, impervious as a castle-wall, between the several classes. It bridges over those increasing divergencies whereby excessive wealth and extreme penury, an over-fastidious refinement and the repulsive coarseness of misery, hopeless, ignorant, brutalized, and abandoned, conspired in an ever-widening breach, to a mutually disastrous result. And thus, by tending to provide better subjects as the *material* for legislation and government, Social Science has made itself a powerful auxiliary, and an acknowledged benefactor, in the cause of public order, public safety, and national greatness. If such results are larger than what fell within its primary scope, they are not the less real or important. And it has effected them even more by its moral than by its mechanical appliances; by awakening among influential members and sections of the community a hearty fervour and well-directed energy of benevolence, for which legislation and Government cannot be too grateful, since no legislation is competent to enact and no government to enforce them.

From all this, two consequences are plain; one, that social science is either a synonym for, or a human imitation of, that organized system of charity which sprang up with the Church, and is ever inherent in the Church. The other, that the condition of the science itself in any given state or kingdom, the degree of its advancement or decline, its cultivation or its neglect, may be taken as a gage of the religious life and national healthfulness existing there. Of these two propositions, the second concerns us now: with the first, we hope to deal in some future number.

See, then, how it was at the fatal change of religion in England three hundred years ago. The social science of the day was real, and sound, and not unsystematic, though not gaged or tabulated by human systems. Social science was the unknown name for a well-known thing. It meant Catholic charity, and it went out with Catholicity. More's *Utopia* sounded almost the last note of Catholic literature in England, before the devastating convulsion that rent the

nation from the centre of unity, and so from the source of charity. And from the publication of that beautiful dream of Christian polity, on through the dark three centuries of religious coldness that succeeded, the topics with which Social Science deals became more and more obscured and forgotten. Nor was this to be wondered at. A new system, a new theory, was inaugurated with what was complacently termed "the new learning." The spoliation of the monasteries repeated in the Schedule A. and Schedule B. of Henry VIII.'s godless "reform," was the great disinheritance of the poor. Not only they who had renounced all for our Lord's sake and His gospel's were expelled from their poor cells, and mulcted of the spare meal in their common hall, evicted and turned out on the bleak world they had renounced in the fulness of their strength, and with all the force of their will. Not only the vested interests of a lawful adoption into communities and a blameless usufruct of the rights of the monastic life were disregarded. The cruelty, the injustice, went further. It drove also the *involuntary* poor from the desecrated gate of the cloister. The dole of temporal assistance for which poverty of the inferior order waited at the threshold of poverty elevated and consecrated, was snatched from the hand of the dispensing monk or friar, but not in order to feed the secular mendicant. It was a simple diversion of things ecclesiastical to purposes altogether worldly. The vast treasure swept by sacrilege into the royal coffers, was lost at dicing to such courtiers as Sir Miles Partridge, or squandered upon masks, banquets, rioting, and bribery.* In all this, there was no thought of benefiting any but the king and his immediate favourites. Rather, where the royal hand dispensed any portion of the spoils, the simple purpose was to buy the courtiers, and so benefit the king. The people were unthought of. They had lost benefactors who had been trained in the old school of Catholic charity; and they might look round in vain among the partisans of "the new learning" for any of the modern organizations of social science. Quite as dreary were their prospects in the following reign. Lingard, in summing up his account of the days of Edward VI., says: "The increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of that relief which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries." Then, in a note: "Thus Lever (one of the preachers of the day)

* See the testimony of Bale, an ardent reformer, quoted by Lingard, vol. v. p. 97, note.

exclaims; 'O, merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster.'"—Lingard, vol v., p. 366.

We leave the student of history to pursue this train of thought. He will find that wherever the Church has acted freely, from the days of S. Laurence, the deacon, downwards, the poor have ever been reckoned her ornaments and treasures. Wherever her free action has been controlled or paralyzed by the secular arm, the poor have been by that arm thrust aside, or brought under legislation more cruel than neglect. But, on the basis of these two propositions, we may advance two more. Wherever the state has had the upper hand, there has been the undue accumulation of private wealth, the abject and ruinous depression of the poor, the severance of classes, the loss of a common bond of interest, the disintegration of society. And wherever the Church has exercised her healthful sway, there has been the true political regeneration of man, the "liberty, equality, fraternity," not of revolutions, but of charity; not of brute force, but of balanced, adjusted, and hallowed rights: there has been all that sciolists have aspired to, and empirics have striven to bring about: there have spontaneously grown up and flourished, by a virtue inherent in the soil, more than all the laboured results of mere human social science.

The time, however, is come when a Catholic review, professing to reflect the subjects of the day, would be more than ever deficient were it not to speak out on Social Science, whether within or beyond the Church's pale. An intense and increasing energy in practical charity is among the leading features of our time. Did we not even thankfully acknowledge it, we must be purblind not to perceive it. And we hasten to guard ourselves against a possible misconception of the portrait above sketched, as though it represented any average in the English aristocracy and upper classes. Few things could be further from our thought, as few things could be more untrue. The landed gentry of England are, as a class, kindly, to say the least, towards their poor dependants; many of them actively charitable, up to (sometimes even beyond) the conventional standard. If there are few John Howards and Elizabeth Frys among non-Catholics, either in town or country, it is because the scale of charity inculcated or encouraged in their system seldom reaches the heroic mark of personal self devotion and sacrifice. Rich and good materials are there; the heartiness and practical turn of the

English character, prepared to carry out persistently the scheme of good which it shall clearly see. Englishmen in general, however, have no adequate means afforded them to develop or to consolidate the generous impulses that might lead some even to sacrifice *themselves* for the love of the brethren. They put their hands readily into their pockets when an appeal is made and a subscription opened; witness the noble instances reported almost daily in the columns of the "Times;" witness the sums netted annually by the various societies for home and foreign operations. This is a mode of being charitable easily appreciated, readily acted on, by a great commercial people; and encouraged, certainly, by their religious teachers. But the Established Church cannot be said to hold towards its more zealous children the language which St. Paul addresses to his converts: "I seek not yours, but you." A cheque for £100 is *the* thing: whereas, a supposed vocation to a single life in order to "attend upon the Lord without impediment" is (or was, before the late City panic) far more likely to be a delusion than a balance at the banker's. Macaulay long ago complained of that religion that it did not know how to use enthusiasm; that Wesley and others were driven from its pale because they could not fit its Procrustean standard, while the Catholic Church would have girded the enthusiast with a rope, shaven his crown, utilized his very eccentricity, and sent him ardent and barefoot to preach her doctrines where men of more measured tread would not have found their way. It is the same story still; and we may be thankful for it. Protestant sisterhoods are an eccentric anomaly as great as were Wesley and Whitfield before they left the establishment. They, with Mr. Lyne and his Anglo-benedictines, form the perplexity and discomfort of the authorities whom, in turn, they doubtless consider as "highly unsatisfactory bishops." One by one, they find themselves not at home. Give up their aspirations they cannot; it would be to part with a chief section of their intellectual and moral nature. Yet they find around them no *pabulum* on which those aspirations are to be nourished. An alternative is before them. They must subside into the prescribed stature of the genuine sons and daughters of the Established Church; or they must grow on, be accounted as giants and monsters, and be expelled. At present, like the "ugly duck" in Hans Andersen's story, the undeveloped cygnet is, by its strange and rapid growth a puzzle, an aversion, a terror, to the ducklings around it.

Under some fear of this being considered a roundabout paper, we return to our text. If, as we have said, the deve-

lopment of social science (under whatever name) be a hopeful symptom in the state of a nation, then may we have hope for the present day. Our poor have become an object of public charitable attention to a degree unknown to our grandfathers. Not only are "the claims of property" as involving grave responsibility to landed proprietors, making themselves heard throughout the country. Even in our large cities and towns, the great swarming hives of manufacture and commerce, uninviting, most unpoetic, yet most productive fields of charitable labour, the public mind is stirred with the same thought and care. London itself, whose squalid alleys and palatial squares and gardens present the opposite extremes of human life, has felt the movement, perhaps we may say, has inaugurated it. Nor is it only in public meetings held, brilliant papers read, titled lists of subscriptions, that the impulse is shown. More unobtrusively, meanwhile, hard-worked professional men and delicate women, whose hearts have been roused to see with their own eyes the misery of their fellows, have made their way into the filthy courts and up the rotten stairs, that lead to the crowded garret and to the pallet of squalid sickness. There they have learnt the rudiments of social science; nobly, too, in many instances, have they served their apprenticeship. And from the facts so learned they have framed inductions that have come with the startling force of truth, new and appalling, before the uninitiated and the inexperienced. Other sciences have been worked out in the study or laboratory of the "painful" student, over the alembic, by the ray of the midnight taper, or amid the trying *entourage* of the dissecting room, till the principles of knowledge there gained, tentative at first, and empirical, have resulted in well-approved and scientific systems for the relief of humanity. And so, the science which aims at raising the abject pauper to that share of the decencies and physical comforts of life to which he may lay claim in virtue of his being *man* has proceeded, not on subtle theories, nor *a priori* reasonings, nor unpractical optimism, nor unproved statistics, nor unreasonable aspirations. It has been worked out, carefully and painfully, detail after detail. It has consolidated into a science, not pure and abstract, but practical and efficacious. It has produced our night refuges for the wanderer, our homes for the homeless, our houses of safety for servants out of place, for young needlewomen in want and therefore in peril, our soup-kitchens, model lodging houses, shoe-black brigades, night, "ragged," industrial and cripple schools; with other ingenuities of energetic charity: *for we have by no means exhausted our list.*

True, our praise of these efforts, and the genuine admiration

they excite, must suffer one chief abatement. They have often become engines of proselytism. Unintentionally, it may be hoped, in some cases, and with no moral fault in the original promoters, but by the mere force of the current of popular opinion, they have drifted into this. Non-Catholics are wealthy, and have been able as well as willing to found charitable institutions on a costly scale. Their doors lie open to all comers; and, among those who present themselves, come the Catholic poor also, children or adult; because the Catholics of London, as a body, are too poor to compete with their neighbours in this race of lordly charity. They have no doors which they can fling so wide, and no means whereby to invite so many. In other cases, however, we cannot shelter non-Catholic institutions under the same plea of mere unconscious and mechanical proselytism. They bear on their very front the brand of that atrocious design: imitators, with more or less consistency of the hospital in Dublin, named (or mis-named) after a royal lady, now deceased, whose life was marked by a gentle and liberal charity. In that hospital, as we have lately read in the public prints, the poor Catholic, whom even a sudden street-accident drives within its walls, finds himself, when restored to consciousness, utterly denied the ministrations of his religion. He has the choice of being carried out in a blanket to receive them in a neighbouring house, or dying the death of a mere animal within its walls.

We end these desultory remarks by laying before our readers the two documents already named at the head of our article, and which speak for themselves. We hope on future occasions to treat at length, not only on the particular topic of the education of the Catholic poor, but also on the many kindred subjects which that topic suggests. On one of these kindred subjects—the treatment endured by Catholic children in English workhouses—we have peculiar pleasure in referring to two inimitable articles, in *The Month* of last March and April, which have appeared under the title *De Profundis*. If there be any one of our readers who has not already studied these articles, let him lose no time in doing so. More forcible reasoning, more persuasive eloquence, more telling facts more tellingly told, we have never seen.

And we sincerely hope, that God may requite the excellent writer with that earthly reward which he most covets; full success in his momentous appeal. But we will detain our readers no longer from the terse and suggestive heads contained in the following papers.

ASSOCIATION OF THE SACRED HEART,

FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR IN LONDON.

On the 16th of October last the following petition was presented to his Holiness Pius IX. :—

“HOLY FATHER,—

“In order to promote the compassion of the Faithful for the thousands of children exposed to danger and daily perishing in the streets of London, and to kindle more and more a zeal for souls among us, the Archbishop of Westminster humbly prays that your Holiness will graciously bestow on each and all of the Faithful who give their name to him to further this work a plenary Indulgence on the usual conditions, on the day of enrolment, and also on the Pastor Bonus Sunday, the Second after Easter, on the Feast of the Epiphany, and on the Feast of the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so long as they shall persevere in the Association : and moreover, a hundred days’ Indulgence as often as they shall in any way co-operate in the salvation of children.

“Feast of the Maternity of the B.V.M., 1865.”

In bestowing these Indulgences, his Holiness deigned to write with his own hand these words :—

“Granted in the usual form of the Church. ‘Suffer little ones to come to Me.’ ‘For their angels behold the face of the Father who is in Heaven.’

“Oct. 16, 1865.”

“PIUS PP. IX.”

The conditions on which the above indulgences may be obtained are—

- I. Confession, Communion, and prayer for the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff, as usual.
- II. Enrolment in the Association, by giving the name to me, either directly or indirectly, through the first priest of any Mission, or through any religious who may be the confessor of the person to be enrolled.
- III. Co-operation in the work, in whatsoever form each person may choose.

In order that this co-operation may be real and effectual, the following precise heads are given. Any one personally assisting in any of these or similar works will be deemed to fulfil this condition.

1. Seeking out Catholic children who are not in school, and making a census of them.
2. Visiting the homes of their parents, and urging them to send their children to school.
3. Taking charge of one or more children or families, and watching over the attendance of such children at school.

4. Instructing children who may be from any cause kept from school, or who may have left it, at their own homes or elsewhere.
5. Forming or assisting in Night schools, especially those for boys.
6. Conducting children to Mass on Sundays and Feasts of obligation.
7. Teaching in Confraternities of Christian doctrine, and the like, or in Sunday schools.
8. Visiting and encouraging the Teachers of schools, by showing interest in their work, and by presents of books, &c.
9. Encouraging the children, by giving rewards and annual recreations.
10. Assisting any children who show a fitness or desire to become School Teachers.
11. Watching over one or more, whether boys or girls, who have entered into employment and service, by communicating with them through their masters or employers.
12. Providing means for making the days of first Communion and of Confirmation more marked and solemn.
13. Distributing good books, rosaries, and objects of piety among children.
14. Providing means for retreats for children in convents or otherwise.
15. Subscribing to any existing Catholic school, parochial or other, as Reformatory or Industrial schools, to Orphanages, Refuges, the Immaculate Conception Charity, or any other work for the benefit of children.
16. Assisting to found new schools or houses of religious for the care of children.
17. Subscribing to the Central Diocesan Fund for Education.
18. Employing time and gifts, natural and acquired, in work of any kind which may be sold for the benefit of this Association.
19. Forming and directing a permanent system by which such works shall be regularly received and exposed for sale.
20. Forming circles of twelve persons to collect alms for any existing School, Refuge, or Orphanage.
21. Teaching and directing Schools as Managers, Masters, Mistresses, Pupil Teachers, or Assistants.

I need not explicitly say that the last condition is already abundantly satisfied by the Clergy Secular and Regular, and by all Religious of whatsoever order, who at this time are so zealously and compassionately labouring to teach and to save our poor children. No further enrolment of their names is needed than that which already inscribes them in the Ecclesiastical order of the Diocese.

To ensure a real participation in some one or more of these ways of co-operating in the work of the poor children, all persons associating themselves will definitely fix upon the kind of assistance they will undertake, and will state the same to the Rector of the Mission in which they reside, to their director, or to the Secretaries of the Association.

The direction of the Association is entrusted to the Diocesan Council of Education, assisted by the Diocesan Inspector, the Rev. R. G. Macmullen, the Rev. W. Burke, the Rev. W. H. Anderdon, the Rev. F. Roberts, and a certain number of officers in each Mission.

I refrain from all other words in calling on you to help me in this work of mercy, which must be perseveringly done from school to school, street to street, house to house, save only the words of our Divine Redeemer: "It is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish."—S. Matth. xviii. 14. "And whosoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, amen I say to you, he shall not lose his reward."—S. Matth. x. 42.

✠ HENRY EDWARD,
Archbishop of Westminster.

Christmas, 1865.

WESTMINSTER DIOCESAN FUND.

The following figures represent, with as much certainty as is at present attainable, the extent of education among our Catholic Poor, and the needs which are to be supplied.

1. The two following statements are made by as accurate estimates as we are able to arrive at.

The first estimate gives :

Population of the Diocese	175,000	
Children of age to be at School	29,000	
Children well educated	11,000	} 29,000
Children insufficiently educated	11,000	
Children without education	7,000	

The second estimate gives :

Population	150,000 or 160,000	
Children	30,000 or 35,000	
Children of higher and middle class	5,000	} 30,000 or 35,000
Poor Children who ought to be in School	25,000 or 30,000	
Poor Children well educated	15,000	
Poor Children really or practically uneducated	10,000 or 15,000	

I may here observe that the 148 Schools of the Diocese cannot contain more than 15,000 Children, so that there is not School room, at this time, for more than one half of our poor Children, if attending daily.

As to Children who may be called uneducated, the second statement gives as a mean number 12,000. But in order to avoid all risk of exaggeration, I will take the first estimate; and, passing over the Children insufficiently educated, who are put at 11,000, will take only the 7,000 Children who, in this estimate, are stated as altogether without education, that is, without means of education.

In order to provide for these 7,000 Children, 35 Schools capable of holding 200 each would be required.

In order to provide 35 such Schools, at least £200 a year for each School would be required, or an annual income of £7,000.

2. It is more than probable that above 1,000 Catholic Children are now detained in Workhouse Schools.

By the same computation five Schools of 200 each would be needed to receive this second class; but inasmuch as these Children would be, not day scholars, but entirely maintained, a larger sum would be needed for each School. Supposing the maintenance to be provided out of the public rates, not less than £400 a year would be further required for the rent and management of each of such Schools, or in other words £2,000 a year.

3. To this must be added that we possess in the Diocese one Reformatory School for Boys, one Industrial School for Boys, and one for Girls.

We are at this moment compelled to refuse both Boys and Girls for want of room.

To render these three existing Institutions adequate to the needs of London, at least an income of £1,000 a year would be required.

I pass by, for the present, all other subjects relating to our Schools, for which an income is needed, such as the encouragement of Pupil Teachers and Masters, who are now often lost to us, by the smallness of their remuneration. I confine myself to the vital necessity of saving the poor Children who are ready to perish.

From the figures above given it is evident that a sum of £10,000 a year would barely suffice for the present needs of our destitute Children, putting the number of them at the lowest figure.

Now I have slender hope of seeing this sum raised in my life-time. But I have a perfect confidence that it will be raised hereafter. My successors will see the fulfilment of what we now begin; but if we do not make the beginning, their work will be indefinitely retarded. I shall be content if I may see the Fund created, and the work begun.

It may be safely affirmed that every £100 causes the expenditure of £200, arising from Government grants, weekly payments, and local contributions. If I could raise an income of £1,000 a year for this Fund, I do not doubt that a further sum of £2,000 a year would be called into activity. If the Fund were raised to £3,000 a year, probably the whole sum of £10,000 a year would be added to our work of education.

It is to aid me in this vital work that I now appeal to you by every motive of the Faith: above all, for the love of souls.

Donations will, of course, be of great service in purchasing, or fitting up of Houses and Schools.

But Subscriptions to create an annual income are far more necessary.

I would ask of you to give your name for as large an annual sum as it is in your power to afford for the first formation of this work. After a few years I trust it will have gathered to itself sufficient contributions to ensure its perpetuity and its extension. As in the case of a Refuge or Orphanage, the chief difficulties are at the outset. If it can be assisted for the three or five

first years, it can almost always thenceforward go alone. So it is with the first creation of this Diocesan Fund.

I would, therefore, with all the earnestness and urgency I can, beg of the charity and generosity of the Faithful to render their fullest assistance, by contributing for three, five, or seven years, as large a Subscription as they are able.

Every hundred a year secured for three years would probably enable me to establish a School, which, once in activity, would gradually gather to itself the means of its own subsistence, and thereby set free the original grant for the founding of another School.

And I would ask of you the further kindness of a reply as speedily as you conveniently can. It would be rendering a double help to this effort if you would enable me to announce your name and contribution at the Meeting to be held at St. James's Hall on Thursday, June 14th, at One o'clock, to which I earnestly invite you.

I will add only the words of our Divine Master, for whom, and in whose Name, I ask your help. "It is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish."

✠ HENRY EDWARD,

Archbishop of Westminster.

Almost while these sheets are wet in the printing-office, a meeting has been held in St. James's Hall which cannot fail to give an impetus to the especial department of Social Science referred to in the preceding documents; the Catholic education of our poor neglected children. Under the presidency of his Grace the Archbishop, a series of resolutions, moved and seconded by influential laymen and priests, pledged the meeting and the Catholic public to strenuous exertions to rescue our poor little "Arabs" from ignorance, from vice, and from proselytism. A correspondence, as our readers are aware, had previously debated in the Catholic papers a question comparatively unimportant. That question was, the figure at which were to be placed these wandering tribes. We call it unimportant by comparison, because, as the Archbishop has most truly said in his late pastoral:—

It may be safely affirmed that thousands of Catholic children in London are without education. Two very careful and guarded calculations have been lately made of the number who may be said to be practically without education. One of these estimates them at twelve thousand, the other at seven thousand. We refrain from giving our own conjectures, wishing to avoid all semblance of exaggeration, and earnestly hoping that we may be mistaken. But if there be twelve thousand, or even seven thousand, or so much as *one thousand Catholic children growing up without Christian and Catholic education, we ought to do penance unless we make an effort to save them.*

That there are not one thousand only, but seven thousand at least, may, we believe, with perfect certainty be affirmed. And if so, it is a fact sufficiently terrible and appalling to tinge all needless self-indulgence with bitterness, and to break our indolent peace day and night. The ruin and depravity, or the perversion and apostacy of one baptized child is a sorrow which breaks the heart of a father or a mother. The loss of one soul, and that one of God's little ones, only the other day innocent and in union with God, makes a wound in the sacred heart of Jesus. How is it that we can eat and drink, lie down and rise up in unconsciousness and insensibility at the spiritual death of thousands before our eyes?

If in any one place a thousand children without education were to be seen together, we should be horrified. But though scattered, they exist, and they are as destitute as if they were all congregated in one of our maze of courts. Being dispersed, they are hidden by fives and by tens here and there in our thronging population, and therefore escape our eyes; and because they are not seen, some doubt of their existence. Let us therefore lay well to heart that we see but little of that which, by its very nature, lies withdrawn from the eyes of Catholics, namely, the Catholics who, neglecting their own souls, neglect also the souls of their children. Such Catholics keep out of our sight.

We have only space to add, that the response to an appeal thus calmly, though most earnestly made; based, not on rhetoric, but on facts as proved by statistics, and falling by their own weight on the public mind, has been most encouraging. More than a thousand pounds were announced as the immediate result of the meeting itself: making up, we are informed, a total of some £6,700 since the first of the two foregoing papers was issued. But the good elicited will go farther than this. Even money falls short of the value of public opinion. We live in times of strange disruptions, and stranger coalitions. If we can establish the fact, that while our needs are great, our grievances are yet greater; if we can show that our children, with no crime but poverty, are left to the alternative of the open evils of the universal street, or the secluded evils of non-Catholic institutions, we shall ultimately have the public mind of England as a Minos to pronounce on our behalf a *splendidum arbitrium*, and the *Times* newspaper as a Mercury of most eloquent pleading.

ART. VII.—THE NEGRO IN AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

The Albert Nyanza, Great Basin of the White Nile, and Explorations of the Nile Sources. By SAMUEL WHITE BAKER, M.A. With Maps, Illustrations, and Portraits. 2 Volumes. Macmillan. 1866.

IN two most interesting volumes, which it is hardly possible to lay down when once taken up, Mr. Baker records, simply and unaffectedly, the history of an important geographical discovery. Speke and Grant had already proved that one source of the Nile was from a vast lake, lying exactly under the Equator, in longitude 33° East, and which they called by the name of our Queen. They had traced the river which issues from the north end of this lake almost continuously about one hundred and fifty miles, to the great Karuma Falls, at which it suddenly turns from its southerly course and runs due west. In that direction they were prevented from penetrating by a war among the natives; they therefore proceeded to the south, and struck the Nile again after going about one hundred miles. It was then flowing towards the south-east, at a level near 1,000 feet lower than that of the Victoria Nyanza. What was more important, it had been flooded when Speke and Grant left it, and was free from flood when they again met it. This circumstance alone would have convinced them that it had passed through a lake which, not having as yet been overfilled, had absorbed the flood. The native accounts, moreover, stated that (after passing the Karuma Falls) it ran westward for several days, and then fell into what they called the Luta N'zige, or "dead Locust Lake." Speke, on their authority, believed this to be a small lake. Mr. Baker has explored a considerable part of it, but without ascertaining exactly either its southern or northern shore. It is at least as large as the Victoria Nyanza itself, probably much larger. It extends 170 miles farther north, and according to the native accounts, much farther to the South also. This vast inland sea, not improbably as large as any even in North America, is called by Mr. Baker the Albert Nyanza. It lies about seventy miles west of the Victoria Nyanza, 2,248 feet above the sea, and receives the torrents which flow in abundance down the lofty mountains which bound the great Nile basin to the west. These were seen from the lake, towering at least 7,000 feet above it, and are

subject to the full violence of tropical rains. The Nile may probably have other feeders, perhaps some from other great lakes; be this, however, as it may, English adventurers in our day have solved the problem which has puzzled the civilized world at least since the days of Herodotus. More remarkable still, the last, and by no means the least, important discovery, has been shared by a lady. Mrs. Baker, "whose life yet dawned at so early an age, that womanhood was still a future," replied to all the representations of her husband as to the dangers of the route, in the words of Ruth, "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge; where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." Accordingly she actually bore him company through dangers compared with which, those of a series of general engagements would have been slight, and after multiplied hair-breadth escapes returned with him in safety. Mr. Baker delights to tell with a generous glow of admiration, how the expedition must have failed more than once, without her presence of mind and ready wit. How great the field opened by our modern explorers has been, is plain enough by merely looking at the map. Thirty years ago Bruce was believed to have discovered the sources of the Nile. The southern shore of the Victoria Nyanza is nearly twice as far from the Delta as is the source of Bruce's Nile. It is possible that the extremity of the Albert Nyanza itself, or some other source, may be much farther still.

We must not allow ourselves to accompany this daring couple all through their dangers and discoveries. On the point of starting from the limits of European life, they detected a plot among their own followers to mutiny and murder Mr. Baker. Dangers and difficulties seemed to multiply at every step. Impossibilities met them everywhere, if they had not resolved, with Napoleon, not to admit the vile word. Nothing less than an obstinacy, which would have been called mad if it had not succeeded, could have prevented their turning back at every step. Everything had to be overcome, and there were no means of overcoming it. They are over and over again abandoned, betrayed, and plotted against by their own followers, beset by the natives, and far worse, by the Turkish slave traders, (who regarded them as spies,) exhausted by starvation, baked by the sun, and poisoned by multiform miasmata. Nothing could have effected their success except an iron resolution to succeed in spite of impossibilities. Mrs. Baker has a sun-stroke which produces brain fever. Her husband himself, so

ill as hardly to be able to walk, "marched by the side of her litter" without sleeping for seven nights.

Nature could resist no longer. We reached a village one evening. She had been in violent convulsions successively ; it was all but over. I laid her down on her litter within a hut, covered her with a Scotch plaid, and fell upon my mat insensible, worn out with sorrow and fatigue. My men put a new handle to my pickaxe that evening, and sought for a dry spot to dig her grave. The sun had risen when I woke. I had slept, and, horrified as the idea flashed upon me that she must be dead, and that I had not been with her, I started up. She lay upon her bed pale as marble, and with that calm serenity that the features assume when the cares of life no longer act upon the mind, and the body rests in death. The dreadful thought bowed me down ; but, as I gazed upon her in fear, her chest gently heaved—not with the convulsive throbs of fever—but naturally. She was asleep ; and, when at a sudden noise she opened her eyes, they were calm and clear. She was saved. When not a ray of hope remained, God alone knows what helped us ! The gratitude of that moment I will not attempt to describe (vol. ii., p. 89).

Things are nearest mending when they have come to the worst. A few days later, Mr. Baker "rushed into the lake, and, thirsty with heat and fatigue, with a heart full of gratitude, drank freely of the sources of the Nile." They established themselves at a fishing village called Vacovia, where harpoons for the hippopotamus were as common as nets at Hastings.

The beach was perfectly clear sand, upon which the waves rolled like those of the sea, throwing up weeds precisely as seaweed may be seen in England. It was a grand sight to look upon this reservoir of the mighty Nile, and to watch the heavy swell tumbling upon the beach, while far to the south-west the eye searched as vainly for a bound as though upon the Atlantic.

The shore was strewn with the bones of immense fish, hippopotami, and crocodiles ; but the latter reptiles were merely caught in revenge for any outrage committed by them, as their flesh was looked upon with disgust by the natives of Unyoro. They were so numerous and voracious in the lake that the natives cautioned us not to allow the women to venture into the water even to the knees when filling their water-jars.

At Vacovia, where all the party suffered from fever, he at last contrived to get boats and began his journey home by rowing southward along the east coast of the lake. The crocodile and hippopotamus swarmed in the water, and the elephant upon the shore. They came to a floating promontory. A mass of vegetable matter had accumulated and papyrus had grown upon it, till the mass was firm enough to support a man, who could walk "merely sinking above his ankles in soft ouze. Beneath this raft of vegetation was extremely deep

water." "One day a tremendous gale of wind and heavy sea broke off large portions, and the wind acting upon the rushes like sails, carried floating islands of some acres about the lake to be deposited wherever they might happen to pitch." After meeting one furious storm in a navigation of about one hundred miles north, they came to Magungo, the place of which they had so long heard where the Nile enters the lake, about eighteen miles from the outlet by which it passes north. After going up the river far enough to prove its identity with that discovered by Speke, they began the really terrible task; the land journey north to Gondokoro, the village and slave depôt from which they had started. The details of this journey, which are most interesting, we omit. We copy, however, with real regret, part of the following passage, describing their plans at a time when they were both nearly dead between famine and fever.

We had now given up all hope of Gondokoro, and were perfectly resigned to our fate. This, we felt sure, was to be buried in Chopi. I wrote instructions in my journal, in case of death, and told my head-man to be sure to deliver my maps, observations, and papers to the English Consul at Khar-toum. This was my only care, as I feared that all my labour might be lost, if I should die. I had no fear for my wife, as she was quite as bad as I, and if one should die the other would certainly follow; in fact, this had been agreed upon lest she should fall into the hands of Kamrasi at my death. We had struggled hard to win, and I thanked God we had won; if death were to be the price, at all events we were at the goal, and we both looked upon death rather as a pleasure, as affording *rest*; there would be no more suffering, no fever, no long journey before us, that in our weak state was an infliction; the only wish was to lay down the burden (vol. ii., p. 161).

At last the king, Kamrasi, who had left them to come as near as might be to actual death, in order to make his own terms, sent for them. Mr. Baker saved him from Turkish invaders by hoisting the British flag, and declaring his country annexed to the dominion of Queen Victoria. He recovered himself from the gates of death by manufacturing whisky from sweet potatoes to the great delight of King Kamrasi, who will be likely enough to poison himself and his people by the use he means to make of the secret. At last he managed to start once more homeward. Danger still dogged them by water and by land. The boat in which they descended the Nile was visited with the plague. Their followers died one after another. The vessel was so horribly offensive as to be unbearable. "All night we could hear the sick, muttering and raging in delirium; but from years of association with disagreeables, we had no fear of infection."

The extracts we have given will be enough to prove that

Mr. Baker's book is a contrast to most books of African travel, which are usually as dry and monotonous as the deserts they describe. Mr. Baker must have had tediousness enough, but he does not bestow any of it on his readers. He has given us one of the most readable and interesting books we have seen for a long time. This is owing both to the spirit with which he tells his adventures, and to his understanding how to leave untold, as well as how to tell. His whole voyage occupied about four years and a half, from March, 1861, to the autumn of 1865, when he once more came into European life at the great English hotel at Suez, and found himself among a crowd of his countrymen and countrywomen.

There are phases of savage life which exert an irresistible attraction over any who have once become habituated to them. Such is not the life of the African savage. Mr. Baker's journal says, "There is no difference in any of these savages. If hungry they will fawn upon you; and when filled they will desert. I believe that ten years' residence in the Soudan and in this country would spoil an angel, and would turn the best heart to stone." He believes, on insufficient grounds, that these nations are without the idea of God or of a future state, and apparently he would add of good or evil; and this leads him to suggest the strange theory, that they are the remains of a race older than Adam. He says, p. 316:—

Whether the man of central Africa be pre-Adamite is impossible to determine. But the idea is suggested by the following data. The historical origin of man, or Adam, commences with a knowledge of God. Throughout the history of the world, from the creation of Adam, God is connected with mankind in every creed, whether worshipped as the universal sublime Spirit of Omnipotence, or shaped by the forms of idolatry into representations of a deity. From the creation of Adam mankind has acknowledged its inferiority, and must bow down and worship either the true God or a graven image—a something that is in heaven or in earth. The world, as we accept that term, was always actuated by a natural religious instinct. Cut off from that world; lost in the mysterious distance that shrouded the origin of the Egyptian Nile, were races unknown that had never been reckoned in the great sum of history—races that we have brought to light, whose existence had been hidden from mankind, and that now appear before us like the fossil bones of antediluvian animals. Are they vestiges of what existed in a pre-Adamite creation?

To do him justice, the author does not seem to have been aware that he was touching an important religious question; or *that any one could be shocked at his theory on religious grounds. Considering the prevalent tone of Protestant society in our*

day, this is not wonderful. But we do wonder that he did not see that the theory of race, which he suggests in this and another passage, would undermine the first principles of the greatest and most important difference, between the social condition of the Christian and the heathen worlds. Ancient heathen society was built upon the theory that each race and nation was the growth of its own soil, and had its own gods, its own modes of worship, its own rule of right and wrong. Hence, the most civilized nation of the heathen world deliberately held, that towards men of any other race they had no duties, except such as they might voluntarily have undertaken by treaty—men *ἑσπερονδοί* had no rights. The first principles of modern society, on the other hand, are built upon the great truth declared by S. Paul to the Athenians: *Deus fecit ex uno* [Greek *ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος*] *omne genus hominum inhabitare super universam faciem terræ*: and on the restoration of that truth to practical power in the Christian world, *ubi non est Gentilis et Judæus, circumcisio et præputium, barbarus et Scythæ, servus et liber, sed omnia et in omnibus Christus*. To destroy the belief in man's unity of race, is not only to assail a most vital and fundamental truth of Christianity, but to undermine the very foundation of European civilization.

It is only natural that those who assume that different human families are distinct species, should go on to infer that like the different species of brutes, each has its own nature, and however it may be trained cannot rise above it. Mr. Baker accepts this consequence in the fullest sense. His estimate of negro nature is:—

In childhood I believe the negro to be in advance, in intellectual quickness, of the white child of a similar age, but the mind does not expand—it promises fruit, but does not ripen; and the negro man has grown in body, but has not advanced in intellect. The puppy of three months old is superior in intelligence to a child of the same age; but the mind of the child expands, while that of the dog has arrived at its limit. In the great system of creation that divided races and subdivided them according to mysterious laws, apportioning special qualities to each, the varieties of the human race exhibit certain characters and qualifications which adapt them for specific localities. The natural character of those races will not alter with a change of locality, but the instincts of each race will be developed in any country where they may be located. Thus, the English are as English in Australia, India, and America as they are in England; and in every locality they exhibit the industry and energy of their native land; even so the African will remain negro in all his natural instincts, although transplanted to other soils; and those natural instincts being a love of idleness and savagery, he will assuredly relapse into an idle and savage state unless specially

governed, and forced to industry. The history of the negro has proved the correctness of this theory. In no instance has he evinced other than a retrogression, when once freed from restraint. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild ; but, if harnessed, no animal is more useful.* There are productions necessary to civilized countries which can be cultivated only in tropical climates, where the white man cannot live if exposed to labour in the sun. Thus, such fertile countries as the West Indies and portions of America being without a native population, the negro was originally imported as a slave to fulfil the conditions of a labourer ; and in the state of slavery the negro was compelled to work, and through his labour every country prospered where he had been introduced. He was suddenly freed ; and from that moment he refused to work ; and, instead of being a useful member of society, he not only became a useless burden to the community, but a plotter and intriguer, imbued with a deadly hatred to the white man who had generously declared him free. Now, as the negro was originally imported as a labourer, but now refuses to labour, it is self-evident that he is a miserable failure. Either he must be compelled to work by some stringent law against vagrancy, or those beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of negro forced industry must yield to ruin under negro freedom and idle independence. For an example of the results, look to St. Domingo.

Mr. Baker's view, therefore, is, that no education, no training, no change of circumstances, can make of the negro anything else than an idle, bloody-minded savage ; that he cannot be induced to work except by force ; that our fundamental mistake has been to suppose that, in time and after due preparation, the posterity of African savages might be prepared for the influence of the same motives which operate upon Europeans—such as the desire of maintaining themselves and their families. We might just as well have hoped that, by careful training for several generations, we should teach our household dogs to speak, read, and write, or our horses to fly. In fact, negroes will work only under compulsion, they are not capable of any other motive.

Unfortunately Mr. Baker's theory on this matter exactly falls in with the prejudices of the educated classes in our days. Public opinion, in all free countries, but especially in England, is governed by reactions, and the last thirty years have brought about a wonderful reaction of feeling with regard to all the less favoured families of the human race. Mr. Trevelyan gives a curious and by no means pleasant account of the change of feeling in Europeans towards the natives of India. Thirty years ago the term

* Space alone compels us to make many omissions in this passage, which extends from pp. 287 to 294, vol. ii. If we could have given the whole, the author's theory would have been more strongly exhibited.

for them was "the mild Hindoo," now it is the "damned nigger." The same change is strongly manifested in the comments upon the wars in New Zealand and the Cape Colony. But it is strongest with regard to the negro. Thirty years ago he was decidedly the fashion. This was natural enough. The British public felt towards the emancipated slaves as a fine lady is apt to feel towards a remarkably ugly and useless pet-dog, upon whom in the exercise of her sovereign caprice she has been pleased to fix her affections; or as parents are apt to feel towards a spoiled child who is ugly, a little wanting, and very disagreeable in temper, and whom, on these grounds, every one else votes to be intolerable. In all such cases it is notorious that the general dislike only endears the favourite to those, who have come, somehow or other, to identify it with themselves. Julia Mannering (a keen observer of character) declared that her father patronised on this principle Dominie Sampson and a remarkably hideous pug-dog, because no one else could endure them. Then the tendency to make much of those to whom we have done some special favour and benefit, is as natural and as strong as that which leads men to hate those whom they have injured. The British public felt that it had made a real and great sacrifice for the negroes. It had bought them for twenty millions sterling, and it was not going to admit that it had made a bad bargain. Besides, a more generous feeling told in the same direction. The negroes had unquestionably been illtreated, and were just restored to the rights of humanity. An educated negro was a lion in London society. He was not made quite so much of as Garibaldi was the other day, by plenty of people who heartily hate revolution, of which all the rest of the world regard him as the type. But the feeling was of the same sort.

From all this any farsighted man might have foretold a great reaction. For the reigning enthusiasm could not fail to raise expectations which could not possibly be realized, and the disappointment must be provoking. The emancipated negro was to be a bright example to all the world of the blessed effects of British freedom and a proof of British wisdom. All this would not have been expected of any savages whom chance might have thrown upon some West Indian island. But too much could not be expected from slaves emancipated upon principles of pure humanity and at so great a cost. Strange to say, it was forgotten that one main argument against slavery had *always been that it made the slave unfit for freedom and the master unfit to deal with free labourers.* Because these

poor people had been trained up in the worst possible school, and because they were left to be governed by a local legislature composed of ex-slave owners, who had opposed their emancipation to the last moment, and had always predicted that it must lead to irremediable evils, therefore people came to the conclusion that the emancipated negroes were sure to exhibit to the whole world a bright example of the good effects of free labour. No reasonable man under such circumstances would have been surprised or disappointed if the experiment had wholly failed. We are told it has wholly failed, and in proof of this we are bid to look at Jamaica and Hayti.

This is at first sight unreasonable. Jamaica and Hayti are only two out of a large number of countries inhabited by emancipated slaves. Even if emancipation had failed there, it might have succeeded elsewhere. The *Statesman's Manual* for 1864 gives the coloured population of the British West India Islands as 1,003,407, of which only 427,439 are in Jamaica. What accounts have we of the others?

The best authority for an answer to this question will be found in the returns made to the British Government by the Governors of the different islands. But as it is not every one who has opportunity and leisure to examine them, we are glad to be able to refer to one more easily consulted. The substance of these returns is very ably epitomized in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1859, which is commonly attributed to the present member of Parliament for East Surrey, Mr. Charles Buxton. We shall here make use of some of the quotations given by him, only assuring our readers that whenever we have had any occasion of verifying the fairness of his statements we have found them fully borne out. Our only difficulty is that his matter is so closely compressed and so exactly to the point that it is hardly possible to make any real use of it without quoting nearly the whole of his article.

First, then, under slavery, the West India Islands produced only one or two staples. The reason of this is simple. Slave labour is reluctant labour, and therefore can be effectually used only when compulsion can be brought to bear upon it. A "gang" of men digging holes, with a driver behind armed with a long whip, can be kept to their work. The consequence is, that slave labour can be profitably employed only in certain kinds of cultivation. Professor Cairns says—"If the work be such that a large gang can be employed with efficiency under the eye of a single overseer, the expense of superintendence will be slight. If, on the other hand, the nature of the work requires that the workmen should be dispersed over an

extended area, the number of overseers, and therefore the cost of the labour which requires this supervision, will be proportionally increased. Thus the cost of slave labour varies directly with the degree in which the work to be done requires dispersion of the labourers, and inversely as it admits of their concentration." He shows, also, that slave labour is "reluctant," "unskilful," and "eminently defective in point of versatility." The result of this was, that under slavery the West India Islands, second in fertility to no country on earth, imported the food of all classes from the Governor to the labourer. Their exports were only two or three staples—sugar, coffee, &c. Of course, therefore, no decrease in the production of sugar, after slavery was abolished, would prove that the people did not work, unless they produced nothing else instead. As a matter of fact, however, the fifteen British sugar colonies* exported to Great Britain (in 1855-6-7), 7,427,618 cwt. of sugar, against 7,405,849 cwt. in the three last years of negro slavery. Of rum they exported, under slavery, 2,722,880 gallons; under freedom, 4,674,602 gallons. These exports were only to Great Britain. Under the old system the colonies were prohibited to trade with other countries, and therefore the export to Great Britain was their whole exchangeable produce. They are now at liberty to trade where and with whom they please, and a profitable trade is carried on with Australia, the United States, and other countries, of which we have no account.

The tonnage which entered inwards to eight islands (of the other seven we have not the return) was increased in 1857 by 63,042 tons. The total increase must be much larger.

The *Edinburgh* gives some extracts from the reports of the different Governors, adding, "we have always taken the last accounts we could find. But Governors very often send reports full of local affairs, with no reference to the general state of the island. In all cases, the later the report the more gratifying it is found to be." We can fully corroborate this statement from a toilsome examination of many later reports. But here are some extracts.

The Governor of Tobago, in 1859, says—"I deny that the peasantry are abandoned to slothfulness. On the contrary, I

* This number is obtained by leaving out Mauritius, in which the production is enormously increased owing to immigration, and Jamaica, in which, owing to causes into which we will not enter at present, there has been a great diminution. The remaining colonies are Barbadoes, Dominica, Granada, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Tortola, Trinidad, the Bahamas, Demerara, and Berbice.

assert that a more industrious class does not exist in the world—at least, when working for themselves.”

Sir Charles Grey writes, in 1852—“There are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labour.”

Dr. Davey, an independent and scientific observer, says—“It is a mistake often committed to suppose that the African is by nature indolent—less inclined to work than the European. He who has witnessed, as I have, their indefatigable and prudent industry, will be disposed probably to overrate rather than underrate the activity of the negro, and his love of, or rather I would say his non-aversion to, labour.”

To this we may add the testimony of the present Earl Grey. It would probably be impossible to name a single British statesman whose judgments are so calm, so little influenced either by prepossessions or by excitement. He has, moreover, had unusual and exceptional opportunities of forming a judgment on this particular subject from the offices he has filled. In the debate this year upon the Jamaica Government Bill, while arguing that the Jamaica negroes were not fit for the political franchise, he said that they were an eminently industrious race.

We will give another testimony from Mr. Sewell, the author of a book called the “Ordeal of Free Labour.” He is an American, and visited Jamaica in 1860 (as he expressly tells us), sharing to the full the opinion prevalent in the United States, that the negroes will not work except as slaves. His own observation soon convinced him to the contrary. He writes—

“We have heard in the United States of the abandonment of properties in the West Indies, and without much investigation have listened to the planter’s excuse, the indolence of the negro who refuses to work except under compulsion. But I shall be able to show, that in those colonies where estates have been abandoned, the labouring classes, instead of passing from servitude to indolence, have set up for themselves, and that small proprietors, since emancipation, have increased an hundredfold. It is a fact which speaks volumes, that within the last fifteen years, in spite of the extraordinary price of land and the low rate of wages, the small proprietors of Barbadoes holding less than five acres have increased from 1,100 to 3,537. A large majority of these proprietors were formerly slaves, subsequently free labourers, and finally land-owners. This is certainly an evidence of industrious habits, and a remarkable contradiction of the prevailing notion that

the negro will work only under compulsion." Of Trinidad he writes, "I have taken some pains to trace the Creole labourers of Trinidad from the time of emancipation, after they left the estates and dispersed, to the present day; and the great majority of them can, I think, be followed, step by step, not downward in the path of idleness and poverty, but upward in the scale of civilization to positions of greater independence."*

From Antigua the Governor reports in 1858, "Satisfactory evidence is afforded by the revenue returns of increase in trade and mercantile business, consequent upon the revival of agricultural prosperity."

The Bahamas.—"The rapidity with which these islands are advancing is indicated by the fact that the exports and imports rose from £201,497 in 1854 to £304,421 in 1855, being an increase of £102,924 in one year. Twenty-three vessels were built in the colony in the year 1855." (Report of 1856.) In 1851 the Governor reports "a great and important change for the better" in the condition of the people, which he mainly attributes to improved education.

Barbadoes, 1853.—"Vast increase of trade." "So far the success of cultivation by free labour in Barbadoes is unquestionable." "In 1851 more sugar was shipped from this island than in any one year since it was peopled; and it is a remarkable fact that there will be more *labourers'* sugar made this year than previously. Sugar exported in 1842, 21,545 hogsheads; in 1852, 48,785; the increase being 27,240 hogsheads."

In 1858, "A large increase in the value of exports. The large proportion of land acquired by the labouring classes furnishes striking proof of their industry."

The latest report from Barbadoes is unfavourable as to the amount of the crop. The recent crops have been—1859, 40,343 hogsheads; 1860, 43,365; 1861, 49,845; 1862, 46,078; 1863, 42,436. The Governor adds, "I regret that the crop of this year is again below that of the preceding year, and was equal only to 36,107 hogsheads. The wonder is how, with the droughts of 1863 and the early part of 1864, the one following so immediately after the other, it has been possible to extract even that quantity of sugar from the parched and shallow soil of this extraordinary little place. *It says a great deal for the perseverance and industry of the people.*"

Dominica, 1858.—"The steady maintenance of production is full of promise as to the future." The exports show a considerable increase under the heads of sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa,

* Quoted by Cairns, page 39.

oranges, fruit, hides, hard wood, and cotton. In 1857 "very considerable increase in revenue, and an equally marked improvement in the amount of imports." The Governor also dwells upon "the industry of the bulk of the population, and on the great amount of general comfort and independence among the labouring classes in which their industry has resulted." "The native labourer, whose growing independence is manifested in the small 'patches of canes and little wooden mills here and there dotting the chequered plain around,' the significance of which was so pointedly alluded to in the last despatch of your Excellency's predecessor—(N.B. this is the report of the Lieutenant-Governor to his superior, the Governor of Antigua)—has risen a step higher, and we now see him becoming the lessee of large sugar plantations, regularly established with all the usual appliances."

The last Blue-book tells us that Reform Bills have been passed in Dominica, "for regulating and amending the elective franchise," "for taking a register of voters," and for "amending the constitution of the colony;" all of which have received the Queen's approval. It adds, "The behaviour of the bulk of the people is worthy of mention, as having been peaceable and admirable in every respect, when there was no little temptation to indulge in vulgar and fruitless demonstrations which so often prevail when large constitutional measures are under discussion."

In Nevis President Runbold reports, "There seems to be at work an industrious spirit of improvement; cultivation seems to be carefully attended to."

In St. Kitts, last year's Blue-book says, "It is probable that the crop of last year is the largest which the island ever yielded since it was planted. I regret to say that, owing to the drought, unprecedented, except in one case, in the memory of man, the crop of the present year will not amount to much more than 6,000 hogsheads. Even this quantity, however, shows the great improvement which has taken place in the agriculture of the island of late years. I am informed that when a similar drought occurred many years ago, a single small vessel took away all the sugar produced in the most fertile part of the island."

"Tortola, under slavery, exported 15,559 cwt. of sugar. It now exports none at all. But the change is wholly an advantage. The island is singularly suitable for the raising of stock, and accordingly all the people, with few exceptions, are owners of cattle, of which they dispose to great advantage."

In Tobago "the labourers are described as well behaved and industrious."

For other proofs of the same nature we must again refer our readers to the article from which most, although by no means the whole, of those we have given have been taken. We may be asked why we have left Jamaica out of our account. The reason is plain. While we write, we are in hourly expectation of the Report of the Royal Commissioners sent to inquire into the particulars and the causes of the miserable tragedy of last winter. That report, we trust, will throw much light upon the whole state of society in Jamaica, as well as upon the details of the late outbreak and the proceedings which followed it. We therefore postpone all reference to recent events. To some statements about the state of things in Jamaica sixteen years back we shall have occasion to refer.

Mr. Baker, of course, is not bound to believe the evidence we have already quoted, and which might be extended to a much larger amount. We infer from several passages that he has never been in the West Indies. Still, if he thinks he knows more about them than men who have specially devoted their attention to their past history and present condition; and in particular more than the whole series of Governors who have resided on them during the last five-and-thirty years, he has a full right to his opinion. Let him evolve (*more Germanico*) out of his "internal consciousness," a detailed account of what the emancipated slaves of the West Indies must necessarily be and do, taking for his data what he saw of the negro savage in central Africa. We shall only remark that he himself might think it a little queer, if a West Indian Governor, founding his opinion upon his own experience of negroes in Barbadoes, should positively contradict his statements as to what he saw upon the shores of the Albert Nyanza. Still he will have a right to his theory. But he has no right to do what he has done: which is simply to pass over without notice all the evidence which exists upon the subject, and to assert, without any attempt at proof, as if it were a fact admitted by all men alike: "In this state of slavery the negro was compelled to work. He was suddenly freed; and from that moment he refused to work." "As the negro was originally imported as a labourer and now refuses to labour, it is self-evident he is a lamentable failure." The fact we believe to be that he really thought it was a matter on which all men were agreed. The assumption is made commonly enough in English society, chiefly, we believe, upon the authority of the *Times*, which systematically asserts it as an unquestioned fact, that the West Indian colonies were flourishing up to the time of emancipation; that we sacrificed their prosperity to a sentimental horror of slavery; that ever since emancipation they have been ra-

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pidly declining, simply because the negroes refuse to work; that the negroes themselves have during these thirty years been growing daily more and more barbarous and wretched; that their present condition is tenfold worse, in all respects, than it was under slavery; and that the only hope of any good for them, or any prosperity for the West Indies, is in a system in which they shall be compelled to work by coercive laws. That this is a fair account of the opinions represented by the *Times* on the subject of the negroes of the West Indies will be questioned by none of its readers, hardly we think by the writers themselves. The greater part of the London papers follow suit. For instance, as soon as a report reached England last November that an insurrection had taken place in Jamaica, and before it was even pretended that anything more than this had been reported, the mass of the London newspapers rushed to the conclusion that it was a negro conspiracy "for the gratification of revenge, rapine, and lust" (we quote the words of the *Times*); and proceeded to enlarge upon the imaginary fact that wages were far higher in Jamaica than in England, and work abundant; and that if the negroes were in any distress it was only because they preferred starvation to work.

This notion about the enormous and exorbitant wages demanded by the Jamaica negroes has been founded chiefly upon a well known paper of Carlyle, published some twenty years back, in which he describes the Jamaica negro as "sunk up to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in creation, and saying, 'Higher wages, Massa; higher, still higher,' till no conceivable opulence of cane crop will cover such wages." Mr. Carlyle does not think it necessary to state what these wages were or what the price of living. Upon these subjects we would refer the reader to a little book, called "*Jamaica in 1850*, by John Bigelow." The author is an intelligent American (we believe the same now Minister of the United States at Paris); he devotes a chapter to "Labour and Wages," and shows in detail, first, that the prices of all the necessaries of life in Jamaica were very considerably higher than in England. For instance:—butter, 1s. 6½d. a pound; cow's milk, 9½d. a quart; goat's milk, 1s. ¼d.; American cheese, 1s. ¼d.; English cheese, 1s. 7d.; potatoes, 3½d. a pound; eggs, 3½d. a couple (and during the Christmas holidays 2½d. a piece); flour, from 68s. to 72s. 6d. a barrel. Next, that wages were never more and often less than six shillings a week, the labourer finding board and lodging. He justly infers that upon such wages life could not be supported in Jamaica. Meanwhile, land was abundant and at low prices.

He ascertained that the number of black proprietors (in 1850 he it remembered) was already "considerably over 100,000, and constantly increasing;" that of these "seven-tenths had been born in slavery and had spent many years of their lives in bondage;" he adds:—

"Upon their little tracts they raise, not only what they require for their own consumption, but a surplus which they take to market, usually in small panniers, upon donkeys, or upon their heads. Nearly every coloured proprietor has a donkey, which costs from seven to ten pounds, upon which he packs his produce, and under the custody, sometimes of a woman, often of a child, he sends it to town to be converted into money, with which he purchases such articles of necessity or luxury as his land does not produce, and he can afford. One of the most interesting spectacles to be witnessed about Kingston is presented on the high road, through which the market people, with their donkeys, in the cool of the morning, pour into the city from the back country. They form an almost uninterrupted procession four or five miles in length, and what strikes the eye of an American at once is their perfect freedom from care. Of course it requires no little self-denial and energy for a negro, upon the wages now paid in Jamaica, to lay up enough with which to purchase one of these properties; but if he does get one, he never parts with it, except for a larger or better. The planters call them lazy for indulging in this feeling of independence."

Mr. Carlyle wrote, near twenty years ago, "Pumpkins are not the sole pre-requisite for human well-being." "Many other things grow among these islands useful to man, such as sugar, coffee, cinnamon, and precious spices, things far nobler than pumpkins, and leading towards commerce, arts, politics, and social developments, which alone are the noble product, where men (and not pigs and pumpkins) are the parties concerned;" and then went on:—"Quashee, if he will not help in bringing out the spices, will get himself made a slave again (which state will be a little less ugly than his present one), and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work." It is to be regretted that Mr. Carlyle does not sometimes ask himself whether the power of expressing himself in forcible language is a sufficient substitute for taking a little trouble to acquaint himself with the subject of which he speaks. Much as he reviles "shams," he is here the basest of shams himself. The whole question depends simply on facts, and he lays down the law in complete ignorance and defiance of facts which he might easily have learned. He calls for a "beneficent whip" for his fellow men

solely because he prefers to save himself the trouble of ascertaining facts, and guesses them, when with a little trouble he might learn them. The fact was that when he wrote (our readers will observe that we say nothing of late events or their causes) a Jamaica negro could earn a great deal more by labouring on a small plot of his own than by working for wages. We are far from considering this a good and satisfactory state of things. For many reasons we should have preferred the opposite. But a thoroughly bad social system which the Jamaica negro did not cause and could not cure, made it, in fact, impossible. A wise legislature would have adopted measures by which capital would have been attracted to the cultivation of the soil. It would then have paid better to the large proprietor to give a high price for good labour rather than a very low price for bad labour; the character of the labour to be had would gradually have improved. Such changes require time; for God has so made the world and the nature of man, that, in any nation and under any clime, those who have once got into a bad social system find it very hard to get out of it, and can succeed only by degrees. But it will only make bad worse to cut the matter short, as Mr. Carlyle proposed, by restoring slavery and "the beneficent whip" as the stimulus to labour, instead of wages—an idea which Mr. Baker expresses in milder words (meaning, in fact, the same), when he says the negro "must be compelled to work by some stringent law against vagrancy."

Mr. Baker may, perhaps, plead that the facts are notorious. The slave colonies were flourishing, and their prosperity was sacrificed by the emancipation of the negro. If by "notorious" he means only that the assertion is commonly repeated, what he says is true—in any other sense it is simply false.

The simple fact is that, even in an economical point of view, as a question of mere money, the abolition of slavery was no loss, but a gain to the colonies. To some of the colonies the abolition of the African slave-trade was a great loss. But the slave-trade no one in England now defends. Where the quantity of rich virgin soil at the disposal of the planter is practically unlimited, slavery fed by an active slave-trade does pay; because it pays to take in new soil by slave labour, to exhaust the soil, and work out the slaves by a rough and prodigal method of cultivation; and, when both are exhausted, to abandon the old plantation, and take in new lands by the labour of new slaves. Except under these conditions, slave labour does not pay. But there were some British colonies, especially Trinidad and British Guiana, in *which this was actually going on before the abolition of the*

slave-trade, and might have been continued on a large scale if the slave-trade had not been abolished. In the great majority of the West India Islands, on the other hand, the whole soil, or, at least, all that was suited for sugar cultivation, was under cultivation before the abolition of the slave-trade. If the slave-trade had not been abolished, and if the old system had been continued, by which the colonies had the monopoly of the British market (foreign sugars being excluded), and were forbidden to trade with other countries, the result would have been, that sugar cultivation by slave labour would have been enormously developed in Guiana and Trinidad, and that those colonies would have prospered greatly at the expense of a terrible amount of oppression and national guilt. The older colonies, such as Barbadoes, would have suffered severely from the competition, because they had no means of transferring the cultivation to new and unexhausted lands. The total pecuniary result, therefore, of the abolition of the slave-trade was that the nation, as a whole, sacrificed a good deal, while, of the colonies, some gained by abolition, and others lost a degree of prosperity they would otherwise have obtained.

But the slave-trade no one now defends; and given the abolition of the trade, it is certain that all the colonies gained by the abolition of slavery. We are still speaking merely of the money question. Mr. Baker is pleased to say: "In his state of slavery, the negro was compelled to work, and through his labour every country prospered where he had been introduced." The fact is, that if we take any one date before the abolition of slavery, we shall find that complaints of distress among the West Indian proprietors were as prevalent as they have been since. Let us give one quotation:—

"Lord Chandos, in 1830, presented a petition from the West India merchants and planters, setting forth 'the extreme distress under which they labour,' and he declared in his speech, that it was 'not possible for them to bear up against such a pressure any longer.' 'They are reduced to a state in which they are obliged earnestly to solicit relief from Parliament.' Mr. Bright said, 'The distress of the West India colonial body is unparalleled in any country. Many families who formerly lived in comparative affluence are reduced to absolute penury.' The *West India Reporter* also quotes a report on the commercial state of the West Indies, which said, 'There are the strongest concurrent testimonies and proofs that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters must inevitably very soon take place.' Meanwhile, production was

decreasing as well. Thus in five years, ending with 1820, the exports of sugar from Jamaica had been 585,172 hogsheads, but had fallen to 493,784 in the five years ending with 1830—a decrease of no less than 91,388 hogsheads. Nay, in the ten years ending with 1830, the decrease was no less than 201,843 hogsheads from the amount in the ten years ending with 1820.” (Bigelow’s Jamaica, Appendix.)

“Another fact plainly shows that these distresses would only have grown deeper and heavier had slavery been allowed to go on. In the Dutch colony of Surinam, the very same ruin has come which befel our own islands. The fact that slavery was left standing, has made not the least difference. Here we have a large colony, with slavery preserved in all its force and beauty [this was written in 1859, slavery in the Dutch colonies was not abolished till 1864]. And what is the result? The result is almost total ruin, ‘out of 917 plantations, 636 have been totally abandoned. Of the remainder, 65 grow nothing but wood and provisions. And the small balance are stated to be on the road to destruction.’” That such was the fact is certain, why it was so we have not here space to discuss. We will only say, that all political economists are agreed that, under ordinary circumstances, slave labour does not pay. There is no one fact which a long experience more uncontrovertibly proves.

But even if this had not been the case; if down to 1833 the slave colonies had uniformly flourished, it would be equally certain that the abolition of slavery alone delivered them from a future ruin which was hastily coming upon them. The worst effect that Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Baker, or the *Times* supposes to have resulted from the abolition of slavery is that labour is scarce and dear. Any how, this would be better than having no labourers at all; and to this the old system of slavery was rapidly bringing the West India colonies. Mr. Carlyle himself must admit that a dead negro will not produce even as much as a pumpkin. Now under the old system, the labouring population of the West Indian colonies was swiftly dying out. This had been known long before the abolition of the slave-trade, but the diminution of numbers was then met by a large importation. Mr. Bryan Edwards, the most approved historian of the West Indies, discusses the comparative economy of supplying an estate with labour by keeping up the old stock, and by working it off and importing a new one. He says the diminution varies exactly with the quantity of sugar produced. After the slave-trade was abolished, importation was at an end. And then *the numbers decreased so rapidly that before very many years*

the only alternative would have been either to restore the slave-trade, or to abandon the cultivation of the islands.

"It was not by stories of atrocious cruelty that the eyes of Parliament were opened to the wickedness and folly of slavery. If any of our readers will turn to the pages of Hansard, they will find that what gave the death-blow to slavery, in the minds of English statesmen, was the population returns; which showed the fact, the 'appalling fact,' that although only eleven out of the eighteen islands had sent these in, yet in those eleven islands the slaves had decreased, in twelve years, by no less than 60,219; namely, from 558,194 to 497,975. The decrease by manumission is not included in this number. Had similar returns been made from the other seven colonies (including Mauritius, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Grenada), the decrease must have been little, if at all, under 100,000. Now, it was plain to every one that if this were really so, the system could not last. The driest economist would allow, that it would not pay to let the working classes be slaughtered. To work the labouring men in our West Indies to death, might bring in a good return for a while, but could not be a profitable enterprise in the long run. Accordingly this was the main, we had almost said the only, topic of the debates on slavery in 1831 and 1832. Is slavery causing a general massacre of the working classes in our sugar islands, or is it not, was a question worth debating in the pounds, shillings, and pence view, as well as in the moral one. And debated it was long and fiercely. The result was the full establishment of the dreadful fact. The slaves, as Mr. Marryatt said [he had long been the leader of the advocates of slavery], were 'dying like rotten sheep'" (*Edinburgh*, p. 428).

Hence the common assertion, that we sacrificed the prosperity of the sugar colonies to our humanity to the negro, is simply false and nonsensical. Unless we had been prepared to restore the slave-trade the sugar colonies would many years before this have been utterly ruined by the natural working of the system of slavery. If we had restored it, we should have confirmed the ruin of the older colonies and have built a bloodstained commercial prosperity in some of the new ones.

Let us say, in passing, that this wretched fact of the speedy destruction of the slave population in the West Indies is a remarkable contrast to what took place in the slave States of the American Union. The reason of the difference was twofold. First, in the United States the mass of the slaveholders were proprietors resident upon their own estates. The great

mass of the West Indian properties were held by proprietors resident in England, and were managed by overseers. "Monk" Lewis has recorded his horror when he visited his own Jamaica estates, fully believing that the negroes were well treated, and found that what at first sight had appeared to him to be "a perfect paradise" was really "a hell upon earth." He says, "If I had not come to Jamaica myself, in all probability I should never have had the most distant idea how abominably the poor creatures had been ill used." He soon discovered, however, that they were not worse used than those of his neighbours. The owners, no doubt, gave strong and positive orders that the slaves should be kindly treated. But they were often embarrassed, and, whether they were or not, they expected and required that their estates should pay as well as those of their neighbours. Mr. Helps points out that the early governors of the Spanish possessions in America were placed in a difficulty. The Royal government sent out the most stringent orders that all possible care should be taken of the natives,—and that more gold should be sent to Spain. The result was that in a very few years the island of Hayti, which Columbus had found swarming with prosperous inhabitants, had not one single native left. The overseers of West Indian estates were much in the same predicament, and the same result was rapidly drawing nearer and nearer. Again, the number of slaves in the United States was kept up, because in Virginia and Kentucky, slaves were bred for exportation to the cotton and sugar States of the South. On the sugar plantations of Louisiana the decrease of the slaves was very considerable, and was made up only by this domestic slave-trade.

As things were then, the abolition of slavery alone saved the slave colonies from utter ruin. That it was abolished suddenly was not the fault of those who appealed to the English people against the system. They were anxious that the abolition should be gradual, and their desire was thwarted by the infatuation of the planters themselves. Sudden as it was, it no doubt produced, like other sudden changes, much immediate confusion and difficulty. But all accounts agree that this difficulty had been surmounted, and that prosperity had returned before the dreadful period of West Indian distress, which we all remember, and which the *Times* and those who adopt their views from it, now represent as the result of emancipation.

The real cause of that distress was the throwing open the sugar-trade of Great Britain to the produce of the whole world. We are not saying that this was wrong, or that the

principle of free-trade is not sound. But it was impossible that its application should not produce wide-spread ruin in the West Indies. It would be highly unwise and unjust to pass a law obliging London to buy only the coals of one proprietor, say of Earl Vane. But no doubt if such a law had existed for years, its repeal would be a grievous loss to the earl. Now, for centuries, the West Indian colonies had had an absolute monopoly of the British market. The free trade policy of 1847 not only took away this, but admitted the competition of countries in which sugar was produced by slave-labour, fed by the slave-trade; and exactly under those circumstances in which, as we have already seen, slavery and the slave-trade combined are profitable; because they had a supply of fertile uncultivated lands virtually unlimited. What wonder that the West Indian proprietors suffered a grievous blow! "West Indian sugar, which in 1840 (exclusive of duty) sold in bond for 49s., had sunk in 1848 to 23s. 5d., a fall of twenty-five shillings and sevenpence out of forty-nine shillings! or to take a wide area, sugar in the eight years ending with 1846, had averaged (exclusive of duty) 37s. 3d. per cwt. In the eight following years it averaged only 24s. 6d. per cwt. From the same return it also appears, that during the first twenty years of the century, sugar fetched 48s., all but double its price from 1846-55. No wonder West Indian property has fallen in value since these good old times. And mark the consequence.

"In the eight years ending with 1846, the whole production of the West Indies was just twenty million cwt. In the eight years following it had increased by four millions and a half cwt. Now, had this sold at the previous price, it would have fetched nearly fifteen millions and a half more than it actually did fetch. Whereas in reality it sold for *seven* millions less than the smaller crop of the first period had sold for. By a fall of price from 37s. 3d. to 24s. 6d., not only was the profit on the sugar swept clean away, but a dead loss ensued wherever a loose system of mismanagement by agents, instead of proprietors, existed, and where a heavy interest on mortgages had to be paid. This heavy fall in price is a fact which demands the most emphatic notice, if we would understand the reason why the West Indies passed through the valley of the shadow of death during these years."

Mr. Bigelow, in his book entitled "*Jamaica in 1850*," devotes several chapters (page 70 to 112) to the causes of the decline of that island. He maintains that the measures of the British Government "did not cause, but only precipitated a result *which was inevitable*." We have not space to go

through his arguments, which seem to us to make out his case. It was a case like that of the Irish proprietors about the same time. A severe blow, under which any set of men would have reeled, found them wholly unprepared to resist. They fell, and great was the fall.

But this ruin, lamentable as it was, had really nothing to do with the supposed indolence of the negro. If the climate had been suitable to English labourers, and if the West Indies had been cultivated by the best labourers England could supply, great suffering must have resulted from the causes which we have traced. We think, therefore, that we have fully answered the practical argument, that, (let ingenious men argue as they may,) the fact remains that the West Indies, which were once one of the most prosperous parts of the British empire, have been sunk in the deepest distress since the emancipation of the negro. The fact is, that argument is merely an example of the fallacy, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The result has existed, but it has been owing to wholly different causes.

We have already shown, by copious statistical extracts, that this period of distress has passed away. No system will secure uniform prosperity in a country where a drought causes the total loss of the crop. This is the case in some of the West Indian Islands, as it is also in some parts of the East Indies. The negro is no more responsible in the one case, than the Hindoo is in the other. But the recovery from a long period of distress has been so general in the islands, and has continued so long, that we may confidently say the ruin of the West Indian colonies, of which we always hear when the demerits of the negro are discussed, is a thing of the past.

The fact is, that the experience of the negro in the West Indies (lamentable as it has been in many respects), proves that he possesses a capacity for adapting himself to the laws of European civilized life, which, so far as we know, has not been found in any other savage race. Savage races have been found in almost every country in which Europeans have planted colonies. But what has been their fate? They have melted away like snow before the sun. In a very few years there will be no remains of the natives of Tasmania, an island once very fairly inhabited, and about the size of Ireland. Australia being nearly the size of all Europe, the process is, of course, slower. But we much fear it is not less sure. The Tasmanian and Australian savages were, perhaps, the lowest in all respects of any savage nations within our knowledge. *But the natives of New Zealand were as decidedly the highest,*

and they are quickly going in the same manner. So, again, how poor are the remains of those comparatively noble savages, the North American Indians. It is only owing to the almost unlimited extent of the backwoods to which they have been driven, that there are any remains of them at all. Other races which could not be called savages at all, have wholly disappeared before the spread of European emigration. Such has been the fate of the aborigines of all the West India Islands. Such, but for the self-devotion of the glorious Las Casas, would long ago have been the fate of the vast nations of Central and South America. It is true that these nations were swept away chiefly because Christians, in their dealings with them, forgot their Christianity. But, alas! can we say that it has been remembered in their dealings with the negro? And yet so it is that the negro maintains his place in the midst of societies of European foundation. Our kinsmen in America complain that he is irrepressible. If rough usage could have extinguished him, he would long ago have become an object of interest as a race which (in the new world at least) had passed away, and was now merely an object of curiosity, or, at the utmost, of unpractical compassion. This, of itself, shows that the negro race possesses a certain capacity of adapting itself to European civilization, which does not exist in other savage races.

We feel that the practical effect of what we have said is hardly just to Mr. Baker's book. We have devoted so great a part of our space to a protest against two short passages (which we can quite imagine that many readers may pass over without even noticing them) that we have been obliged to leave unnoticed whole chapters which we read with unalloyed pleasure and interest. The very excellence of the book compelled us to do this. In a less interesting and valuable work we might have passed over those passages with a compassionate smile; but his is sure to be so justly popular that there is danger lest his views should be received with little question. By whomsoever else they may be received, God forbid that they should spread among Catholics! Let others deny the bond of a common nature, which unites us to every son of Adam, and that far closer bond, which makes us one with all those for whom Christ died. But, even to the end of the world, His Church must and will bear witness to both, and her witness will only be the stronger and the louder when the tide of human opinion sets, as it has done of late years, in an opposite direction. It is not given to all Catholics to labour and suffer for these degraded members of the human family *with the zeal of B. Peter Claver*, but God forbid that there

should be any one among them who follows the fashion of the day, by admitting that they are of another nature from our own, or that the rules and principles applicable to other families of men must be laid aside with regard to them.

We have mentioned, we believe, the only blemishes in a book of which we may truly say, that according to all calculation, generations may pass before the various chances necessary to produce it may again be combined. In each there are a few men for whom adventure has charms so irresistible that they voluntarily incur perils, which nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand even of the bravest would reasonably refuse. Most of them die in some unsuccessful enterprise, which, if it had succeeded, would have been admired as heroic, but which, when it fails, is merely called mad. Hardly any survive to tell what they have heard and seen, done and suffered. What chance is there that among the small residue there should be one who excels other travellers in his power of telling the story of his past difficulties, as much as in the daring which involved him in them, and in the practical gifts which extricated him from them? And before another book like this can be given to the world, the man who unites all these rare qualities must have been preserved by a special Providence through a thousand dangers, each of which, according to all human calculation, ought to have been fatal, and from which no daring or gift could have extricated him. The outline of Mr. Baker's great geographical discovery we have described. But if he had made more, his personal adventures and his sketches of the manners of the native tribes would have placed his book in the first class of voyages and travels. Take, for instance, two descriptions of Elephant hunts (vol. i., pp. 264 and 324), and that of the Giraffes (page 340), any one of which would have made the fortune of a common book. Then we have the most curious account of the natives. They are marked by such differences, not only of manners but of form and feature, that the black skin and woolly hair seem to be the only characteristics of the negro race common to them all. In other respects many of the tribes of central Africa differ as much from the received negro type as from the European. Much may reasonably be hoped for their future, if only the country can be closed against the parties of armed Turks and Arabs who penetrate deeper and deeper year by year, spreading in one district after another, plunder, fire, and slaughter. The one object of these parties is the slave-trade. No man exceeds Mr. Baker in hatred of this infernal system. If he had spoken of slavery in America, as he has of the slave-trade on the *White Nile*, from practical experience, his generous

instincts would have led him, we doubt not, to detest the one as he does the other, and we should have had no cause to regret anything he would have said. He is convinced that the Nile slave-trade may easily be put down; and that if this is once effected, the country has great capacities for civilization.

He says:—

The first step necessary to the improvement of the savage tribes of the White Nile, is the annihilation of the slave-trade. Until this be effected, no legitimate commerce can be established; neither is there an opening for missionary enterprise. The country is sealed and closed against all improvement. Nothing would be easier than to suppress this infamous traffic, were the European powers in earnest. Egypt is in favour of slavery. I have never seen a government official who did not in argument uphold slavery as an institution absolutely necessary to Egypt. Thus any demonstration made against the slave-trade by the government of that country will be simply a *pro forma* movement to blind the European powers. Their eyes thus closed and the question shelved, the trade will resume its channel. . . . Stop the White Nile trade; prohibit the departure of any vessels from Khartoun for the south, and let the Egyptian government grant a concession to a company for the White Nile, subject to certain conditions and to a special supervision. There are already four steamers at Khartoun. Establish a military post of 200 men at Gondokoro; an equal number below the Shellook tribe in 13° latitude and with two steamers cruising on the river, not a slave could descend the White Nile. Should the slave-trade be suppressed, there will be a good opening for the ivory trade. The newly discovered Albert Lake opens the centre of Africa to navigation. Steamers ascend from Khartoun to Gondokoro in latitude 4.55. Seven days' march from that station the navigable portion of the Nile is reached, where vessels can ascend direct to the Albert Lake. Thus an enormous extent of country is opened to navigation, and Manchester goods and various other articles would find a ready market in exchange for ivory, at a prodigious profit, as, in that newly discovered region, ivory has merely a nominal value" (ii. 312).

We have heard the question asked what good will come of Mr. Baker's great discovery after all? We might reply what good results from any increase of human knowledge? But his discovery has an immediately practical value. We are far from certain that it will ever be turned to good account. But we are very sure it might easily be and ought to be. Unhappily the spirit of the Crusades is extinct. Else what should we all feel in reading of these great regions, now given over to bloodshed and robbery, and in which wrong seems permanently to have taken the place of right, and violence the place of law? And yet, so far as appears, it would need only a slight exertion of the will of Christendom to restore them at once to peace and order. In the really remarkable characteristics of

these lands, as exhibited by Mr. Baker, is, that supreme as wrong and violence is, it is really even there utterly weak. It fell in his case merely before the resolute will of one English man and one English woman. If any one Christian Government were to organize a small body of negro troops, (whose health would not suffer from the climate,) and without assuming any direct sovereignty, were to declare, that slave-trading and war between the different tribes must and shall at once stop, and that differences between chiefs and tribes must be brought for arbitration to his representative, peace would at once be restored. A great part of the country is naturally rich, and if any kind of property were secure in it, would at once become prosperous. One thing only prevents the immediate accomplishment of this great object—the mutual jealousies of the European nations and governments. That jealousy is not without just ground. If, for instance, France were to take possession of the White Nile, England would fear for India. One mode only is conceivable by which this difficulty might be met, a sort of international commission; an interference by united Christendom to be authorised to govern that land in the name of all the Christian nations of Europe. And one person there is upon earth who could, without injury to any one else, preside over such an undertaking—the Vicar of Christ. Is our age so far unchristianized by the great schism, as to render this blessed and unbloody crusade actually impossible?

ART. VIII.—DR. PUSEY ON MARIAN DEVOTION.

An Eirenicon. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Oxford: Parker.

HOWEVER the Eirenicon controversy may terminate in the case of Dr. Pusey himself—and we sincerely hope and pray it may issue in his conversion—it will have indubitably much promoted the advancement of English Catholicism. This it will have done in two different ways. For, firstly, the mind of Englishmen is ordinarily prejudiced against Catholic doctrine and practice by a vast amount of vague disgust, of which one cannot attempt the removal, because it assumes no definite shape whatever; whereas Dr. Pusey has given to this disgust a distinct and articulate expression, so that the Catholic can fairly encounter it. Then, secondly, English-

men, with all their supposed love of fair play, are the most bigoted of men whenever the Church is in question; and under ordinary circumstances they simply refuse to see or to hear whatever is advanced in her favour: but the interest excited by the Eirenicon may possibly just for the moment give Catholics a chance of being listened to.

We will take advantage, then, of this favourable juncture, in regard to the chief topic which the Eirenicon treats. Whether you look at Dr. Pusey himself, or at the great mass of religiously-minded Protestant Englishmen, the one prejudice, which more than all others put together exasperates them against the Church, is the worship of our Blessed Lady therein prevalent.* So far as this prejudice is founded on true zeal for her Son's honour, no Catholic can regard it otherwise than with heartfelt sympathy. There is no Catholic but will be forward to admit, that if Marian worship tended in any way to interfere with the worship of Almighty God, it could not have His sanction; and, consequently, that a society which inculcates it could not be the Catholic Church. We agree with Dr. Pusey, then, from the very bottom of our heart, on the matter of principle; but he and we are wide as the poles asunder on the matter of fact. We speak of Marian devotions even as wearing that extreme shape in which he himself exhibits them, so far as he cites authorized and approved writers. Of these devotions it is little to say that they in no way *impede* the love of God and of Jesus Christ; we maintain confidently that they *promote* that love in a most singular and special degree. On many grounds we deplore, for his own sake, his dislike of these devotions; but on no ground more strongly

* We do not see why we should avoid this most serviceable word "worship," for which it is very difficult to find a substitute. Canon Oakeley most truly remarks: "A great part of the objection to the language of Catholic devotion arises from the practice of confining certain words to their conventional sense, instead of interpreting them according to the intention of the writer or speaker; or, on the other hand, of restricting to a secondary and technical use those which are employed in a more general sense. Thus there is really no difference in fact between the terms 'worship' and 'veneration'; yet, while mere human qualities are popularly considered to warrant veneration, Catholics are charged with idolatry who speak of the Blessed Virgin as an object of worship; a charge the more impertinent when we remember that in the words of the marriage rite, common to Catholics with Protestants, this term is actually employed in the sense of 'service' or 'devotion.' The word 'adoration,' again, has come to be restricted, like that of 'prayer,' to the homage claimed by God Only; though the first, according to its etymology, need mean no more than 'invocation,' and the second, though refused to the saints, is used without scruple in petitions to Parliament. All such words mean only what they are meant to imply. They are to be interpreted by our intention, and not our intention by them" (p. 74).

than because, by not practising them, he loses so inestimable a help towards genuine love of God. This is the very reason why the thought of abandoning them is so intolerable to the Catholic, who is attracted towards them by the Holy Ghost. For the sake of peace, of charity, of unity, he might cheerfully waive any mere matter of personal taste or liking; but he cannot waive what is so indissolubly bound up with the great end for which he was created.

Two lines of objection, essentially different in kind, are urged by the Protestant world against these devotions: the one, historical and theological; the other, moral and spiritual. On the one hand, it is alleged that there is no evidence on which to rest them in Scripture and Antiquity; on the other hand, that they obscure the thought of God and tend to idolatry. Dr. Pusey, like other pious Protestants, very rightly lays far greater stress on the latter than on the former allegation; and it will be our one purpose in this article seriously to consider it. The historical and theological difficulty we reserve for consideration in our next number. And to that future article we of course defer whatever it is necessary to say, on the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of the Assumption; because no one can think that these doctrines in themselves have any tendency to generate idolatry. It is on the vitally important question, then, just stated—the supposed tendency of Catholic Marianism to produce a quasi-idolatry and obscure the thought of God—that we now proceed to enlarge.

All devotion, let it be observed, presupposes doctrine. Thus the mere fact of Catholics praying at all to our Lady, implies the *doctrine* that she can hear their prayers. If I pray her that she will be close at hand whenever temptation assails me,—I imply the *doctrine* that she is well aware of the fact, whenever one of her votaries is *assailed* by temptation. Again, if I beseech her to suggest those thoughts which may be most salutary under my present interior condition, I imply three different *doctrines*: viz., (1) that she has a real power (direct or indirect) of suggesting thoughts; (2) that she knows my present interior condition; and (3) that she knows what thoughts are most salutary for me *in* that condition. Indeed, every devout Catholic feels that if such belief in our Lady's power did not exist as a foundation, the whole fabric of his devotion to her would collapse and fall. Our defence, therefore, of Marian devotion must be a defence of Marian doctrine.

Now the various doctrines, indiscriminately assailed by Dr. Pusey, belong to very different classes. The first and most important consists of those, which are magisterially, and *therefore* infallibly, taught by the Church. How does she

thus magisterially teach them? By the fact that Pope and bishops throughout Christendom promote, encourage, nay inculcate, a devotion—and, further, that successive Pontiffs have most richly indulged it—which implies and presupposes the doctrines in question. In our last number we drew out a list of such doctrines; and as that list still seems to us sufficiently complete, we cannot do better than reprint the paragraph.

In order to appreciate Dr. Pusey's various propositions, it is very important that we briefly and generally explain, what are those doctrines concerning her, which we maintain to be authoritatively, and therefore infallibly, taught by the Church. They are, we think, such as these:—(1.) That her merits are incomparably greater than those of any other created person.* (2.) That, accordingly, she occupies a place in heaven incomparably nearer to her Son than any other. (3.) That she is intimately acquainted with the thoughts, the character, the circumstances, of all who invoke her aid; and well knows what is really for their greatest good. (4.) That she has incomparably greater power than any other created person, towards promoting that good. (5.) That to unite ourselves with Mary in the contemplation of Jesus, as is done *e. g.* by those who duly recite the Rosary, is a singularly efficacious means for vividly apprehending His Divine Personality and His various mysteries. (6.) That the unremitting and most loving thought of her has an efficacy, peculiarly its own, in promoting a tender and practical love of Him. (7.) That that temper of mind is most acceptable to Almighty God, in which the thought of Jesus and of Mary is inseparably blended. (8.) That regular and repeated prayer to her cannot be omitted by a Catholic, without putting his salvation into grievous peril.† Other propositions might be added to these; and the proof which we would allege, of such propositions being really contained in the Church's authoritative teaching, is this:—If any one of them were denied, the exhortations impressed on Catholics throughout Christendom, with full approbation of Pope and bishops, would be baseless and indefensible; influential religious habits, whose growth is sedulously fostered by ecclesiastical authority, would be founded on a delusion; the Church would have in fact made a mistake, unspeakably serious, in that very matter—the training of souls for heaven—which is the one ultimate end for which she was endowed with infallibility (pp. 434-5).

In further illustration of the Church's teaching, we will insert, almost at random, various extracts from the "*Raccolta*," so admirably translated by F. St. John of the Birmingham

* "Our God Himself loves thee [Mary] alone more than all men and angels together."—(*Raccolta*, p. 185.)

† "O Mary. . . . I shall assuredly be lost if I abandon thee. . . . It is impossible for that man to perish who faithfully recommends himself to thee."—(*Raccolta*, p. 184.)

Oratory. There cannot be more unimpeachable proofs of the Church's doctrine, than those various prayers which she authoritatively recommends to her children by indulgencing their use.

When at length my hour is come, then do thou, Mary, *my hope*, be thyself my aid in those great troubles wherewith my soul will be encompassed. *Strengthen me*, that I may not despair when the enemy sets my sins before my face. Obtain for me at that moment grace *to invoke thee often*, so that I may breathe forth my spirit with *thine own sweet name and that of thy most holy Son upon my lips* (p. 183).

In thee let the Holy Church find safe shelter ; protect it, and be its sweet asylum, its tower of strength, impregnable against every inroad of its enemies. Be thou *the road leading to Jesus* ; be thou *the channel whereby we receive all graces needful for our salvation*. Be thou our help in need, our comfort in trouble, our strength in temptation, our refuge in persecution, our aid in all dangers ; but especially in the last struggle of our life, at the moment of our death, when all hell shall be unchained against us to snatch away our souls,—in that dread moment, that hour so terrible, whereon our eternity depends, ah, yes, most tender Virgin, do thou, then, make us feel how great is the sweetness of thy Mother's Heart, and the power of thy might with the Heart of Jesus, by opening for us a safe refuge in the very fount of mercy itself, that so one day we too may join with thee in Paradise in praising that same Heart of Jesus for ever and for ever (p. 179).

I would I had a greater love, a more tender love : this thou must gain for me, since *to love thee is a great mark of predestination*, and a grace which God grants to those who shall be saved (p. 185).

Thou, Mary, art *the stewardess of every grace which God vouchsafes to give us sinners*, and therefore did He make thee so mighty, rich, and kind, that thou mightest succour us. I will that I may be saved : in thy hands I place my eternal salvation, to thee I consign my soul. I will be associated with those who are thy special servants ; reject me not. *Thou goest up and down seeking the wretched to console them*. Cast not away, then, a wretched sinner who has recourse to thee. Speak for me, Mary ; thy Son grants what thou askest (pp. 186-7).

My Queen ! my Mother ! *I give thee all myself* ; and to show my devotion to thee, *I consecrate to thee this day my eyes, ears, mouth, heart, myself wholly, and without reserve*. Wherefore, O loving Mother, as I am thine own, keep me, defend me, as *thy property, and thy own possession*.

Ejaculation in any Temptation.

My Queen, my Mother ! remember I am thine own.

Keep me, defend me, as thy property, thy own possession (p. 197).

Accept what we offer, grant us what we ask, pardon us what we fear ; for *thou art the sole hope of sinners*. Through thee we hope for the forgiveness

of our faults; and in thee, most blessed one, is the hope of our reward. Holy Mary, succour the wretched, help the faint-hearted, comfort the sorrowful, pray for the people, shield the clergy, intercede for the devout female sex, let all feel thy help who celebrate thy holy commemoration. *Be thou at hand, ready to aid our prayers, when we pray; and return to us laden with the answers we desire.* Make it thy care, blessed one, to intercede ever for the people of God—thou who didst deserve to bear the Redeemer of the world, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever (p. 199).

O Joseph, help us with thy prayers to be of the number of those who, *by the merits of Jesus and his Virgin Mother*, shall be partakers of the resurrection to glory (pp. 274-5).

O Joseph, obtain for us, that, *being entirely devoted to the service of Jesus and Mary*, we may live and die for them alone (p. 275).

O Joseph, obtain for us, that, having our hearts freed from idle fears, we may enjoy the peace of a tranquil conscience, *dwelling safely with Jesus and Mary, and dying at last in their arms* (p. 275).

Let it be clearly understood, then, that in this particular part of our article we are not occupied with defending the truly beautiful sentiments, which Dr. Pusey has brought together from S. Alphonsus; from S. Bernardine of Sienna; from the Ven. Grignon de Montfort. On *their* defence we shall enter afterwards; and shall face distinctly the whole mass of testimony, adduced in the Eirenicon from Catholic writers. Here, however, we speak of doctrines, not merely permitted and sanctioned by the Church, but authoritatively inculcated on all her children.

Now as to these doctrines, our opponent may reasonably require due evidence for their truth, antecedently to bringing against them any objection whatever; for a doctrine is not established, nor even made probable, by the mere circumstance that it is unobjectionable. Such evidence, however, we consider ourselves to have most abundantly supplied in our two last numbers. We assumed merely that Christianity is of divine origin, and that the New Testament narrative is substantially true. We argued in January that, if this be once granted, it follows that the Roman Catholic Church is indubitably infallible; (see particularly p. 237;) and we argued in April (pp. 422-5) that this infallibility resides primarily in her *magisterium*. We confidently maintain that no conclusion, resting on historical grounds and claiming moral not mathematical certainty, was ever more absolutely irrefragable, than the conclusion at which we arrived in those two articles. That conclusion is, *that if Christianity is really of divine origin, and if the New Testament narrative is accurate as to*

its general substance, then the Roman Catholic Church is infallible in her magisterium. But Dr. Pusey will be the very last man to deny, that she does magisterially teach such doctrines as those above recited, and others of a similar character. Since, therefore, she magisterially teaches these doctrines,—and since she is *infallible* in her magisterium,—it follows that these doctrines are infallibly true.

However, their argumentative establishment does not exempt a controversialist from the obligation of answering objections. Even in the region of pure mathematics a thesis would be left in a most unsatisfactory state, although it had been proved by rigorous demonstration, if a plausible objection against its truth were to remain unanswered. And much more, of course, does this hold, where the proof does not pretend to be demonstrative in the strictest sense of that word; even though it be (what in this case it is) as cogent and conclusive as any historical proof can possibly be. Now (as has been already observed) there are two kinds of objections, essentially different, which have been raised against the body of doctrine now in question. Those objections, which refer to its supposed inconsistency with Scripture and Antiquity, will be considered in our next number; those which rest on its alleged tendency to obscure the thought of God and to promote a quasi-idolatry, must be encountered here.

We will begin with considering an argument, which is often used by Protestants and even by Tractarians, though Dr. Pusey does not himself endorse it. "By the very fact that Catholics believe our Lady to hear their prayer and to read their heart, they represent her," so runs the argument, "as omnipresent and as a kind of goddess." There is no more amazing fact in all controversy, than that any Christian, who believes in the Incarnation, should have laid stress on a fallacy so easily and so triumphantly refuted. Consider that dear soul of our Blessed Lord, which was created for the very purpose of suffering in our behalf, and which did in fact experience anguish so unspeakable. When our Lord was enduring His agony, or was hanging on the cross, or now that He is in heaven,—does any Christian doubt that His soul did and does read the heart of those who address Him? that it did and does apprehend most accurately men's interior circumstances? that it did and does know what is the fittest and most appropriate remedy for their interior evils? Yet, do Christians, therefore, regard that soul as omnipresent? as uncreated? as *infinite*? How readily Protestants take up a weapon

against the Church, which recoils on themselves with effect the most fatal!

We will not, however, be contented with stating this parallel negatively; we will draw it out in a positive shape. How do Protestants explain this vast knowledge possessed by the soul of Christ? We are not aware of any explanation, except that given by Catholic theologians. That soul, say these theologians, was endued from the very beginning of its existence with three kinds of knowledge: the chief of them being "*scientia beata*;" that knowledge which arises from the facial vision of God. In Christ's case,—these theologians proceed,—this facial vision imparted and imparts, not the habitual knowledge only, but the constant and explicit thought, of all things past, present, and future; of the most hidden thoughts of the heart, no less than of the most visible and palpable phenomena of the universe. Such then is the account, we suppose, given by all those Protestants who give any at all, of Christ's human knowledge. But now consider. This facial vision of God was enjoyed by Mary from the moment of her death, quite as truly, though of course by no means in the same degree, as by Christ Himself. We are very far indeed from saying that the knowledge which she thus obtains is co-extensive with the human knowledge of Christ; to suppose so, would be a monstrous and intolerable error. But we do say that, even if it *had* been thus co-extensive, she would not on that account have ceased to be a creature; unless, indeed, you would sanction the heretical and even absurd proposition, that the soul of Christ was raised from the sphere of createdness and finiteness to that of infinity and omnipresence.

We have been answering the objection, that to regard our Lady as reading the heart, is logically and philosophically equivalent with regarding her as omnipresent. Some Protestants, however, candidly waive this objection, and admit that a Catholic does not speculatively view her as infinite: yet they urge at the same time that such is his *practical* impression; that the interior acts of reverence and homage, with which he approaches her, are undistinguishable in kind from those with which he approaches Almighty God. Dr. Pusey is as far from sympathizing with this view as with the former; * and, indeed, his line of objection directly contradicts it, as will be immediately seen. We will not then say more about it in this

* Some words of his indeed, in p. 184, seem at first sight to express this view; but if you take them in connection with the pages which precede and follow, you will see that their sense is different. These preceding pages will be immediately quoted at length in our text.

place, as it will be implicitly encountered by our subsequent remarks.

In no other part of the Eirenicon can we find so clear a statement of Dr. Pusey's own objection, as in the following; which, as will be seen, contains an admission, that Roman Catholics do not in fact pay her divine worship. We have substituted our own italics for his.

This question of reliance upon the Blessed Virgin as *the* being in whose hands our salvation is virtually to be placed, is quite distinct from that other question of the nature of the worship paid to her. The one is a practical question affecting our whole eternity, "What shall I do to be saved?" *The practical answer to the Roman Catholic seems to me to be, "Go to Mary, and you will be saved;"* in our dear Lord's own words, it is, "Come unto Me;" in our own belief it is, "Go to Jesus, and you will be saved."

The answer which is commonly made, that devotion to the Blessed Virgin is but relative, does not touch this. *No one would impute to the Marian writers that they mean that she is Dea*, although notoriously, some of them have called her so.* But they speak of what comes to the same, of her "delegated omnipotency;" and a recent writer says, "When Mary, in her office of Advocate, is named 'Omnipotency kneeling,' or 'interceding Omnipotency,' this will now, I hope, appear to be saying not too much but too little." *The human mind is narrow, and easily filled with one thought, especially when that thought relates to one's all.* When, then, the soul is taught that devotion to Mary is essential; that she is "the nearest to us, and the most suited to our capacity;" that "to go to Jesus, we must go to Mary; she is our Mediatrix of intercession;" that she repels none; "she is good and tender; she has nothing in her austere and repulsive;" *it seems inconceivable that many should not stop short in her*, with, at best, a more or less indistinct reference to Jesus (pp. 181-3).

In order that we may bring the argument between Dr. Pusey and ourselves to a more definite issue, we will disentangle this passage from all reference to individual writers; and we will express in our own words, to the best of our power, the argument intended by our author.

"Man's mind," we understand Dr. Pusey to say, "is narrow; his affections easily exhausted; his very time limited. I do not here speak of saintly men; and God forbid I should

* What "Marian" ever called her so? What right has Dr. Pusey to make so startling a statement, without adducing any kind of authority? Curiously enough, we believe that such a phrase, used figuratively of course, does occur in the "Christus Patiens," a poem of the *patristic* period. But what *later* Catholic writer has so spoken? We ask for information: we cannot, of course, assert confidently the negative, but we have never met with any such expression.

"suggest that these men take from the Son any portion
 "of the love which they give to the Mother.* But I speak of
 "the mass as we find them; of those who fulfil their religious
 "duties in an ordinary and quiet way. These men give a
 "certain portion of each day to prayer; and it is arithmeti-
 "cally evident, that if some of that portion goes to Mary, there
 "will be so much the less left for their God and Saviour.
 "But this is far from the worst. It is quite indefinitely
 "pleasanter and easier to fallen man that he shall address a
 "fellow-creature, than that he shall adore the Infinite Creator.
 "If Catholics, then, are told that she knows their thoughts
 "and can grant their petitions, they will be ever increasing
 "the time devoted to her, at the expense of that devoted to
 "God. They will thus more and more learn practically to
 "look to *her* for pardon, for help, for strength, for consolation.
 "It is their prayer to *her* which will issue freely and warmly
 "from the heart; while their addresses to God will be little
 "more than the perfunctory and external performance of a
 "certain stated and prescribed routine."

Such representations as these—and they are common from the most "high-church" Protestants—tend to make a Catholic wring his hands in perplexity and distress. Oh, Dr. Pusey, if you could see for one moment into the heart of an ordinarily devout Catholic, you would see how wild and absolutely imaginary is the picture you draw of him. But how can we persuade you of this? How are we to answer, in a way that shall carry conviction to your mind, those ingenious sophisms which you have so perversely constructed? It is like labouring to teach a blind man the true nature of colours.

Yet a certain severity of comment is surely not out of place. If a blind man grieves over his calamity, how sincerely we commiserate him! how earnestly we try to help him! But what if he will not admit himself to be in a position of disadvantage at all? What if he declares that all who profess the possession of eyesight are in a conspiracy to deceive him? What if he maintains that in fact there is no such thing as colour? This is the true parallel to Dr. Pusey. He has never experienced, or come near to experiencing, the state of mind engendered by a constant and loving devotion to Mary; and yet he confidently pits his *à priori* augury of what that state of mind must be, against the unanimous testimony of those who *know* that phenomenon on which he descants in ignorance.

* See Dr. Pusey's most honourable admission of this, cited in our last number (p. 439).

Our wish, however, is not to convict Dr. Pusey, but to convince him; and we may possibly succeed in this, if we can but turn the tables on himself. We will suppose then (what is at least imaginable), a pious and devout Theist, who labours under a blind prejudice against the doctrine of the Incarnation, not dissimilar to that which influences Dr. Pusey against the Church's Marian teaching. He may be supposed to express himself in such terms as these:—

“Men were created for one end—the knowledge and love of God. They better fulfil that end, therefore,—they are more perfect of their kind,—in proportion as they more constantly keep the thought of God before them; contemplate His excellences; labour to fulfil His commands. Now this sad doctrine of the Incarnation presents one constant impediment in the way of man's great work. When we Deists are oppressed with trial, temptation, suffering, we stimulate our confidence in the Almighty Creator, by steadily fixing our thoughts on His Infinite Mercy and His Infinite Power. But you Trinitarians, I have repeatedly observed, shrink from this: it is not once in a thousand times that your pious affections take any such turn. No: You fix your thoughts, not on the Infinite Love which is entertained for you by God; but on the finite love which (as you think) is entertained for you by that created soul, which you believe God to have assumed: and you ponder accordingly on the various most touching circumstances of Christ's Life and Passion. Yet even if I were to grant your full doctrine, it would still remain true that the love felt for you by the soul which so suffered is but a finite love. And further, since no one finite object is nearer than any other to the Infinite, it is true, in the strictest and most literal sense, that the love felt for you by the Divine Nature as far exceeds the love felt for you by the soul of Christ, as it exceeds the love you feel for each other.

“Then, we preserve untouched that most sacred truth, which your own Scriptures so prominently testify; that God Alone can read the heart: whereas you admit the soul of Christ into a participation of that incommunicable privilege, and thereby invest a finite object with the very attributes of Infinity. Or, again, suppose I would rouse myself to repentance for sin: I reflect on God's Infinite Sanctity; on the disloyal insult which I have offered to that Sanctity; and on the foul contrast between God, the great Exemplar, and myself. Now I will not say that you Trinitarians never do this; but I will confidently say that you far oftener do something else. You dwell on the anguish which you con-

“sider your sin to have inflicted on the loving Heart of your
“Redeemer; or on the contrast between your sin and Christ’s
“spotless sanctity on earth—*i.e.*, the spotless sanctity of a
“created soul; or on your ingratitude for the torments endured
“by that soul in your behalf; and then you gaze with com-
“punction on the pierced hands and feet. In fact, you carry
“this quasi-idolatrous principle into every detail of the in-
“terior life. You do not come, as I may say, face to face with
“God; what you call the Sacred Humanity stands up as a
“constant barrier between Him and your soul. Nor must I
“fail to add, that your doctrine of the Atonement has fear-
“fully encouraged sin, by representing pardon for the most
“frightful offences as so certain and so easily obtained.

“I do not here speak,” he may continue to say, in closer
parody of Dr. Pusey’s assault on Catholics, “I do not here
“speak of saintly men, but of the great mass as we find
“them; of those who fulfil their religious duties in a quiet and
“ordinary way. These men give a certain fixed portion of
“each day to prayer; and it is arithmetically evident that
“if some of that portion goes to the created soul of Christ,
“so much less will be left for the Infinite God. But this is
“far from the worst. It is quite indefinitely easier and more
“pleasant to man as he is, that he shall contemplate a created
“object—especially one invested with the singularly pathetic
“and imaginative interest surrounding Christ’s Life and
“Passion—than that he shall contemplate the Divine Nature.
“If men are told, therefore, that Christ’s human soul knows
“their thoughts and can grant their petitions, they will be
“ever increasing the time devoted to that soul, at the expense
“of the time devoted directly to the Uncreated. They will
“thus learn practically more and more to look to the created
“soul of Christ for pardon, for help, for strength, for conso-
“lation; it is their prayers to that soul which will issue freely
“and warmly from the heart; while their direct addresses to
“the Divine Nature will be little more than the perfunctory
“and external performance of a certain stated and prescribed
“routine.

“Nor can you justly argue, in reply to all this, that you
“regard the soul of Christ as appertaining to a Divine Person,
“and that your prayers to that soul are addressed to God the
“Son. I do not deny that such is your *theory*; but the simple
“*fact* is this. For once that your pious affections are directed
“to the Eternal Father, they are directed a thousand times to
“the Sacred Humanity. You must perforce, therefore, admit
“one of two alternatives, and I care not which. Either you
“love the *Second Person* of your Trinity far better than you

“love the First; or else you love the created soul far better than you love the Divine Person. In either case your doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation have introduced a shocking and most perverse corruption into your practical worship.”

Under the pressure of such arguments, we think that Dr. Pusey in his turn would be disposed to wring his hands in perplexity. Great would be his distress at finding that men can argue with such perverse ingenuity, on grounds purely *à priori*, in favour of a proposition proved to be monstrously and extravagantly false by the daily experience of every Trinitarian. In fact, he would have a practical perception of the effect which is produced on the mind of Catholics, by his own criticism of *Marian* devotion. The mere expression of such distress, however, would do but little to convince his Deistic opponent; for we will not suppose that the Deist is fairer in dealing with Dr. Pusey, than is Dr. Pusey in dealing with the Roman Church. Dr. Pusey, therefore, would be obliged, if the Deist had some considerable influence, to bring out a train of argument in reply; and this argument might, perhaps, take some such shape as the subjoined. We should add that we are ourselves in complete agreement with the whole reply which here follows:—

“Man, undoubtedly, I grant you—it is the very foundation of all true religion—was created for one end, the knowledge and love of God: he is more perfect in proportion as such knowledge and love are greater—in proportion as he is more prompt to recognise and obey the Divine Will. But I cannot admit for a moment that he advances more quickly in such promptitude by contemplating exclusively the Divine Nature, than by contemplating the Sacred Humanity. Facts, indeed, prove most emphatically the reverse. Nor is it at all difficult to explain these facts. When an ordinary French or Italian Catholic* contemplates the acts of Christ, he contemplates them, not simply as the acts of a finite soul, but as human acts of the Infinite God. This will be evident to any one brought into contact with the Catholics of those countries, by the awe and lowly reverence which they exhibit in pondering on the various mysteries of Christ. In like manner—that I may notice your other objec-

* We here violate dramatic appropriateness; for Dr. Pusey would assuredly say in preference, “an ordinary member of the Anglican Church.” We cannot admit, however, that members of the Anglican Church, other than extreme Tractarians, do in general practically hold and realize our Lord’s *Divine Personality*. On this we speak later in our article.

tions—our thought of the anguish which our sin inflicted on His Heart causes us, not to forget, but on the contrary far more vividly to remember, that abhorrence of sin which characterizes the Divine Nature. Again, our firm belief that the most hidden secrets of our mind are open to the human soul of Christ, does but intensify our realization of the doctrine that God's Uncreated Nature is strictly Omniscient.

Further, consider the close connection which exists between what are called respectively 'sensible' and 'solid' piety. By the former I mean the assemblage of those various emotions—awe, gratitude, hope, joy, tender love—which are produced by thinking on the Objects of faith; by the latter phrase, 'solid piety,' is meant a ready promptitude of will towards the love and service of God. Now, of saintly men great marvels are recorded, concerning the devotedness of will and purpose maintained by them under afflicting aridity; but, as regards the great mass of mankind, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of *sensible* piety, as fostering true devotion of *the will* to God. In all human matters you would admit this. Suppose I felt no sensible pain in hearing my mother foully slandered, nor any sensible pleasure in fulfilling her wishes; you would take for granted that I am not the man to put forth any wonderfully strong efforts of *will* and active exertion, whether to please her or to vindicate her good name. From the absence, I say, of strong *emotion*, you would at once infer that vigorous acts of the *will* are also absent. And, in like manner, surely the cases are most rare and exceptional, in which there is a hearty zeal of *will* for God's glory, and a hearty love of *will* for His adorable Sanctity, without corresponding *emotions* of zeal and of love. Emotions have no merit in themselves, doubtless; but their value is simply inappreciable, as ministers and promoters of that which is valuable and meritorious. Sensible pleasure, when intense, penetrates the intellect with an unspeakably vivid apprehension of its object, and thus leads to the highest and choicest acts of the will.*

* This truth is beautifully stated in F. Faber's "Growth in Holiness." Study the chapter from page 422 to 451, and observe especially the following passage. "[During periods of sensible devotion], all trains of thought which concern heavenly things display a copiousness and exuberance which they never had before. Meditations are fluent and abundant. The virtues no longer bring forth their actions in pain and travail, but with facility and abundance, and their offspring are rich, beautiful, and heroic. There are provinces of temptations always in discontented and smouldering rebellion. But [now] we have a power over them, which is new and which is growing.

" This being understood, you should at once admit the
 " inappreciable advantage obtained for us by our belief in the
 " Incarnation. It is the very ground of your adverse argu-
 " ment, that the thought of Christ's Life and Passion, in their
 " touching and unapproachable circumstances, is immeasurably
 " more attractive to the imagination and affections of ordinary
 " men, than is any contemplation of God's Infinite Nature.
 " Since, therefore, so immeasurably more of *sensible* piety is
 " engendered by the former than by the latter, far more of
 " *solid* piety will also be thus engendered. Moreover,
 " nothing can be more extravagantly contrary to facts, than to
 " say that the habit of praying to Christ renders men's
 " addresses to the Infinite God perfunctory and lifeless. The
 " very opposite is well known to all devout Trinitarians.
 " After having pondered on some mystery of our Lord's Life
 " or Passion, we find an altogether fresh and indefinitely
 " increased tenderness in our thought of the Invisible God.
 " It is hardly an exaggeration, indeed, to say that, for all our
 " tenderness in the latter, we are exclusively indebted to the
 " former. And lastly, in proportion as our explicit prayers
 " are more lively and heartfelt, in that proportion we more
 " fully consecrate our whole lives to God, by keeping His
 " remembrance in our mind throughout the day. The regular
 " practice, then, of prayer to the soul of Christ and to God
 " Incarnate (for these two prayers, indeed, are substantially
 " the same) is the one cause to which we are almost exclu-
 " sively indebted, for our habits (whatever they may be) of
 " Divine love.

" As to the argument by which you finally clinch your
 " reasoning, I totally deny your assumed premiss; I totally
 " deny that that Object which I most love is necessarily that
 " on which my pious affections most readily and spontaneously
 " rest. Human nature, being weak and corrupt, shrinks from
 " that which requires great effort and exertion. Nothing
 " then is more easily explicable, than that at some given

We have such a facility in difficulties as almost to change the character of the
 spiritual life; and a union of body and spirit, which is as great a revolution
 as agreement and peace in a divided household. All these blessings are the
 mutations of the Right Hand of the Most High. Even to beginners, God
 often vouchsafes to give them, not merely as sugar-plums to children, as some
 writers have strangely said, but to do a real work in their souls, and enable
 them to hold their way through the supernatural difficulties proper to their
 state. But proficients should ardently desire them, for they fatten prayer;
 and the perfect can never do without them, as they can never cease
augmenting their virtues and rendering the exercise of them pleasant"
 (pp. 428-9).

"moment my thoughts fix themselves with immeasurably
 "greater readiness and spontaneousness on an object—such
 "as the soul of Christ—which is far more level to my capacities of apprehension: certain though I am that—so far as
 "it can be considered separately from Him Whose soul it is—
 "I love it appreciatively with an affection, not merely less
 "in degree, but quite lower in kind, than that which I
 "entertain towards the Infinite God.

"And is not all which I have said borne out by an experience,
 "which I may really call visible and palpable? Is it not visibly
 "and palpably the fact, that a love of God has been called
 "into existence among Christian Saints, indefinitely higher
 "than that exhibited by the great servants of God under
 "the old dispensation? nay, and different (one may really say)
 "in kind from any shown in the Christian period, whether by
 "Unitarians or by other disbelievers in the Incarnation?"

Such a reply may fail to convince Dr. Pusey's opponent; but he will himself admit its force, and that is all we desire. We say, then, that the above argument may be paralleled, in every essential particular, for the defence of Marian devotion; that the same line of thought, which vindicates against Deists the worship of Jesus, vindicates no less triumphantly against Anglicans the worship of Mary. To this critical part of our reasoning we now proceed: but, before considering those particular Catholics to whom Dr. Pusey's objections apply, it will be well briefly to touch other classes, which have a real existence and must not be forgotten. These classes, of course, melt into each other gradually and imperceptibly, so far as individuals are concerned; or the same man may fall from one class into a lower, and afterwards rise again. Still, on the whole, these various classes stand each on its distinct ground.

Protestants assure us, *e.g.*, that Italian brigands, who never think for a moment of God and their eternal destiny, often retain the habit of invoking the Mother of God; nay, of praying her to assist them in their nefarious schemes. We never could see what on earth this fact has to do with the question. So far from the Church being responsible for these men, they have broken off all connection with her; and they know very well that every priest in Christendom considers their course of life simply detestable. All we have to say then is that, scoundrel for scoundrel—if brigands there must be—we would rather that a scoundrel retained habits of prayer to our Lady, than that there should be no link whatever between him and Christianity.

Another class consists of those whom the Ven. Grignon de Montfort calls "presumptuous devotees;" and who differ from those just mentioned in this respect, that they are really anxious about their salvation, and flatter themselves that they shall obtain it. We cannot better depict and estimate these men than in Montfort's very words:—

Presumptuous devotees are sinners abandoned to their passions, or lovers of the world, who, under the fair name of Christians and clients of our Blessed Lady, conceal pride, avarice, impurity, drunkenness, anger, swearing, detraction, injustice, or some other sin. They sleep in peace in the midst of their bad habits, without doing any violence to themselves to correct their faults, *under the pretext that they are devout to the Blessed Virgin*. They promise themselves that God will pardon them; that they will not be allowed to die without confession; and that they will not be lost eternally; because they say the rosary, because they fast on Saturdays, because they belong to the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, or wear the scapular, or are enrolled in other congregations, or wear the little habit or little chain of our Lady. They will not believe us when we tell them that their devotion is only an illusion of the devil, and a pernicious presumption likely to destroy their souls. They say that God is good and merciful; that He has not made us to condemn us everlastingly; that no man is without sin; that they shall not die without confession; that one good Peccavi at the hour of death is enough; that they are devout to our Lady; that they wear the scapular; and that they say daily, without reproach or vanity, seven Paters and Aves in her honour; and that they sometimes say the rosary and the office of our Lady, besides fasting and other things. To give authority to all this, and to blind themselves still further, they quote certain stories, which they have heard or read—it does not matter to them whether they be true or false,—relating how people have died in mortal sin without confession; and then, because in their lifetime they sometimes said some prayers, or went through some practices of devotion to our Lady, how they have been raised to life again, in order to go to confession, or their soul been miraculously retained in their bodies till confession; or how they have obtained from God at the moment of death contrition and pardon of their sins, and so have been saved; and that they themselves expect similar favours. *Nothing in Christianity is more detestable than this diabolical presumption*. For how can we say truly that we love and honour our Blessed Lady, when by our sins we are pitilessly piercing, wounding, crucifying, and outraging Jesus Christ her Son? If Mary laid down a law to herself, to save by her mercy this sort of people, she would be authorizing crime, and assisting to crucify and outrage her Son. Who would dare to think such a thought as that?

I say, that thus to abuse devotion to our Lady, which, after devotion to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, is the holiest and solidest of all devotions, *is to be guilty of a horrible sacrilege*, which, after the sacrilege of an unworthy Communion, is the greatest and the least pardonable of all sacrileges (pp. 66-8).

The superstition here condemned is truly deplorable and detestable. How widely it may extend, we have no means of certainly knowing; but Canon Oakeley tells us that he has never met with a single case of it:—

It may be taken as an undoubted fact, that devotion to the Blessed Virgin is never an insulated manifestation of Catholic piety. Where Catholics are not devout to our Lord, they are not devout to His Mother, and *vice versâ*; but I have never happened to meet with an instance of extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, without a corresponding expansion of piety in other directions. I know it is commonly said, that the merciful attributes of the Blessed Virgin are made by uninstructed Catholics an excuse for the commission of sin. I will not go so far as to plead my own limited experience against an equally authentic testimony in favour of such an abuse; nor, indeed, were it clearly shown to exist, would it prove anything more than a new illustration of the poet's words, that 'Noblest things find vilest using.' Yet I will say, upon the word of a priest and confessor of nearly seventeen years' standing, that I have never met with a case of the kind. I have always found, on the contrary, that one of the first symptoms of spiritual decline is the decay of devotion to the Blessed Virgin; and that they who realize enough of her office to know that she is our true Mother of Mercy cannot, if they would, divest themselves of the salutary impression, that she is also the purest of God's creatures, and that, as such, she is abhorrent of sin in all its forms (pp. 29-30).

"Of course," he adds, "there is always a danger that sinners will be tempted to lay too great a stress on the merciful aspects of religion;" but this arises, not from any peculiar characteristic of Marian devotion, but from the corruption and sluggishness of human nature. Indeed, if on account of such abuses we may condemn Marianism itself, a similar condemnation must fall very far more heavily on two doctrines still more primary and fundamental: viz. the Atonement of Christ and Justification by faith. For no perversion of Marian doctrine can be named, which will bear even a moment's comparison with the disgusting and appalling assemblage of blasphemy, which has been built by Antinomians on those two vital truths of the Gospel.

A third class consists of men, who are plunged indeed in mortal sin, and who will not bring themselves to go through that amount of prayer and effort which would lead without delay to their justification, yet who sincerely wish they led a better life; who feel keenly the peril and the misery of their state; while they cherish, however, the hope that their Heavenly Mother will obtain for them such more powerful grace, as may carry them with far greater ease to genuine repentance. *These men instinctively shrink from the explicit*

thought of God and of Christ, through their consciousness of sin and their fear of judgment to come; but this fear does not keep them back from her, to whom (as Catholics love to express it) Christ has committed the kingdom of mercy, while reserving to Himself that of justice. Now as to such sinners every Catholic, of course, holds, (1) that if they die in their present condition they will be inevitably lost; (2) that the very fact of their remaining unreconciled to God involves the greatest danger, lest they fall frequently into fresh mortal sins; and (3) that the very delay of repentance becomes a mortal sin under certain circumstances, as, *e.g.*, when the Church's precept urges of confession and communion. But such comments are beside the point. The question is simply this: other things remaining the same, is it or is it not beneficial, that they shall be frequent in prayer to the Blessed Virgin? Now, most evidently, it is inestimably beneficial. If they practised no prayer to her, they would not be one whit more frequent in prayer to God; but on the contrary would give themselves up without reserve to the world and the devil. Nor have we any doubt whatever, that in numberless cases Mary draws such men, by her intercession with God, to true and efficacious attrition; and that thus multitudes are saved, who, but for their invocation of her sweet name, would have miserably perished.

We now come to that particular class which Dr. Pusey's argument concerns: the class of men who are free from mortal sin, and firmly resolved by God's grace not to commit it; but who are not as yet what is commonly called "interior:" who are not as yet labouring systematically to discover and correct their venial sins and imperfections, and to raise their thoughts and affections from earth to heaven. Of such men we maintain that a solid and earnest devotion to our Lady is the most hopeful means they can adopt, for being raised by God into a higher state of mind. We must beg our readers to look back at p. 150, and refresh their memory as to Dr. Pusey's general ground of objection; because it is in answering such objection, that the reason for our own positive doctrine will most clearly appear. Our reply, it will be observed, preserves throughout a close parallel with that, by which we suppose Dr. Pusey himself to have refuted those Unitarians and Deists, who may have been scandalized at his "idolatrous" worship of the Sacred Humanity. Nor can we better introduce what we would say, than by quoting F. Newman's most eloquent and touching passage, on the respective characteristics of Jesus and Mary as Objects of worship.

It was the creation of a new idea and a new sympathy, a new faith and worship, when the holy Apostles announced that God had become incarnate ; and a supreme love and devotion to Him became possible, which seemed hopeless before that revelation. But besides this, a second range of thoughts was opened on mankind, unknown before, and unlike any other, *as soon as it was understood that that Incarnate God had a Mother*. The second idea is perfectly distinct from the former, the one does not interfere with the other. *He is God made low, she is a woman made high* (p. 88).

He who charges us with making Mary a divinity, *is thereby denying the divinity of Jesus*. Such a man does not know what divinity is. *Our Lord cannot pray for us, as a creature, as Mary prays ; He cannot inspire those feelings which a creature inspires*. To her belongs, as being a creature, a natural claim on our sympathy and familiarity, in that she is nothing else than our fellow. She is our pride,—in the poet's words, "Our tainted nature's solitary boast." *We look to her without any fear, any remorse. . . .* Our heart yearns towards that pure Virgin, that gentle Mother, and our congratulations follow her, as she rises from Nazareth and Ephesus, through the choirs of angels, to her throne on high. So weak yet so strong ; so delicate, yet so glory-laden ; so modest, yet so mighty. She has sketched for us her own portrait in the Magnificat. "He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaid ; for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. He hath put down the mighty from their seat ; and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He hath sent empty away" (pp. 90-1).

Now we will first admit, for argument's sake, Dr. Pusey's most strange supposition, that devotion to our Lady does not ordinarily cause increase of the time given to prayer. We most cordially admit also of course his implied principle, that men are more excellent, more perfect of their kind, precisely in proportion as they grow in the knowledge and love of God. This, indeed, is the very "foundation" of S. Ignatius ; and most assuredly is very far more consistently and loudly proclaimed within the Church than in any other religious society. But we maintain, firstly, that this knowledge and love may be at certain times far more effectively promoted by prayer to Mary, than by direct prayer to God and Christ. Let us fix our ideas by an instance. A Catholic comes into a church in the middle of the day, from the dust and heat of his secular avocations. It will very often happen that, after he has genuflected before the Blessed Sacrament, his very best course for raising his heart to a fervent love of God will be prayer before an image of our Lady.

For consider. It is Dr. Pusey's own admission—nay, it is the very foundation of his whole argument—that, with ordinarily pious men, it often *requires* far less effort and exertion to fix their thoughts on a created person, such as Mary, than on

God Incarnate; and on such occasions, therefore, their prayer to her will be far more earnest, far less distracted, far more heartfelt, than it would have been if addressed directly to God. Now, there are two different effects to be considered in the case of prayer. On the one hand, the various graces given by God of His own good pleasure in response to it; and, on the other hand, the result it produces, in the way (as it were) of natural cause and effect,* on the will and on the emotions. As to the former of these effects, there is no pretence for saying that prayer to Mary is less efficacious than direct prayer to Jesus; for it is ultimately addressed to Him, and that through the most acceptable of all mediators. As to the latter effect,—its quasi-natural result on the intellect, the will, the emotions—let this be borne in mind. It is a vitally important psychological fact, and one on which theologians lay the most earnest stress, that no man can desire evil for its own sake; that all men's thoughts and affections would be directed to God in one unintermittent stream, were it not for the innumerable corrupt interests and associations which enchain them. In proportion, then, as at any moment I am disentangled from these meshes, in that very proportion I am more disposed to obey God's Will and to follow His Preference. Now remember that every Catholic regards Mary as absolutely free from the slightest approach to moral imperfection of any imaginable kind; and that her contemplation, therefore, is among the most powerful correctives of every inordinate and irregular passion. But, in proportion as every inordinate and irregular passion is corrected, in that very proportion the love of God is fostered and promoted; and the love of God, therefore, instead of being impeded, is promoted with singular efficacy by prayer to the Most Holy Virgin. Since then, such prayer, under the circumstances supposed, was very far more earnest and heartfelt than any other prayer would have been;—it was, under those particular circumstances, far more conducive than any other to increased love of God. Under favourable conditions, indeed, it may so engender actual and vivid emotions of love and gratitude to God, that I can be no longer content without explicit worship of Him; that I prostrate myself before the Blessed Sacrament, and address Him (as it were) face to face; that in some sense I leave Mary for Jesus, and by so leaving her fulfil her highest wishes in my regard. As Montfort puts it, I have begun according to the Church's order with "*benedicta tu in mulieribus;*" and have been raised

* For supernatural phenomena, no less than natural, have fixed mutual relations of their own.

to the still higher step, "*Benedictus Fructus ventris tui Jesus.*"

And here we are reminded, before we go further, of dwelling on a somewhat important consideration suggested by the above argument. What is meant when one says that each different saint has a *character* of his own? S. Paul, *e. g.*, had his own very pronounced character; S. Peter his; and so of the rest. It must mean, at all events, that certain qualities very perceptibly and prominently predominated over the rest. Now does not this further imply that there was a certain want of complete harmony? a certain imperfection of temperament? On the other hand, our Saviour, as exhibited in the Gospels, has no "*character*;" no one quality predominates unduly over any other; he is the very image of the Infinitely Perfect God. And here we see under one aspect how broad is the contrast between devotion to Mary and to another saint. She has no special "*character*" of her own, any more than her Son has; she is the "*Speculum Justitiæ*;" the faultless mirror of complete and harmonious sanctity.

We return to our argument. There cannot possibly be a greater mistake than to suppose, as Dr. Pusey does, that, with such Catholics as we are now considering, the worship of Mary reduces the worship of God and of Jesus to a perfunctory, external, uninteresting work. The very opposite holds most emphatically and prominently. We have already given one explanation of this; here is another. Devotion to our Lady, if constant and unremitting, will assuredly issue in a loving contemplation of her history; of those mysteries (as Catholics call them), joyful, sorrowful, glorious, which are commemorated in the Rosary. Now, it has been frequently pointed out by Catholic controversialists—and it should be pondered on again and again—that there is no history of her current in the Church, except in closest connection with her Son. On the details of her life during those periods when her life was led apart from His—before the Annunciation and after the Ascension—Scripture preserves a deep silence; nor has there been any beyond the most sparing supplement of Scripture from the stores of tradition. Her joys, as contemplated by Catholics, were in His Presence; her dolours in His Passion; her exaltation in His Resurrection and Ascension. To dwell on her mysteries, is to think of Him in the most affecting and impressive way in which that thought can possibly be presented.

Then again, in proportion as I grow in love and devotion to her, I am more prompt, of course, to do her bidding and fulfil her wishes. *What is that bidding? what are those wishes?*

except that I obey her Son;—that I render to God the adoration which the Church prescribes. My love for her will make me earnestly desirous of doing this in the way she would have me do it; or, in other words, as a heartfelt and pious exercise.

Here, then, it will be in place to point out, how large a portion of their worship is offered directly to God, by those who follow the Church's rule, and who really seek therefore to please their Heavenly Mother. Cardinal Wiseman treats this excellently during the controversy of 1841-5.

Now, to examine this view of the case, let us take as an instance, an Italian peasant. What are the religious exercises which are enjoined him and which he regularly attends? First, the holy sacrifice of the Mass, every Sunday and holiday, and pretty generally every morning before going to work. He knows, as well as you or I, what the Mass is, and that it cannot be offered up to any, save to God. Secondly, the Holy Communion at least several times a year; often, much more frequently. Thirdly, as a preparation for it, confession of his sins, penitently and contritely. These two sacraments he well knows have nothing to do [intrinsically] with the Blessed Mother of God. . . . Fourthly, the Benediction, or adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, generally in the evening of all festivals, and often on other days. To this we may add the forty hours' prayer, or exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for that space of time, watched by adorers day and night. Among the prayers most frequently inculcated, and publicly recited, are acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition, and well known by the most illiterate. The leading exercises of worship and devotion all belong to God: the principal one that is referable to the Blessed Virgin is the Rosary. This generally forms a part of family evening devotions, and is moreover occasionally said in public. I would gladly enter, did my present object permit such details, into an explanation and analysis of this devotion, one of the most beautiful to mortal mind: at present I need only say, that every book of devotion will show you what the catechism in Italy, and I believe in Spain, fully explains, that the mysteries of our Saviour's Birth, Death, and Triumph, are the real objects of this form of prayer. However, take it as you please; consider it as a devotion principally addressed to the Blessed Virgin, and add to it any other usually said, as her Litany;—and I ask you what do they amount to, compared with the exercises of piety which I have before enumerated, the most solemn by far and the most indispensable? For every Catholic, however ignorant, knows that he must every festival assist at Mass, under pain of sin; but none imagine that a similar penalty is attached to the neglect of any of the devotions to the Blessed Virgin. This surely forms a most important distinction between the two worships, that to God and that to the greatest of the Saints ("Letter to Rev. J. H. Newman," pp. 22-24).

A similar view is powerfully expressed by F. Newman *himself*, in reply to Dr. Pusey.

When strangers are so unfavourably impressed with us, because they see images of our Lady in our churches, and crowds flocking about her, they forget that there is a Presence within the sacred walls, infinitely more awful, which claims and obtains from us a worship transcendently different from any devotion we pay to her. That devotion might indeed tend to idolatry, if it were encouraged in Protestant churches, where there is nothing higher than it to attract the worshipper ; but all the images that a Catholic Church ever contained, all the crucifixes at its altars brought together, do not so affect its frequenters, as the lamp which betokens the presence or absence there of the Blessed Sacrament. Is not this so certain, so notorious, that on some occasions it has been even brought as a charge against us, that we are irreverent in Church, when what seemed to the objector to be irreverence was but the necessary change of feeling, which came over those who were there, on their knowing that their Lord was away ?

The mass again conveys to us the same lesson of the sovereignty of the Incarnate Son. . . . Hostile visitors enter our churches on Sunday at midday, the time of the Anglican service. They are surprised to see the high mass perhaps poorly attended, and a body of worshippers leaving the music and the mixed multitude who may be lazily fulfilling their obligation, for the silent or the informal devotions which are offered at an image of the Blessed Virgin. They may be tempted, with one of your informants, to call such a temple, not a "Jesus Church," but a "Mary Church." But, if they understood our ways, they would know that we begin the day with our Lord and then go on to His Mother. It is early in the morning that religious persons go to mass and communion. The high mass, on the other hand, is the festive celebration of the day, not the special devotional service ; nor is there any reason why those who have been at a low mass already, should not at that hour proceed to ask the intercession of the Blessed Virgin for themselves and all that is dear to them.

Communion, again, which is given in the morning, is a solemn unequivocal act of faith in the Incarnate God, if any can be such. . . . I knew a lady, who on her death-bed was visited by an excellent Protestant friend. She, with great tenderness for her soul's welfare, asked her whether her prayers to the Blessed Virgin did not, at that awful hour, lead to forgetfulness of her Saviour. "Forget Him ?" she replied with surprise, "Why, He has just been here." She had been receiving Him in communion (pp. 99-101).

All this, as we have said, would proceed equally on the most strange supposition, that worship of Mary is (as it were) so much arithmetically subtracted from direct worship of God ; whereas we really believe that those most given to the former abound even more than others in the latter, from the increased attractiveness and joy which prayer presents to them. Mankind, as F. Newman once said, "are feeble-minded, excitable, effeminate, wayward, irritable, changeable, miserable." Pre-eminently they are *moody* ; and a religion which shall persuasively influence them, must be one effectually addressing itself to each successive mood. At one moment they will be

readily disposed to direct and immediate worship of the Creator; at another they will give themselves with far more alacrity to that direct worship of Mary, which (let it never be forgotten) is always most truly, though indirectly, the worship of God. Nor can anything (to our mind) be more mistaken, than a carefully methodical calculation as to how much time is given to one and how much to the other.* On the contrary, the very characteristic of Catholic devotion is its *spontaneousness*. Those who once were Anglicans and are now Catholics find in no respect, we believe, a wider contrast between their present life and their past, than in this element of spontaneousness. To pace along an old-fashioned Dutch garden, divided into prim walks and parterres, and with every step marked out for you, is no doubt (so far as it goes) a healthful exercise; but it gives no invigoration to the frame and spirits, which can be compared with that accruing from the liberty to roam at will over beautiful grounds, and gaze on enchanting scenery, and cull, according to your inclination of the moment, from a variety of exquisite flowers. Could Dr. Pusey have one day's experience of the true religion, he would shudder at the very thought of returning to the dreary routine of his Anglican exercises.

Yet surely at last there is no need of reasoning at all against Dr. Pusey's allegation; seeing it is a matter of visible and palpable experience, that (if we may so parallel S. Paul's words) where worship of Mary has abounded,

* "The scrupulous devotees are those who fear to dishonour the Son by honouring the Mother, to abase the one in elevating the other. They cannot bear that we should attribute to our Lady the most just praises which the holy Fathers have given her. *It is all they can do to endure that there should be more people before the altar of the Blessed Virgin than before the Blessed Sacrament: as if the one was contrary to the other, as if those who prayed to our Blessed Lady did not pray to Jesus Christ by her.* They are unwilling that we should speak so often of our Lady, and address ourselves to her. These are the favourite sentences constantly in their mouths: 'To what end are so many chaplets, so many confraternities, and so many external devotions to the Blessed Virgin? There is much ignorance in all this. It makes a mummiery of our religion. Speak to us of those who are devout to Jesus Christ' (*yet they often name Him without uncovering: I say this by way of parenthesis*). 'We must have recourse to Jesus Christ; He is our only Mediator. We must preach Jesus Christ; this is the solid devotion.' What they say is true in a certain sense; but it is very dangerous, when, by the application they make of it, they hinder devotion to our Blessed Lady, and it is, under the pretext of a greater good, a subtle snare of the evil one. For never do we honour Jesus Christ more than when we are most honouring His Blessed Mother. Indeed we only honour Mary that we may the more perfectly honour Jesus, inasmuch as *we only go to her as to the way in which we are to find the end we are seeking, which is Jesus.*"—(Montfort, pp. 63-4.)

there has worship of the Sacred Humanity abounded much more. It is the Roman Catholic Church which is the natural home,—as on the one hand of devotion to the Mother of God,—so on the other hand of those countless devotions—to the Passion, the Blessed Sacrament, the Sacred Heart, the Divine Infancy,—which are ever springing up in such luxuriance. On the other hand, every attempt at introducing such things in Dr. Pusey's communion is accepted by the common sense of Englishmen as an infallible indication of "Popish" proclivities. We can understand Catholic churches being called "Mary Churches" by some ignorant extern, who knows nothing about the Blessed Sacrament, and who sees a large image of our Lady surrounded by eager suppliants, to their inestimable spiritual advantage. But by what possible indication he could be led to call an Anglican edifice a "Jesus Church," it utterly bewilders us to conjecture.* Is it in an *Anglican* edifice, then, that he would see a colossal image of Christ Crucified, and a Crucifix placed conspicuously over each one of the numerous altars? For any visible emblems exhibited, one might as well give the appellation "Jesus Church" to a Mohammedar mosque.

Dr. Pusey may reply to all this, that still those Catholics of whom we speak have more *sensible feeling* towards the Mother than towards the Son. If the fact were really so, it would present to us no kind of difficulty; as we shall immediately say: but Cardinal Wiseman, than whom no Englishman has been better acquainted with foreign Catholics,† expresses a different opinion. These are his words; and the whole passage illustrates much of what we have been saying:—

But again, I shall be told, that the manner in which the poorer Catholics pray before her images and those of the Saints, betrays a greater fervour of devotion than they display at other times; nay, that it even indicates a superstitious trust in those outward symbols themselves. This appearance may be partly true; though I am ready most completely to deny, that *half the ardour, enthusiasm, and devotion* is ever exhibited before relics or images, which you may see any day *before the Blessed Sacrament, when it is exposed to adoration*. But at the same time, I will assert that the tenderer emotions are not the proper tests of higher feelings, such as confidence, veneration,

* "In southern India and Ceylon our [the Anglican] churches are called by the natives 'Jesus Churches;' the Roman Catholic Churches 'Mary Churches.'"—(*Eirenicon*, p. 107.)

† We speak of "foreign Catholics;" because Dr. Pusey, with much truth, considers that in England there is a "check from the contact with Protestants" (p. 120), which keeps back tendencies from their legitimate issue.

and homage. A child may be more fondling and affectionate with his mother, while he will more reverence, more obey, more believe, and more confide in his father. And so I conceive, that the more sensible part of devotion, that which works upon natural feelings, may be more apparently excited by the joys, the sufferings, the glories, and the virtues of beings more akin to our nature, than by contemplation of those, however much more perfect, of a Being infinitely removed from our sphere. What thought so powerful as to be able to measure the abyss of suffering which overwhelms the heart of Jesus, expiring on the cross? But what mind so dull, or what heart so callous, as not to be able to apprehend the maternal feelings of her who stands bereaved at its foot? Does not *her* grief, in fact, present us the truest and clearest mirror of *His* sufferings? Does not the *Stabat Mater*, on that very account, excite the purest sentiments of love and sorrow for the Son, because His griefs are viewed through the sympathies of the Mother ("Letter to Rev. J. H. Newman," pp. 24-25).

Sensible devotion in prayer is a phenomenon, which must always depend in great degree on accidental circumstances of time, place, health, spirits, and the like. But as regards such Catholics as we are now considering, if any general statement can truly be made, it will (we think) be such as this. Sensible devotion to the Mother of God is a good deal more readily and immediately excited than to her Son; but, on the other hand, when the latter does come into existence, it is a good deal keener and more vivid. The thanksgiving, *e. g.*, after a devout communion, will ordinarily be accompanied with feelings of far more exuberant exultation, than are any prayers to the Blessed Virgin.

However so let it be, if Dr. Pusey will, that these Catholics have more sensible devotion to Mary than to Jesus. What inference will he thence deduce? That love of Mary is to be discouraged? Take a parallel case. It will not be doubted that an ordinary Anglican has very much more tenderness of feeling towards a loved and loving mother, than towards Almighty God; that he will feel far more keenly an insult offered to her, than one equally serious offered to her Creator; that he will feel far more lively grief at having given her pain, than at having wounded his Saviour's Heart; that her company is a far more simple delight to him, than is the companionship with God in prayer. Moreover, there are some most serious texts, which might easily be so interpreted as to cause such a man serious alarm. "He who loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me." "If any man cometh to Me and hateth not his father and mother, he cannot be My disciple." Yet Dr. Pusey would himself admit that, on the whole, this human affection is most salutary; and that it is an invaluable safeguard against much

evil. He would much wish that such a man loved God more; but most certainly he would not regard it as a step towards so desirable an end, that the earthly object were loved less tenderly. Why is it that Dr. Pusey so persistently disparages tenderness to the highest and purest of all creatures, while so tolerant of creature-love in a very far more questionable shape? Really, to read his language about Catholics, one would suppose that the great body of Anglicans exhaust the whole tenderness of their heart on Objects simply Divine; that there is among them no love of mother, of wife, of children, of friends; that their heart beats with sensible love for God, and for God Alone.

In one word, then. Those Christians, of whom we are now speaking, are in general very far more easily diverted from worldly to heavenly thoughts, and very far more rapidly raised into sensible devotion, by the contemplation of Mary than in any other way. But sensible devotion (see p. 155) is of inappreciable value in promoting solid piety; and the contemplation of Mary, by its own nature, carries men forward out of itself into contemplation of Jesus and of God. Mary, therefore, is the way to Jesus, just as Jesus is the Way to the Father.

There is also another unspeakable advantage flowing from Marian worship, totally different from any of which we have yet spoken, and on which we shall have to enlarge in our next number. Here we will but most briefly touch on it. Catholic controversialists often and (we are convinced) most justly allege, that the vast majority of Protestants possess no real practical belief and realization of our Lord's Divine Personality. How are Catholics themselves preserved from this calamity? One most special safeguard is devotion to our Lady. The habit of approaching Him through a mediatrix places Him (if we may so speak) before their mind in the *position* of the Supreme Being. The appeal to His Mother's intercession "engraves upon the imagination of the faithful" His Own Divine Personality. S. Bernardine and S. Alphonsus have borne fully as important a part as S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, in "imprinting" this doctrine "on the worship and practice of the Catholic people."

That passage from the Eirenicon which we quoted at starting is immediately succeeded by the following:—

It is difficult to see how direct heresy should not be suggested by sentences such as these (and they are so common): "If we fear to go directly to Jesus Christ our God, whether because of His Infinite Greatness, or because of our vileness, or because of our sins, let us boldly implore the aid of Mary our Mother. *She [Dr. Pusey's italics]* is so charitable that she repels none of

those who ask for her intercession, no matter how great sinners they have been ; for, as the saints say, never has it been heard, since the world was the world, that any one has confidently and perseveringly had recourse to our Blessed Lady and yet has been repelled." For, for this argument to have any force, it must be implied to be possible that any could " confidently and perseveringly have recourse to our Divine Lord and yet be repelled," which is, of course, directly against the Gospel (pp. 183-4).

Now suppose an Anglican were to speak as follows :—" If we fear to go directly to the Invisible God, whether because " of His Infinite Greatness, or because of our vileness, or because of our sins, let us boldly appeal to that soul which so " tenderly loved us ; which suffered for us anguish unspeakable ; whose greatest grief of all was, that so few would avail " themselves of His Redemption. That soul so loves us that it " repels none, no matter how great sinners they may have been ; " for never has it been heard, since the world was the world, that " any one who confidently and perseveringly prayed to Jesus has " been repelled." Beyond all possibility of doubt, if it were true that the Catholic exhortation quoted by Dr. Pusey involves heresy, it would be no less true that this Anglican exhortation involves heresy far fouler. It is very intolerable, we admit, to say that the love felt for us by Mary exceeds that felt for us by the soul of Christ ; but it is immeasurably more horrible and monstrous to say, that the finite love felt for us by this latter exceeds the Infinite Love of the Eternal God. Dr. Pusey, however, would not misunderstand his co-religionist, in the perverse way in which he misunderstands the Catholic Church. He would at once understand his meaning to be, not that the love felt for us by Christ's soul exceeds that felt for us by the Divine Nature ; but, that when men are bowed down by a sense of sin, it is very far more easy for them to realize the former than the latter. Precisely similar is Montfort's meaning in the passage cited by Dr. Pusey. Moreover, it is important to remark that Dr. Pusey—without in any way indicating the omission—has actually dropped two sentences from the centre of that passage ; *which sentences fix it unmistakably to the sense we have just given.* We put these two sentences into italics :—

If we fear to go directly to Jesus Christ our God, whether because of His infinite greatness, or because of our vileness, or because of our sins, let us boldly implore the aid and intercession of Mary our Mother. *She is good, she is tender, she has nothing in her austere or repulsive, nothing too sublime and too brilliant. In seeing her, we see our pure nature. She is not the sun, who, by the vivacity of his rays, blinds us because of our weakness ; but she is fair and gentle as the moon, which receives the light of the sun, and tempers it to render it more suitable to our capacity. She is so charitable that she*

repels none of those who ask her intercession, no matter how great sinners they have been; for, as the saints say, never has it been heard since the world was the world, that any one has confidently and perseveringly had recourse to our Blessed Lady, and yet has been repelled (pp. 57-58).

The contrast drawn by the saintly writer is not, you see, between Jesus and Mary as regards their power and their willingness to help us; but between the degree of readiness which men, keenly conscious of sin, naturally experience towards addressing one or the other. We must really maintain against Dr. Pusey that, though Montfort's expression of this thought is very beautiful, the thought itself is among the most obvious of truisms.

"It is, of course, an abuse of" Roman "teaching," elsewhere admits Dr. Pusey, "when any confine their prayers to the Blessed Virgin." But he adds, "a certain proportion, it has been ascertained by those who have inquired, do stop short in her" (p. 107). It is simply impossible, we reply, that any Catholic can "confine his prayers to" her, and "stop short in her," without falling into what the Church teaches to be mortal sin. Is he never then to make theological acts? never to prepare himself for confession? never to receive communion? Or—putting aside the question of mortal sin—do these Marian devotees carefully avoid all visits to the Blessed Sacrament? to the Forty Hours' Exposition? to the solemnity of Benediction? "It has been ascertained" forsooth! by whom? when? where? how?

The author characteristically proceeds in one sentence, from a fact about which he can know nothing whatever, to a fact within his own personal cognizance; as though the two were equally undoubted.

I have myself been asked by Roman Catholics to pray for my conversion: once only I was asked to pray our Lord. On the other occasions, I was exclusively asked to pray the Blessed Virgin for it (pp. 107-8).

Dr. Pusey himself very probably, if he were organizing prayers for some object he had closely at heart, would choose prominently prayers addressed to the Sacred Humanity. We should not on that account suspect him of the heretical tenet, that the soul of Christ possesses either a power or a will to help us, commensurable with the Divine Power and Will. But we should understand him to see, that prayer to the Sacred Humanity is prayer to the Divine Person clothed in that Humanity; while it is far more attractive and easy for ordinary men, than prayer to the Invisible God. So prayer to Mary (as we have already explained) is virtually and ultimately prayer

to God, while it is often more easy and attractive for ordinary men in their ordinary moments. "She is not the sun," Montfort says, "who blinds us because of our weakness, but fair and gentle as the moon and more suitable therefore to our capacity."

We believe we have now gone through all Dr. Pusey's important objections against the worship of Mary, as practised by that class of Catholics to which those objections mainly refer. We will add a few words, however, on two further classes who remain to be considered; viz., (1) interior, and (2) saintly men. We have already said—and the argument just brought to a close vindicates, we hope, our conclusion—that no one practice is so likely to raise an ordinary Catholic into a higher spiritual condition, as the frequent and sustained worship of Mary; because this secures prayer to God, offered in the most effective way. Now, so soon as a Catholic becomes interior—so soon as he begins to labour earnestly and consistently for a withdrawal of his affections from every earthly object—he is compelled (as it were) by the very necessity of his nature, to seek rest and satisfaction in thought of the Infinite. A direct remembrance of God, therefore, becomes a far more constant phenomenon than it was at the earlier period, and pervades the whole current of his life. Let us suppose, then, that he has been happily practised from the first in lively and frequent devotion to Mary: his thoughts of the Mother and the Son now become most intimately blended; he ever contemplates the higher Object through the lower, as through a mirror; he becomes, to use Montfort's most touching expression, "the slave of Jesus in Mary." He is their slave, but their most loving slave. And so far from the latter love in any degree lessening the former,—on the contrary it singularly intensifies it, and gives to it an otherwise untasted quality of affection and tenderness. All this we here state without any attempt at proof: because our space is limited; and because Dr. Pusey (as we understand him) does not press his objections, as telling in the particular case of these higher and more advanced souls.

We will conclude, then, this particular portion of our argument, with two brief remarks closely connected with each other. They have been suggested, not by any thing which Dr. Pusey has brought forward, but by the ordinary clamour of Protestant controversialists.

(1) To speak of our Lady's mediation as encroaching ever so distantly on our Lord's mediatorial office, is to show so strangely inadequate a sense of what is included in the latter, that the very allegation confirms our worst impressions of Protestant misbelief. A year ago (July, 1865, pp. 156-7) we

expressed the confident opinion that very few in Dr. Pusey's communion, except the extreme Tractarians, in any way realize or practically hold that belief in our Lord's Divine Personality, which they speculatively accept; and we assigned, as one principal reason of this, the very circumstance of their neglecting Marian devotion. In our last number, again (p. 549), we commented on a decidedly High Church writer, who accounts it blasphemy to hold that "Mary is the Mother of the Eternal." Canon Oakeley has some excellent remarks on this in p. 75. But we will quote in preference some admirable words of F. Newman, written several years ago, which cannot be too carefully pondered:—

Few Protestants have any real perception of the doctrine of God and man in one Person. They speak in a dreamy shadowy way of Christ's Divinity; but when their meaning is sifted, you will find them very slow to commit themselves to any statement sufficient to show that it is Catholic. They will tell you at once, that the subject is not to be inquired into, for that they cannot inquire into it at all, without being technical and subtle. Then when they comment on the Gospels, they will speak of Christ, not simply and consistently as God, but as a being made up of God and man, partly one and partly the other, or between both, or as a man inhabited by a special divine presence. Sometimes they even go on to deny that He was the Son of God in heaven, saying that He became the Son, when He was conceived of the Holy Ghost; and they are shocked, and think it a mark both of reverence and good sense to be shocked, when the Man is spoken of simply and plainly as God. They cannot bear to have it said, except as a figure or mode of speaking, that God had a human body, or that God suffered; they think that the 'Atonement,' and 'Sanctification through the Spirit,' as they speak, is the sum and substance of the Gospel, and they are shy of any dogmatic expression which goes beyond them. Such, I believe, is the character of the Protestant notions among us on the divinity of Christ, whether among members of the Anglican communion or dissenters from it, excepting a section of the former ("Discourses to Mixed Congregations," pp. 366-7).

(2) The notion that Roman Catholics practically regard our Lady as a "goddess" is repugnant, not merely to carefully-ascertained truths, but to the most superficial phenomena. The very cause of that special attraction which her devotion possesses for the great body of Catholics, is their regarding her as a fellow-creature. She can obtain for them all they ask; while they feel that in praying to her they are not speaking (as it were) face to face with their Infinite Creator.

Hitherto, we have been defending those Marian doctrines which (*as it seems to us*) the Church magisterially, and there-

fore infallibly, inculcates on all her children. In April, after recounting these doctrines, we thus proceeded :—

There are other propositions which, if not actually taught by the Church with infallible authority, are yet so universally held by devout servants of Mary, that no "*cordatus Catholicus*" will dream of doubting them. For instance, (1) that God secured her assent as an indispensable preliminary to the Incarnation ("*fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*") *which otherwise would not have been accomplished*; (2) that while our Lord was on earth, she had a clear knowledge of, and keen sympathy with, all which He effected for our salvation; (3) that she takes a most active part in dispensing the gift of perseverance; (4) that extraordinary tenderness towards her is a special note of predestination (p. 435).

Here, as before, previously to examining objections, we must consider the positive ground for accepting these four propositions. We say this, then. If a number of holy men, deeply imbued with the spirit of the Church; profoundly and largely acquainted with the text of Scripture; and specially given to a loving meditation of Mary;—if these men are unanimous in arriving at certain conclusions, and if not one such man can be named who dissents therefrom, an overpowering probability is recognized by every loyal Catholic that these propositions are true. Then, to take them severally. The Scriptural argument ordinarily adduced for the first, is excellently expressed by Canon Oakeley in p. 24. The second is almost necessarily implied in the patristic tradition, so powerfully drawn out by F. Newman, on Mary's office as the second Eve: for how could the former occupy a place in man's *redemption*, analogous to that occupied by Eve in his *fall*, unless she had a clear knowledge of, and sympathy with, the great work in progress? The third proposition has been admirably defended by F. Newman. See, *e.g.*, pp. 78-9, and again pp. 77-8. Again, in p. 111, he argues :—

Our Lord died for those heathens who did not know Him; and His Mother intercedes for those Christians who do not know her: and she intercedes according to His will; when He wills to save a particular soul, she at once prays for it (pp. 111-12).

She prays for it, because God has made it part of her sweet office, that from the first moment of her Assumption, she shall have an integral part in the salvation of each predestined soul.

We are not aware of any special objection raised by Dr. Pusey against any one of these three propositions; and we proceed, therefore, to the fourth; in regard to which our *main argument* must turn, neither on defending its truth, nor

replying to difficulties, but on investigating its real sense. F. Newman quotes the following words from F. Nepveu, S.J. ;—

The love of Jesus Christ is the most sure pledge of our future happiness, and the most infallible token of our predestination. Mercy towards the poor, devotion to the Holy Virgin, are very sensible tokens of predestination ; nevertheless they are not absolutely infallible : but one cannot have a sincere and constant love of Jesus Christ, without being predestinated. . . . The destroying angel, which bereaved the houses of the Egyptians of their first-born, had respect to all the houses which were marked with the blood of the Lamb (p. 99).

F. Newman adds, "I believe it is a fair specimen of the teaching of our spiritual books." Now, there can be here no possible difference of *doctrine* between any one Catholic and any other. That if you have a sincere and genuine love of Christ, such a fact supplies immeasurably stronger ground of hope as to your salvation, than could possibly be supplied by any devotion to our Lady which is *separated* from such love,—this is a truth which no Catholic could hear questioned without horror. Yet, on the other hand, it does seem to us (but we speak quite diffidently and under correction) that it is very far more common in Catholic writers to mention "devotion to the Holy Virgin," than "the love of Jesus Christ," as a special note of predestination. For one instance out of many, F. Newman (p. 108) quotes a prayer to Mary from the *Raccolta* saying, "to love thee is a great mark of predestination :—" but he quotes no such indulgenced prayer addressed to our Blessed Lord ; nor are we ourselves aware of having observed one. And we suspect the reason of all this to be, that the phrase "note of predestination" is not commonly used exactly in F. Newman's sense. We give our own impression for what it may be worth ; assuring Dr. Pusey, meanwhile, that as to the question of *doctrine*, no Catholic could dream of holding any other than that above stated.

Firstly, then, and as a previous illustration, consider the word "devotion." We think it is not ordinarily used, as expressing any habits of prayer which are *obligatory* ; but those only to which a Catholic freely resorts, according to the instinct of his own piety. Thus, we speak of "devotion to Mary," but hardly of "devotion to Jesus." What we do speak of in regard to Him is rather "devotion to the Passion ;" or "to the Sacred Heart ;" or "to the Blessed Sacrament ;" or "to the Holy Infancy ;" or (to speak of a recent devotion which has shown itself in some parts of Catholic Christendom) "to His Holy Countenance." This proposition, then,—*"devotion to Mary is a special note of predestination,"*—shows by its very

wording that reference is not made to any matter of strict obligation.

But, further, it appears to us that those exercises which are matters of strict obligation, have a connection with predestination even closer than that of being "notes" thereof. It is not commonly said, *e.g.*, that *frequentation of the Sacraments* is "a note of predestination." Such matters would rather be called "the very *path* of predestination." That Catholic is predestined, and he only, who continues to the end in his love of God, and of Jesus Christ; and in his frequentation of the Sacraments: or who, so often as he falls therefrom, recovers himself, and dies in that state of recovery. But the question may naturally suggest itself to him, "Is my love for God and for Jesus Christ of that *kind*,—so deep, and genuine, and stable—that I have reasonable ground for hoping that it will continue? Have I any special *note* of my predestination?" And the answer given is, that if my love for Jesus is associated with a peculiar tenderness to His Blessed Mother, I have greater security than by any other assignable mark, that it will last me to the end. And, in accordance with this, the prayer to our Lady, quoted by F. Newman from the *Raccolta*, after having said, "to love thee is a great mark of predestination," proceeds, "pray that I may have a great love for Jesus;" "I covet no good of the earth, but to love my God Alone." And that, in this sense of the phrase, a heartfelt love for the Blessed Virgin is a most special note of predestination, has been established (we hope) in the earlier part of our article.

From what has here been incidentally said, we may explain an episcopal statement which Dr. Pusey has singularly misunderstood. The italics are our own:—

To judge from the official answers of the Bishops to Pius IX. in answer to his inquiry, "with what devotion your clergy and faithful people are animated towards the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin," Faber was right as to the immensely greater devotion and trust in the Blessed Virgin, at least in countries where there is no check from the contact with Protestants. Certainly the prominent impression in my mind from reading those answers (they occupy more than three close volumes) was "*if the devotion to God were like that to the Blessed Virgin, it would be a world of saints.*" "In this diocese," says the Bishop of Cochabamba, "as in the whole of civilized America, it has attained to the highest degree, so that nothing more can be desired." "Our only hope in these countries, tried by divers tribulations," says the Vicar Apostolic in Cochin China, "is placed in our most holy Mother, from whom we expect salvation [*salus*]." "The devotion of the Blessed Virgin is such as is to be defined by no bounds," says the Bishop of Scutari. In Spain and Portugal devotion to the Blessed Virgin is in its natural home. They are familiarly called *Marian kingdoms* (pp. 119-20).

Dr. Pusey has understood, *e.g.*, the Bishop of Cochabamba to mean, that the whole population of civilized America are faithful servants to the Mother of God. Yet surely he cannot suppose that prelate to hold, either on the one hand, that the whole population is free from mortal sin; or else, on the other hand, that men plunged in mortal sin can be faithful servants to the Mother of God. Dr. Pusey's whole misconception, we think, arises from his misunderstanding this word "devotion." A population which did not recognize our *Blessed Lord* as the legitimate Object of worship, would not be Catholic at all; but "devotion" to Mary is not of strict obligation. Yet in the countries of civilized America frequent and habitual prayer to Mary is universally recognized, as no less integral a part of religious practice, than frequent and habitual prayer to Christ. "Nothing more can be desired" in this respect; and the blessedness of such a circumstance is extremely great.

And this will be a convenient place for another episodical remark. F. Newman's Jesuit director at Rome said to him, "You cannot love Mary too much if you love our Lord a great deal more" (p. 23). On the other hand, F. Faber (we think in the "All for Jesus") speaks to this effect: "Our love of Mary may be wrong *in kind*, but cannot exceed *in degree*." There can be absolutely no difference between Catholics in their real *feeling* on this head; the only question concerns the true *analysis* of that feeling. We suggest the question in this case, for better judges than ourselves to ponder: but of the two, we rather incline to F. Faber's analysis. Let a true, not a false, image of Mary be presented by the intellect, and the will cannot by possibility be too strongly attracted to the object thus depicted.

We now proceed to various thoughts and expressions, quoted by Dr. Pusey from individual writers of greater or less weight. And these, as regards authority, are divisible into four different classes.

Firstly we have those of holy men—such as S. Alphonsus and the Venerable Grignon de Montfort,—whose works have been carefully examined by supreme authority, with a view to prospective canonization. Of these every Catholic is absolutely certain that they contain nothing contrary to faith or morals; or to the Church's common sentiment; or to the Church's common practice.* At the same time, let it be most care-

* The law is conceived in these terms . . . If the person whose beatification is in question, has written books, "no inquiry must be proceeded with until these books have been diligently examined in the Sacred Congregation

fully observed, the Church has in no respect implied that the various propositions contained in these works are *true*, but only that they are neither unsound nor abnormal. If, then (as may often be the case), there is any Catholic to whom such propositions do not commend themselves as true;—or (still more) who finds that the very thought of them perplexes and discomposes him;—he would be exhorted by every good director to banish them from his mind. Indeed we believe, as a matter of fact, that comparatively few Catholics, either here or abroad, have ever heard of those propositions on which Dr. Pusey lays most stress; for, as Canon Oakeley has most justly remarked, they “represent rather the shape into which men of ascetic lives and profoundly spiritual minds are accustomed to cast their thoughts, than the standard of our customary preaching or the scale of general devotion” (p. 34). At the same time it is undoubtedly the bias of our own judgment, not merely that the propositions cited by Dr. Pusey from these holy men are entirely *true*, but also that they are generally edifying; that solid piety and love of the Incarnate God would be greatly promoted, if a far larger number of Catholics were trained really to study and appreciate these most elevated thoughts and most burning words. We shall incidentally touch on this in the sequel.

A second class of propositions cited by Dr. Pusey have been expressed century after century, in a shape substantially similar, by eminent and approved writers, and cannot possibly be unknown to Pope and bishops; while at the same time they have never been at all discouraged, and still less visited with any kind of censure. By such significant silence, as it seems to us, the Church magisterially teaches—not indeed that they are *true* (very far from it)—but that they are not theologically unsound, nor in themselves injurious to piety.

A third class of these propositions have been expressed by this or that individual writer, and such writer may have been in general orthodox and Catholic; yet there may be no reason whatever to think that they have been brought before the notice of ecclesiastical authority. Such propositions may imaginably be unsound or even heretical; they carry with them no extrinsic weight; they must stand or fall on their own merits.

Lastly, a work may have been actually condemned and

of Rites, to see if they contain errors against faith or good morals, or any new doctrine contrary to the Church's common sentiment or her common practice.” —(*Analecta Juris Pontificii*, tom. i., p. 737).

placed on the Index: in which case, of course, the Church will have anticipated Dr. Pusey's censure. Canon Oakeley observed in his pamphlet (p. 21, note) that no Catholic he had met with had ever heard the name of Oswald; and after this was written, Mr. Rhodes opportunely discovered that name on the Index. Now we cannot avoid speaking here of Dr. Pusey with some severity. Mr. Rhodes wrote to the *Weekly Register*, announcing what he had found; and Dr. Pusey was at that time in the habit of reading that newspaper: yet we are not aware that from that day to this he has fulfilled the obvious duty of retracting those serious charges against the Church, which he had founded on her supposed toleration of Oswald's tenets.

Now it is evidently impossible, within the limits of one article, to treat separately every single passage adduced by Dr. Pusey: but the course which we purpose to pursue, will be admitted by every one as equitable and fair. We will consider every one of those *general propositions* against which he most severely inveighs; and we will face severally every one of those *individual passages* adduced by him, which are presumably the most difficult of explanation. Firstly, then let us treat the *general propositions* which fall under Dr. Pusey's lash.

(1) We had heard before, repeatedly, that Mary was the Mediatrix with the Redeemer; some of us, who do not read Marian books, have heard now for the first time, that she was ever our "Co-Redemptress." The evidence lies, not in any insulated passage of a devotional writer . . . but in formal answers from archbishops and bishops to the Pope as to what they desired in regard to the declaration of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith. Thus the Archbishop of Syracuse wrote, "Since we know certainly that she, in the fulness of time, was *Co-Redemptress of the human race*, together with her Son Jesus Christ our Lord." From North Italy the Bishop of Asti wrote of "the dogma of the singular privilege granted by the Divine Redeemer to His pure mother, the *Co-Redemptress of the world*." In south Italy the Bishop of Gallipoli wrote, "the human race whom the Son of God, from her, redeemed; whom, together with Him, *she herself co-redeemed*." The Bishop of Cariatì prayed the Pope to "command all the sons of Holy Mother Church and thy own, that no one of them shall dare at any time hereafter to suspect as to the Immaculate Conception of *their Co-Redeemer*." From Sardinia the Bishop of Alghero wrote, "It is the common consent of all the faithful, and the common wish and desire of all, that our so beneficent Parent and *Co-Redeemer* should be presented by the Apostolic See with the honour of this most illustrious mystery." In Spain the Bishop of Almeria justified the attribute by appeal to the service of the Conception. "The Church, adapting to the Mother of God in the office of the Conception that text, 'Let us make a help like unto Him,' assures us of it, and confirms those most ancient traditions, '*Companion of the Redeemer*,' '*Co-Redemptress*,' '*Authoress of everlasting*'

salvation." The bishops refer to these as ancient, well-known, traditionary titles, at least in their Churches in North and South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain (pp. 151-3).

Dr. Pusey might have inserted, in further corroboration of this doctrine, the indulgenced prayer which we have already quoted, that "*by the merits of Jesus and His Virgin Mother, we may be partakers of the resurrection.*" (*Raccolta*, p. 275.) And we are the more surprised at his objection to this title of Co-Redemptress, as he has quoted from Salazar the following beautiful explanation of its purport:—

The ways in which the Blessed Virgin co-operated with Christ to the salvation of the world may be classed as three:—

1. As far as she so sacrificed herself to God for the salvation of the world by the wish and longing for death and the cross, that, if it could be, she too, for the salvation of the universe, was willing to co-die (commori) with her Son, and to meet a like death with Him.

2. And chiefly, whereby the Virgin gave her help to Christ for the common salvation, in that she, exhibiting a will altogether conformable and concordant with the will of Christ, gave her Son to death for the common salvation. And her zeal for the human race is not seen only therein, that it made her will conspire with the will of her Son, but also in that she excited and impelled Him to undergo death.

3. That she acted as mediatrix with the Mediator. The work of our salvation was so wrought. The Virgin expressed to her Son the wishes and desires which she had conceived for the salvation of the human race; but the Son, deferring to the Mother, received these, and again presented to the Father the desires both of His Mother and His own; but the Father granted what was wished, first to the Son, then to the Mother (p. 154).

For ourselves we are disposed to accept the whole of this as *true*; but we are here only maintaining, that it contains nothing contradictory to Christian doctrine or intrinsically dangerous. If we could only guess what is Dr. Pusey's reason for thinking otherwise, we might answer that reason; but as things are, we await his further explanation. Canon Oakeley (p. 24) excellently vindicates the title of Co-Redemptress.

The other general propositions, condemned by Dr. Pusey, undoubtedly require more careful consideration. We will next (2) consider the statement (*Eirenicon*, p. 105) that she "appeases her Son's just wrath:" whence Dr. Pusey infers that, according to Marian writers, "the saints are more ready to intercede with Jesus than Jesus with the Father;" or (in other words) that Mary loves sinners more warmly than Jesus loves them. But here, as in so many other instances, the parallel of the Incarnation is precisely in point. Dr.

Pusey may hear many Anglican preachers say that "the Father is justly irritated," and that "the Son appeases His wrath." Does he, therefore, ascribe to them the portentous heresy, that sinners are loved with less intensity by the Divine Nature than by the soul of Christ? The Incarnation displays no less truly the Father's loving-kindness than the Son's. "God *so loved the world* that He gave His only begotten Son:" "God *commends His Love*, in that Christ died for us:" and any different tenet appertains only to a Calvinistic heretic. And yet it is said with a most true *drift*, in practical and devotional writing, that the Son appeases the Father's wrath, and the like: because such phrases are understood to signify what is most true; viz., that, in consequence of the Incarnation, the Father forgives us our sins, and treats us with immeasurably greater mercy than would otherwise have been the case. It is most certain, indeed, that the love felt for men by the Father is infinitely greater than that felt for them by the soul of Christ; and in like manner that the love felt for them by the soul of Christ is very far greater, even than that felt for them by their Heavenly Mother. Still it is axiomatically evident that, if Mary's intercession has any efficacy at all, it must induce her Son to treat men more mercifully than would otherwise have been the case; and therefore, just as it is very suitably said that the Son appeases the Father's wrath, so it is said with precisely equal propriety that Mary appeases her Son's.

Under this head comes the vision of the two ladders (pp. 103-4). Let us suppose some Anglican poet to depict "a vision touching the two ladders that reached from earth to heaven: the one red, upon which the Eternal Father leaned, from which many fell backward, and could not ascend: the other white, upon which the Sacred Humanity leaned; the help whereof, such as used, were by Jesus received with a cheerful countenance, and so with facility ascended into heaven." The only unfavourable comment on this which we should expect from Dr. Pusey would be that, in saying "*many fell backward*" from the former ladder, the poet implied the existence of some who did *not* fall backward from it. Otherwise he would heartily applaud such a poem; as teaching the all-important truth, that Jesus is the one appointed Way for coming to the Father, and that those who attempt to reach the Father without that mediation will be disappointed. Such, then, is exactly the meaning of S. Alphonsus, and of those other saintly writers who have appealed to this vision. They teach that, to a Catholic, Mary is immeasurably the surest way of reaching Jesus; that those Catholics who neglect her re-

gular and habitual invocation, will find it incomparably more difficult to obtain sanctification and salvation, and will, far more commonly than not, fail in the attempt.

(3) "God retaineth justice to Himself, and granted mercy to her" (p. 105). "God has resigned into her hands (if one might say so) His Omnipotence in the sphere of grace" (p. 103). "To her He has committed the kingdom of mercy, reserving to Himself that of justice." This latter is, perhaps, the commonest shape in which the idea is expressed; but that idea is of course one and the same. Such phrases convey a meaning, either on the one hand intolerable and heretical, or on the other hand beautiful and edifying, according to the sense in which they are taken. They may *in themselves* mean, that our Lord has in such sense given to Mary the kingdom of mercy, as *to have abdicated that kingdom Himself*; that mercy and grace can no longer be obtained by addressing Him directly, but only by invoking His Mother. Such a notion, no Catholic need be told, would be nothing less than an appalling blasphemy. We need only say, therefore, that no one but an enemy ever dreamed of so understanding the statement; that those holy men who most constantly uttered it, were also foremost in inculcating those prayers, *e.g.*, to the Blessed Sacrament and the Sacred Heart, which are absolutely inconsistent with its false interpretation; and that they are even more ardent and glowing than other Catholics, in their description of those unspeakable blessings which flow from prayer offered to the Sacred Humanity. In one of Mr. Rhodes's invaluable letters he exhibits this fact in the particular instance of S. Alphonsus:—

It is the same as regards S. Alphonsus. It would, indeed, be impossible to find in all his voluminous writings a passage of such severity as the one in which Dr. Pusey quotes from M. Olier. Still in the "Glories of Mary" there occur a few quotations which speak very strongly of our Lord's office as our Judge as well as Saviour. Dr. Pusey tells his readers of these, but he does not tell them of the explanatory passages to be found in the *self-same* volume, *e.g.*, cap. iii., l. "The King of Heaven, being infinite goodness, desires in the highest degree to enrich us with His graces; but, because confidence is requisite on our part, and in order to increase it in us, He has given us His own Mother to be our Mother and advocate." Of this and similar passages Dr. Pusey says nothing; nor does he speak of the veritable ocean of love and confidence in our Lord, elsewhere manifested throughout the writings of this great saint, and by which the few sentences, strongly setting forth His severity to sinners, are absolutely overwhelmed. It is hopeless to attempt more than the most imperfect samples of them. Open, for instance, his *Reflections on the Passion of our Lord*. In the very first

chapter we find him stating that "our Lord declared to St. Gertrude that He was ready to die as many deaths as there were souls in hell if he could save them." In chapter xiv. he says, "Jesus Christ did not cease with His death to intercede for us before the Eternal Father. He still at present is our advocate : and it seems as if in heaven (as St. Paul writes) He knew no other office than that of moving His Father to show us mercy ; ' always living to intercede for us ' (Heb. vii.). And, adds the Apostle, the Saviour for this end has ascended into Heaven ' that He may appear in the presence of God for us ' " (Heb. ix.). And, further on, " My justice (said God to Mary Mgd. de Pazzi) is changed into clemency by the vengeance taken on the innocent flesh of Jesus Christ. The blood of this My Son does not cry to Me for vengeance, like that of Abel, but it only cries for mercy and pity, and at His voice my justice cannot but remain appeased." Again, a little further on, S. Alphonsus puts into the mouth of our Lord these tender words :—" My little lamb (*pecorella mia*), fear not ; see what thou hast cost Me ; I hold thee written in my hands in these wounds that I have borne for thee ; these ever remind me to help thee and to defend thee from thy enemies ; love me and have confidence." And the sinner answers :—" Yes, Jesus, I love you, and I confide in you. It is your will that all should be saved, and that none should perish. Even should You drive me, O my Love, from your face, I will not cease to hope in You, for You are my Saviour. I love you, O dear Jesus ; I love you, and I hope."

There remains, then, the true sense of the statement we are considering. Christ has reserved wholly to Himself the kingdom of justice ; He has given to His Mother no lot or part whatever in the office of judging and condemning. But He has so unreservedly handed over to her His whole kingdom of mercy, that she possesses (as it is often expressed) "*omnipotentia supplex*;" that the invocation of her will be fully as effective in obtaining mercy and grace, as would be prayer to Him offered with the same dispositions. To all therefore, who feel themselves bowed down by a sense of sin, she is a truly attractive object of worship : in some sense more attractive than her Son ; because her office is exclusively that of mercy, and *within* that sphere He has communicated to her His full power.

(4). "'To sinners who have lost Divine grace, there is no more sun' (the symbol of Jesus) 'for him, but the moon is still on the horizon; let him address himself to Mary'" (p. 106). "'No sinner doth deserve that Christ should any more make intercession for him with the Father . . . and therefore it was necessary that Christ should constitute His well-beloved Mother a mediatrix between us and Him'" (p. 105). We frankly admit that we have more difficulty in seeing the precise sense of these expressions, than of any others brought against Catholics. Undoubtedly indeed, if one found

such words without any indication of authorship, one might understand them to mean, that he who has fallen into mortal sin commits grievous presumption in offering direct prayer to God; and that God would have had no power to remit mortal sin, if He had not created Mary to intercede for it. But since notoriously every Catholic in the world would regard either of these propositions with horror unspeakable—and since the words were addressed by a Catholic to Catholics—it is demonstratively certain, that neither writer nor readers understood any such blasphemy. In fact, the writer was able to use such strong language, precisely *because* no one of his readers could by possibility take his words in their literal sense. It is as though a son said to his mother, “You are the author of my being; in you is my only hope;” and Dr. Pusey forthwith pounced on him for blasphemously introducing a second Deity.

It is absolutely certain, then, that these words do not mean what Dr. Pusey supposes; but it is more difficult to say accurately what they do mean. On the whole, however, we cannot be wrong in giving some such interpretation as the following. “If you have once possessed the unspeakable blessedness of justification and adoption, and have fallen from that blessedness by deliberately outraging your Creator with mortal sin, you have nothing favourable to expect from God’s *Justice*. With no approach to injustice, God might remove you straightway from earth to hell; there is nothing bought for you by Christ in His Passion, which could preclude your Creator from so acting. You must sue, then, for favours which Christ has *not* secured for you by His Passion; you must throw yourself most unreservedly on His *Mercy*; and you have more hope of forgiveness in proportion as you more keenly realize this fact. Yet this very keenness of realization may injure you, unless you adopt the appointed remedy: your sense of the insult you have offered to God may make you feel as though there were ‘no sun in the horizon;’ may make you slow in apprehending the boundless mercy of Him who is to be your Judge. He has Himself provided for this your obvious need. He has appointed a mediatrix, who entertains for you no feeling but that of pity; and whose maternal love will strengthen and encourage you to approach her Son. Nor is this all; for her prayers have a most powerful effect in obtaining for you a far greater degree of mercy than He would otherwise have granted.”

(5). “By dying he obeyed not only His Father, but also His Mother” (p. 158). “All things are subject to the command of the Virgin, even God Himself.” “The Blessed Virgin is

superior to God, and God Himself is subject to her, in respect of the manhood which He assumed from her." "However she be subject unto God, inasmuch as she is a creature, yet she is said to be superior and placed over Him,* inasmuch as she is His Mother." "You have over God the authority of a mother, and hence you obtain pardon for the most obdurate sinners" (p. 103, note).

Dr. Pusey is often so severe on Catholics for going beyond Scripture, that one might have expected considerable forbearance where they have but used New Testament language. S. Luke says (c. 2, v. 51), "He came to Nazareth, and was subject to them." Who was "He?" The Incarnate God. Who were "they?" Mary and Joseph. Now Dr. Pusey, in p. 103, expresses himself as though the very phrase "God is subject to Mary" were so plainly revolting, as to require no express refutation: yet it is almost word for word the Holy Ghost's statement through S. Luke. Moreover, to say that the Incarnate God was subject to Mary and Joseph, is simply and precisely saying in other words that they were "superiors" "set over" the Incarnate God. We have it, then, on the Holy Ghost's infallible authority, that for certain years the Incarnate God was subject to His Mother; that she was "superior" to Him; "set over Him;" "had over Him the authority of a mother."

There are probably many in the Church of England who, if they saw this argument of ours, would at once object, that our Lord was only placed under Mary and Joseph during His nonage, before His faculties were fully developed. But Dr. Pusey holds, of course, as strongly as we do, that from the very moment of His miraculous Conception the soul of Christ knew distinctly and explicitly every object which it knows even at this very moment. Other Protestants again are more or less consciously under the impression, that since our Lord's Ascension His Sacred Humanity has in some sense ceased to be: but Dr. Pusey here again would heartily anathematize any such heresy.

Let us begin, then, by examining what the Holy Ghost meant in S. Luke's words. This of course is certain; that at every moment there was this or that particular act, which the Eternal Father wished the soul of Christ to elicit; and also that this precise act did, in fact, always take place. One cannot suppose however, consistently with S. Luke's language (to put it on no other ground), that the commands of Mary

* We assume that the Latin word is "*prælatâ*." Dr. Pusey translates it "*preferred before Him*;" but our rendering of the text is plainly more correct.

and Joseph were constantly overruled by the superior claim of God's Will; and still less can we suppose that that Will surrendered its claim to *them*. One only supposition then remains, which is unquestionably the true one. God so inspired Mary and Joseph, that whenever they commanded Jesus, such command was precisely accordant with the Divine preference: and Jesus, among the various motives which at that moment influenced His human will, vouchsafed to direct His act to this particular motive also—viz., the virtuousness of obeying His Mother; and of obeying him, too, whom God had appointed to stand in the place of an earthly father.

Now firstly we ask, what possible difficulty there can be in supposing that the same obedience was paid by Jesus to Mary's authority at a somewhat later period; viz., when He entered on His Passion? that he prepared Himself for this, by asking her permission? that "by dying He obeyed not only His Father but also His Mother?" We are not here arguing that He did so: though for ourselves we have every disposition to believe that He did so. But we ask, what possible *theological objection* can be raised against such an opinion, should it commend itself to some holy man? Canon Oakeley (pp. 24-5) points out the plain implication of Scripture that at the Annunciation "she must express her free and unbiassed consent before the human race can be redeemed in the manner fore-ordained of God:" and he then proceeds:—

Nor can I see (though I admit this to be rather the pious inference of devotion, than the logical conclusion of dogma) that any more direct share in the unapproachable office of our Redeemer is ascribed to His Blessed Mother *in regarding the Passion itself as suspended upon her consent*, than is implied in the intimacy thus proved by the language of Scripture itself to have existed from the first between the decrees of the most Holy Trinity and the free-will of the Blessed Virgin (p. 25).

Then, following Jesus and Mary from earth to heaven, something still surely remains in their mutual relations, not identical indeed (far from it), yet not unanalogous. Take the parallel of an absolute monarch, whose mother still lives and is fondly loved by him. He possesses over her undoubtedly supreme authority: so far from her being able in any true sense to command him, he can impose his commands on her without appeal. And yet his assent to her just petitions will not altogether resemble in kind his assent to other suppliants; he will regard her still with a real filial deference; and she will, in a figurative sense, exercise over him a certain maternal authority. This is the obvious sense of the expressions cited by Dr. Pusey. If to any Catholic such expressions appear

strained and far-fetched, he is in no way called on to adopt or even think of them. For our own part, it seems to us most touching and appropriate, that earnest devotees of Mary should delight in setting forth, exalting, amplifying, her various unapproached and singular prerogatives.

We may add here, as in the former case, that the paradoxical form itself which such expressions wear, shows clearly how far it was from the mind of their originators that they should be construed literally. In every case a Catholic in a Catholic country was addressing Catholics, who could never dream of suspecting him to mean what both he and they knew to be heretical. No one, *e. g.*, more abounds in such expressions than S. Alphonsus; and, indeed, one of Dr. Pusey's quotations is taken from him. The simplicity, then, is almost affecting with which that Saint elsewhere expresses himself.

There is no doubt (he says) that figures, like hyperboles, cannot be taxed with falsehood when *by the context of the discourse the exaggeration is evident*, as for example when S. Peter Damianus says that Mary comes to her Son, *commanding, not beseeching . . .* So then figures are permitted, *wherever there cannot be any mistake on the subject.*—(French Translation of works, vol. vi. p. 324.)

Nor, in our opinion, can it be said with truth, that such devout contemplations and pious amplifications and figurative expressions are, at all events, less suitable to the present age. They are out of harmony, indeed, with the spirit of the present age, simply because no age ever needed them more. The one festering evil which in these days eats like a canker into men's spirituality, is the spirit of worldliness; from which flows that foul stream of indifferentism, against which the Holy Father is never weary of inveighing. Now, it is in proportion as the invisible world is made attractive to the imagination and the feelings, that there is the greater hope of its successfully overcoming the charm of things present and transitory. It is precisely, then, such meditations as those of S. Bernardine and S. Alphonsus,—originating with holy men and diffused like a tradition among the body of believers,—which are among the most valuable bulwarks against that formidable foe now so rampantly in the field.

(6). "It seems to be a part of this [evil] system to parallel the Blessed Virgin throughout with her Divine Son, so that every prerogative which belonged to Him by nature or office should be, in some measure, imputed to her" (p. 161). Can there be a more perverse comment than this? If you earnestly love two objects, it is a delight to trace every possible analogy and similarity *between them; between their circumstances, their*

character, their benefits to you: and the fact, therefore, to which Dr. Pusey draws attention, shows how dearly the lovers of Mary love her Son. But who, except Dr. Pusey and his co-religionists, would dream of drawing the very opposite conclusion? of inferring that Catholics elevate the Mother into her Son's rival and antagonist?

(7). Dr. Pusey complains of S. Alphonsus giving the obvious counsel, that Catholics shall ascribe to the Blessed Virgin every privilege which they *can* ascribe to her without theological error. Well, at all events there can be no *theological error* in ascribing to her all those privileges, which you can ascribe to her *without* theological error. And if Dr. Pusey happily becomes a Catholic, he will only be expected to abstain from accusing this opinion of theological error; he will not be expected to embrace it himself.

(8). We now come to Dr. Pusey's complaint against F. Faber, for saying that "an immense increase of devotion to Mary," "nothing less than an immense one," is among the most desirable of eventualities. First, then, one has to consider what was F. Faber's *authority* for thus speaking; because, if this were merely his own private bias of opinion, there would be no great need of entering on the discussion. Let it be remembered, however, where the words occur. F. Faber had been translating a book, of which it has been authoritatively decided at Rome that it contains nothing contrary to faith or morals, or to the Church's common sentiment and common practice. (See note at page 177.) The words cited by Dr. Pusey occur in F. Faber's preface to that work; and they do but say what Ven. Grignon de Montfort earnestly inculcates. Look at such passages as the following in the work itself.

All the rich among the people shall supplicate thy face from age to age, and *particularly at the end of the world*; that is to say, the greatest Saints, the souls richest in graces and virtues, shall be the most assiduous in praying to our Blessed Lady, and in having her always present as their perfect model to imitate, and their powerful aid to give them succour.

I have said that this would come to pass, particularly at the end of the world, and indeed presently, because *the Most High with His holy Mother has to form for Himself great Saints, who shall surpass most of the other Saints in sanctity, as much as the cedars of Lebanon outgrow the little shrubs*, as has been revealed to a holy soul, whose life has been written by a great servant of God.

These great souls, full of grace and zeal, shall be chosen to match themselves against the enemies of God, who shall rage on all sides; and they shall be *singularly devout to our Blessed Lady*, illuminated by her light, nourished by her milk, led by her spirit, supported by her arm, and sheltered under *her protection*, so that they shall fight with one hand and build with the

other. With one hand they shall fight, overthrow, and crush the heretics with their heresies, the schismatics with their schisms, the idolators with their idolatries, and the sinners with their impieties. With the other hand *they shall build the temple of the true Solomon, and the mystical city of God; that is to say, the most holy Virgin, called by the holy Fathers the temple of Solomon and the city of God.* By their words and by their examples *they shall bend the whole world to true devotion to Mary.* This shall bring upon them many enemies; but it shall also bring many victories and much glory for God alone. It is this which God revealed to S. Vincent Ferrer, the great apostle of his age, as he has sufficiently noted in one of his works (pp. 25-7).

God, then, wishes to reveal and discover Mary, the masterpiece of His hands, in these latter times (p. 28).

It is necessary, then, for the greater knowledge and glory of the Most Holy Trinity, that Mary *should be more known than ever.*

Mary must shine forth more than ever in mercy, in might, and in grace, in these latter times (p. 29).

The power of Mary over all the devils will especially break out in the latter times, when Satan will lay his snares against her heel; that is to say, her humble slaves and her poor children, whom she will raise up to make war against him (p. 33).

God wishes that His holy Mother should be at present *more known, more loved, more honoured, than she has ever been.* This no doubt will take place, if the predestinate enter, with the grace and light of the Holy Ghost, into the interior and perfect practice which I will disclose to them shortly (p. 33).

Now we are as far as possible from denying, that every Catholic has the fullest liberty to think all this utterly mistaken. We only say that F. Faber had fully an equal right to think it true; and that Dr. Pusey, in denouncing it as *intolerable and unsound*, is assailing the Catholic Church herself. Any Catholic, we repeat, may regard the holy writer as *mistaken*; but when Dr. Pusey denounces him as *unsound*, all Catholics are called on to protest against such strictures.

And now as to the statement itself. We know not on what ground Montfort based his predictions as to the future; nor are we acquainted with those "revelations of the saints" to which F. Faber alludes: as to the matter of *fact*, therefore, we can have no opinion whatever. But on the matter of *doctrine*, nothing can be more intelligible than Montfort's and Faber's view. The Church already teaches in a thousand ways that the most effective and acceptable way of contemplating Jesus, is the uniting with His Mother in that contemplation; that the thoughts of Jesus and of Mary should be indissolubly united. *We have already vindicated this position against Dr. Pusey,*

and on this part of the matter no more need here be said. But now take the ordinary books of prayer and meditation: who can possibly say that the constant union of these two Objects is carried out to one-hundredth part of that extent, which is most readily imaginable? It was Montfort's strong opinion that the time was come when this should be vigorously done; moreover, that its certain result would be a greatly increased knowledge of Mary, and by consequence a greatly increased love of Jesus. So far from there being aught alarming or extravagant in such an opinion, none can well be imagined more obvious and common-sense.

At the same time, we must be never weary of repeating, that all the propositions treated in this particular portion of our article are purely *open* propositions; that neither Dr. Pusey nor any one else whom the Holy Ghost may draw to the Church, need trouble his head about them; that he would only be expected to abstain from censuring them, and to allow in others the same liberty which he exercises himself. Even now he seems ready to do this in the case of Italians and Spaniards;* why, then, are English lovers of Mary to be placed under a yoke? There are many Englishmen who feel that such worship of Mary as is counselled by the more "extreme" school, is a priceless benefit to their whole spiritual life; why are they to forfeit their privilege, because Dr. Pusey finds his own case different? All such tyrannical and dictatorial proclivities Dr. Pusey doubtless must renounce, before he can be a loyal member of the Roman Catholic Church.

But we must not shrink from encountering the actual passages textually quoted by Dr. Pusey from Catholic writers. Our only difficulty in treating separately each one of these, is the physical impossibility of doing so in one article. But since the *Eirenicon* was published, a selection has been made of those propositions which, as they stand in its pages, are considered to present the greatest difficulty to a Catholic mind. These are in number twenty-two; and we imagine that Dr. Pusey will himself consider them the most effective in his catalogue. We will consider each one of these without exception:—†

1. S. Alphonsus says: "Those whom the justice of God

* See his words quoted by us last April, p. 438.

† It was absolutely necessary to meet these passages one by one; but we have found ourselves unable so to do, except at the cost of much tediousness. Our readers, however, who may not care for this particular discussion, can pass at once to the last paragraph of this article, without losing any important portion of our argument.

saves not, the infinite mercy of Mary saves by her intercession." Dr. Pusey (p. 103) puts the word "infinite" into italics, as showing the point of his objection; but can he seriously mean that S. Alphonsus lays down, as a dogmatic proposition, the infinitude of Mary's attributes? "I have taken infinite trouble to oblige you," says a friend to Dr. Pusey. "Sir," gravely replies the latter, "you shock me: no one can do anything infinite, save God Alone." S. Alphonsus meant, of course, that our Lady's mercy embraces every kind of evil, moral or spiritual, which can possibly be brought before her in prayer.

2. S. Alphonsus also says (p. 103), "God has resigned into her hands (*if one might say so*), His Omnipotence in the sphere of grace." The very words which we have italicized show that he is not speaking literally; and the general thought has been already explained by us.

3. The vision of the two ladders, already treated. (See p. 181.)

4, 5. Bernardine of Bustis says that "the Blessed Virgin is superior to God, . . . in respect of the manhood which He assumed from her;" and S. Bernardine of Sienna that "He is subject to her command" (p. 103). This we have already explained.

6, 7. That most admirable man, M. Olier, expressed himself in the following strange way:—

We are very unworthy to draw near unto Jesus: and He has a right to repulse [rebuter] us, because of His justice, since, *having entered into all the feelings of His Father from the time of His blessed Resurrection, He finds Himself in the same disposition with the Father toward sinners, i.e., to reject them; so that the difficulty is to induce Him to exchange the office of Judge for that of Advocate; and of a Judge, to make Him a suppliant.* Now this is what the saints effect, and especially the most Blessed Virgin (p. 104).

Now if M. Olier intended this dogmatically, he undoubtedly uttered two heresies: yet most characteristically, while Dr. Pusey is extremely sensitive to the milder of the two, he shows himself profoundly unconscious of that which is far more grievous. It is undoubtedly heretical to think Mary's love of sinners greater than Christ's; but it is a far more grievous heresy to hold that the love felt for them by the Infinite God, is less than that felt for them by the Sacred Humanity. As regards, however, the former heresy, which is the topic of Dr. Pusey's indictment, Mr. Rhodes, in one of his letters (*Weekly Register*, March 3), points out that in the very preceding page M. Olier "proclaims, with

an unusual sweetness and tenderness, the more usual doctrine" on our Lord's most tender sympathy with sinners. We conclude, therefore, that if M. Olier intended dogmatically the words above quoted, he wrote them under some temporary absence or obscuration of mind. But we cannot help regarding it as far more probable, that he did not intend them dogmatically at all; but merely as a practical exhortation to sinners, that they should approach Mary as their special advocate and mediatrix when they have offended her Son.

8. S. Alphonsus adopts the statement (p. 103) that our Lady "is the only refuge of those who have incurred the Divine indignation." This we have explained in p. 184.

9. Dr. Pusey was far oftener asked by Catholics to pray for his conversion to our Lady than to her Son. He has been understood to infer from this that, in the opinion of such Catholics, "Mary alone can obtain a Protestant's conversion;" but no such inference is ever so remotely deducible from the fact he mentions. As to that fact, we have already considered it in p. 171.

10. We now enter on four extracts from Salazar. It must be remembered that his works have never been specially examined at Rome, as have been those of S. Alphonsus and of Montfort; nor, again, have the opinions cited from him any wide currency among Catholics, as have, *e. g.*, those from S. Alphonsus. There would be no difficulty whatever, therefore, in any Catholic abandoning, as theologically erroneous and incapable of defence, whatever might be so judged by him in these respective extracts. Yet we should be extremely surprised if any well-instructed Catholic were disposed to do so, who read them in the context; and to us, certainly, they appear not only in no respect unsound, but edifying and beautiful. We should add also that he is a thoroughly approved theologian; and that those scholastics who refer to him (Lugo does so frequently) always speak of him with every respect. Firstly, then, he says—

It may be questioned whether, if, *per impossibile*, there had been no Will of the Father, and His Mother alone wished and decreed that her Son should die for men, this would suffice that Christ, obeying His Mother, should willingly undergo death. I believe that Christ so deferred to His Mother, that it would have sufficed. *Let others think as they will.* I add that the Mother of God herself embraces the human race with so much love and affection that if, according to the aforesaid supposition, that Will of the Eternal Father were wanting, she would yet, of her own will, choose that her Son should die for men (p. 158-9).

We can see nothing in this extract requiring explanation;

our only wonder is, that any one should stumble at it. It has been understood, indeed, as declaring "that it would have sufficed for the salvation of men if our Lord had died, not to obey His Father, but to defer to the decree of His Mother;" and such a tenet would of course be heretical. But if Dr. Pusey so understands it, his misapprehension seems to us not only extreme but most gratuitous.

11. As He was the Son of God by nature, so, they say, was she "by a more noble right than that of adoption only, a right which emulates in a manner natural filiation" (p. 161).

Those who read this sentence of Dr. Pusey's will hardly be prepared for the fact that, in close context with the words cited, Salazar says expressly, "Mary is the daughter of God by adoption and not by nature." He proceeds, however, to urge that in a certain sense she was the spouse of Christ; and that therefore—apart altogether from her *adopted* filiation,—she was in a certain sense, not indeed God's daughter, but His *daughter-in-law*. We can readily understand the opinion that this is a trivial fancy; though for ourselves we are rather pleased and touched by it: but when Dr. Pusey raises it into a serious ground of complaint, one's only legitimate inference is that he must be very hard pressed for evidence to his indictment.

12. On the next head we will insert a somewhat more extended extract than Dr. Pusey has given. It occurs in an exposition of the trite text, Prov. viii. 22.

S. Ambrose by the word "*viarum*" understood virtues; and affirms that Christ was created by the Father as a beginning of God's paths, because (says he) to Him was assigned the *first exhibition of all great virtues* (*magnarum virtutum prerogativa*), in such sense, namely, that those Evangelical virtues which had been unknown in previous ages, were disclosed by Him as so many *new paths*: I mean humility, virginity, poverty, and the like. Yet I know not whether Mary may not be more truly called the beginning of these paths or virtues than Christ. *I am speaking of the beginning of execution, and that by way of anticipation, not in the sense of cause.* (Initium inquam executionis anticipationis, non cause.) Because the Virgin exercised in act those most excellent Evangelical virtues, before Christ came and taught them by word and example.

. . . . And truly it was suitable* that the mother should be strong in those virtues which the Son was afterwards to exercise, that He might be said "*matrizzare*," i. e., to reproduce His Mother's character (*matris sue mores referre*). And thus it was requisite (*oportebat*) that the Virgin's virtues should be such, that the Son in imitating (*imitans*) them should fulfil the office of Saviour.

* "*Ita decuit.*" Dr. Pusey strangely translates this "*must needs be*" (p. 161).

Now our Lord "fulfilled the office of Saviour," as in other ways, so also in leading a life of spotless sanctity; and it is of course to this particular that reference is here made. Salazar says that He led a spotless life in imitating His Mother's virtues. Now undoubtedly if it were meant by this that, except for her example, He would not have known wherein true virtue consists,—not a word could be said in extenuation of a sentiment so intolerable, revolting, and heretical. But a critic must be absolutely blind with prejudice, who can ascribe to the words any such sense. Salazar is pursuing his favourite theme—the praises of the Deipara; and he gives one special reason of congruity, why it was suitable that she should be so bright and spotless a specimen of virtue. His argument may be thus expressed: "It is a great perfection in a son, as such, if, without thereby being at all the less excellent, he is a true image both of father and mother. Why should we deny this perfection to Christ? I affirm, therefore, that He was a true image both of Father and Mother; that she exhibited the very same virtues which were conspicuous in Him. He led a faultless life then (*Virginis virtutes imitans*), in doing those very good acts which He saw His Mother do."

13. As I have often inculcated, Christ so wrought our redemption, as to call in Mary as an aid in this work. Wherefore as the birth, nature itself guiding, derives strength from the man, but, from the woman, form and beauty; so also our redemption (which was produced, as it were, through Mary and Christ*) derives from Christ sufficiency, strength, and consistency, but from Mary, beauty and loveliness. For as therefrom, that Christ the Lord worked our redemption, we infer rightly, that nothing of sufficiency or might should be wanting to it; so therefrom, that the Virgin co-operated to the same, we rightly deduce, that nothing of form or beauty could be missed in it. For in some way the grace and beauty of the redemption would fade, if the aforesaid co-operation of the Virgin were lacking.—(Salaz. pro Immac. Virg. Conc., § 14, n. 171.)

Almost immediately after this, Salazar proceeds to say that the Blessed Virgin was "the first and the pattern (*prævia*) among all the redeemed;" words which render his meaning absolutely unmistakable, and which we think Dr. Pusey would have done better to quote. As to the passage which he does quote,—we think it extremely beautiful, but that is a matter of opinion; as to its *theological soundness*, we cannot make any defence where we are absolutely unable to imagine the ground of attack.

* "*Parta per Mariam et Christum.*" Dr. Pusey most inaccurately translates this "*borne by Mary and Christ*" (p. 162, note).

14. From Salazar we now proceed to the Ven. Grignon de Montfort; all whose works, be it remembered, have been carefully examined at Rome, and pronounced to contain nothing contrary to faith or morals, or to the Church's common sentiment and practice. On opening him we find at once a much deeper and more solid vein of thought than in Salazar. He seems to have no leisure (as it were) for those beautiful fancies which delight the Jesuit scholastic; because his whole attention is earnestly concentrated on the great work of man's sanctification and salvation. Nor are we at all surprised at F. Faber's testimony (Preface, p. i.), "that those who take him for their master will hardly be able to name a saint or ascetical writer to whose grace and spirit their mind will be more subject than to his." Further on F. Faber adds—

There is a growing feeling of something inspired and supernatural about it, as we go on studying it; and with that we cannot help experiencing, after repeated readings of it, that its novelty never seems to wear off, nor its fulness to be diminished, nor the fresh fragrance and sensible fire of its unction ever to abate.

And here, before considering in order those various propositions of his which we are specially to treat, we will give one or two other extracts; as illustrating the relative position which he respectively ascribes to our Lord and His Blessed Mother.

I avow, with all the Church, that Mary, being but a mere creature that has come from the hands of the Most High, is, in comparison with His Infinite Majesty, less than an atom; or rather she is nothing at all, because He only is "He who is," and thus by consequence that grand Lord, always independent and sufficient to Himself, never had, and has not now, any absolute need of the Holy Virgin for the accomplishment of His Will and for the manifestation of His Glory (p. 7).

The predestinate will know what is the most sure, the most easy, the most short, and the most perfect means by which to go to *Jesus Christ*; and they will deliver themselves to Mary, body and soul, without reserve, *that they may thus be all for Jesus Christ* (p. 34).

Jesus Christ our Saviour, true God and true Man, ought to be the last end of all our other devotions, *else they are false and delusive*. Jesus Christ is the *alpha* and *omega*, the beginning and the end of all things. We labour not, as the Apostle says, except to render every man *perfect in Jesus Christ*; because it is in Him alone that the whole plenitude of the Divinity dwells, together with all the other plenitudes of graces, virtues, and perfections; because it is in Him alone that we have been blessed with all spiritual benediction; and because He is our only Master, who has to teach us; our only Lord, on whom we ought to depend; our only Head, to whom we must belong; *our only Model, to whom we should conform ourselves*; our only

Physician who can heal us ; our only Shepherd who can feed us ; our only Way who can lead us ; our only Truth, who can make us grow ; our only Life, who can animate us ; and our only All in all things, who can suffice us. There has been no other name given under heaven, except the name of Jesus, *by which we can be saved.* God has laid no other foundation of our salvation, of our perfection, and of our glory, except Jesus Christ. *Every building which is not built upon that firm rock is founded upon the moving sand, and sooner or later will fall infallibly.* Every one of the faithful who is not united to Him, as a branch to the stock of the vine, shall fall, shall wither, and shall be fit only to cast into the fire. If we are in Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ in us, we have no condemnation to fear. Neither the angels of heaven, nor the men of earth, nor the devils of hell, nor any other creatures, can injure us ; because they cannot separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ. By Jesus Christ, with Jesus Christ, in Jesus Christ, we can do all things ; we can render all honour and glory to the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost ; we can become perfect ourselves, and be to our neighbour a good odour of eternal life.

If, then, we establish the solid devotion to our Blessed Lady, it is only to establish more perfectly the devotion to Jesus Christ, and to put forward an easy and secure means for finding Jesus Christ. *If devotion to our Lady removed us from Jesus Christ, we should have to reject it as an illusion of the devil ; but on the contrary, so far from this being the case, there is nothing which makes devotion to our Lady more necessary for us, as I have already shown, and will show still further hereafter, than that it is the means of finding Jesus Christ perfectly, of loving Him tenderly, and of serving Him faithfully* (pp. 37-9).

We think it most unfair in Dr. Pusey—though we by no means impute to him intentional unfairness—that he has been wholly silent on these most express testimonies. And now for those which he does cite.

God “recognizes” in Mary’s clients “the merits of His Son and of his Holy Mother” (p. 143). So, as we have seen in an indulgenced prayer, we appeal to “the merits of Jesus and Mary.” But Dr. Pusey perverts this elementary statement into the proposition (p. 163) that, “as we are clothed with the merits of Christ, so also with the merits of Mary ;” from which his readers would infer Montfort to have said, that Catholics are clothed with the merits of Mary, *in the same sense* in which they are clothed with those of Christ. It cannot be necessary to explain for the benefit of any Catholic—it is strange it should be necessary for Dr. Pusey’s—that, in Montfort’s view, as in that of any other Catholic, Christ’s merits avail to us in the way of condignity, Mary’s only in the way of congruity ; nay, and that Mary’s own merits rest upon her Son’s as on their one sole condignly meritorious cause.

15, 16, 17. We are here interrupted for a moment by three

consecutive propositions, taken from a young ecclesiastic named Oswald, whose work was placed on the Index. He was, no doubt, animated by the best intentions; for when condemned "*laudabiliter se subjecit*."

All the remaining propositions are from Montfort.

18. He mentions (p. 125) "souls which are not born of blood, nor of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God and Mary;" in other words, who savour not of flesh, and blood, and human corruption, but of God and Mary. We are quite unable to understand Dr. Pusey's difficulty, in this most suggestive expression. But, as he refers vaguely in a note to p. 74 as giving special poison to the phrase, we will gratify our pious readers by extracting the page.

Oh! but my labour will have been well expended if this little Writing, falling into the hands of a soul of good dispositions, a soul well born,—born of God and of Mary, and not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man,—should unfold to him, and should, by the grace of the Holy Ghost inspire him with, the excellence and the price of that true and solid devotion to our Blessed Lady, which I am going presently to describe. If I knew that my guilty blood could serve in engraving upon any one's heart the truths which I am writing in honour of my true Mother and Sovereign Mistress, I would use my blood instead of ink to form the letters, in the hope to find some good souls who, by their fidelity to the practice which I teach shall compensate to my dear Mother and Mistress for the losses which she has suffered through my ingratitude and infidelities. I feel myself more than ever animated to believe and to hope all which I have had deeply engraven upon my heart, and have asked of God these many years, namely, that sooner or later the Blessed Virgin shall have more children, servants, and slaves of love than ever; and that, by this means, Jesus Christ, my dear Master, shall reign more in hearts than ever (pp. 73-4).

How could Dr. Pusey have the heart to read burning words like these with that cold spirit of criticism, which is so revolting a feature in his whole treatment of Marian doctrine?

19. The concluding extracts occur in an analogy, which to some may seem far-fetched, but which to us appears singularly beautiful; an analogy between that joint office, on the one hand, whereby the Holy Ghost and Mary produced Christ Himself, and that joint office, on the other hand, whereby they form Christ in the individual soul. The paragraphs are not very distinctly expressed; but there can be no doubt as to the general doctrine which they contain. Certain souls permit Mary to "strike her roots" in them; *i.e.*, to produce in them, by her watchful vigilance and unremitting intercession, a real though imperfect image of herself. When the Holy Ghost sees that Mary *has* thus taken root;—or (to use the author's expression), when he sees Mary in those souls;—He

flies to them, and, in conjunction with Mary, performs the "startling wonder" (p. 20) of forming Christ within them. In other words, sanctity in its germs is specially attributed by the author to Mary's intercession. In its maturity, however, it is described as the formation of Jesus Christ in the soul, through the joint agency of the Holy Ghost and Mary. She watchfully intercedes; He puts forth His highest efficacy in training and nurturing the soul; and so the complete image of her Son is more and more effectually produced within it. We wish Dr. Pusey would make this profound thought a matter for his pious contemplation, instead of his captious criticism.

We should further add, what is a first principle in theology, that the Holy Ghost differs from the other Divine Persons, in that he has no *Divine Fecundity*. The Father generates the Son; the Father and Son, by one undivided spiration, produce the Holy Ghost; but He produces no Divine Person. It is only, therefore, in acting on created things that His Fecundity exists. And now our readers will be able to understand the whole extract, as cited from Dr. Pusey's pages. "The Holy Ghost brings into fruitfulness His action by her; producing in her and by her Jesus Christ in His members."

20. Mary is the Queen of heaven and earth by grace, as Jesus is the King of them by nature and by conquest. Now, as the kingdom of Jesus Christ consists principally in the heart and interior of a man—according to that word, "The kingdom of God is within you,"—in like manner the kingdom of our Blessed Lady is principally in the interior of a man, that is to say, his soul; and it is principally in souls that she is more glorified with her Son than in all visible creatures, and that we can call her, as the Saints do, the Queen of hearts.

We are unable to conjecture the objection to these words, and so we pass on.

21, 22. "She and the Holy Ghost produce in the soul extraordinary things; and, when the Holy Ghost finds Mary in a soul, He flies there." These beautiful statements have now been fully elucidated.

And this is all, which Dr. Pusey's extensive learning and intense hatred of Marian devotion have enabled him to bring forward! So far as our own personal feeling is concerned, we can but thank him for the delight he has given us, in making or renewing acquaintance with thoughts so elevating and heavenly.

We explained at starting that we hope in our next number to answer that objection to Marian devotion, which is founded on the alleged silence or contradiction of Scripture and Antiquity.

The particular objection however, to which we have now replied, both *does* and (as we think) *should* influence Protestants far more profoundly than the other; and we trust our readers may think that we have steadily confronted it. This objection alleges that the Church, by her encouragement of such devotions, obscures the thought of God, and fosters in her children a certain approach to idolatry. We fully agree with Canon Oakeley (pp. 40-41), "that this great crux of Dr. Pusey's is a phantom of the devil's creating, and one among the many evidences which history and experience furnish of his implacable hostility to her whom he knows to be the great antagonist of his power." In regard to those Marian doctrines, which the Church inculcates magisterially on all her children, we have maintained that every Christian who accepts and acts on them, will find them invaluable helps to true spirituality. In regard to those further propositions, which have been advocated by holy men with the Church's full permission, we have pursued a middle course. We have pointed out on the one hand, that though no Catholic may censure them, he is not required in any way to believe or even to think about them; and that many practices, most beneficial to one man, may be injurious to another. But we have given it as our own humble opinion, on the other hand, that those whom the Holy Ghost draws to accept and contemplate these propositions, have received from Him a high and special privilege; because such contemplation affords a help, inappreciable and quite singular, towards acquiring unworldliness of spirit, and growing in energetic and tender love for God and for Christ.

We accidentally omitted to mention in the proper place, that the error, on our Lady's co-presence in the Eucharist, will be more conveniently treated in our next article on Dr. Pusey.

Essays and Miscellaneous Papers.

[We do not identify ourselves with the views contained in this article. Last July (p. 260) we expressed an earnest wish that "those who are for keeping heathen literature in its present pre-eminence" would express their answer to obvious objections more clearly than (so far as we know) they have yet done. We have nowhere seen these objections more clearly stated than in the following paper; but we still "hold our own opinion in suspense."]

THE GAUME CONTROVERSY ON CLASSICAL STUDIES.*

THERE have been several intimations of late that the spirit which gave birth to the Gaume controversy has not been entirely extinguished. No man of candid mind, who has given any attention to the subject, can for a moment think that the question has ever been satisfactorily settled. Society still continues steadily to advance towards the Paganism of the past; or, rather, revolving in a circle (if that can be called advancing), the faster it appears to go forward, the quicker it is returning back to the point from whence it started. When the circle can be measured by the eye, at a glance, there is no possibility of deception; but when it is as large as the orbit of the earth, the delusion is easily kept up. Comparing the progress of humanity bit by bit, there are certainly appear-

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- * 1. *Discours sur la Nature, la Cause, et le Remède; ou, mal Actuel prononcé à Rome.* Par Mgr. L'Évêque D'AQUILA. Paris: Balitout. 1865.
 2. *Memoria dedicata all'Episcopato Cattolico Riunito in Roma nel.* 1862.
 3. *Il Paganesimo Antico e Moderno.* Curci. Roma coi Tipi della Cività Cattolica. 1862.
 4. *Le Ver Rongeur.* Par L'Abbé J. GAUME. Bruxelles. 1851.
 5. *Der Kranke Zeitgeist,* von A. PHILALETHES. Vien. 1860.
 6. *Des Etudes Classiques dans la Société Chrétienne.* Par le R. P. Ch. DANIEL, S.J. Paris: Douniol. 1853.
 7. *Christian Classics.* Edited by G. W. ABRAHAM, A.M., LL.D. Dublin: Duffy. 1860.
 8. *Le Véritable Esprit de l'Eglise.* Par l'Abbé LANDRIOT. Paris: Douniol. 1854.
 9. *La Natura e la Grazia. Discorsi sopra il Naturalismo Moderno detti in Roma nella quaresima del 1861.* Dal P. CARLO M. CURCI, D.C.D.G. Roma. 1865.

ances of advancement; but when the furthest extremes of civilization are brought into juxtaposition with each other, one would almost be tempted to believe that the circle has already been completed.

That this is the opinion of many thinking men of the present day, who can still appreciate the possible influence of genuine Christianity, cannot be called in question. I speak not of men, who, from the ardour of their temperament, or the prejudice of education, or that narrowness which contracts the vision upon a single point of an extensive field, are incapable of forming a rational opinion; but of men of calm judgment, of large and cautious minds, who have silently, and steadily, and for a length of time watched the movements of society, marked its progress, and measured its decay. Nor is this, either, the opinion of an isolated school; or the utterance of a society of alarmists, who edge the brightest things with black; but the express opinion of men, in other things, as wide asunder as the poles, who, forming their premisses out of a common Christianity, elicit an identical conclusion. It would almost seem that, if society continues in its present course, the warning voices of thinking men will gradually cease; and that, like some great overflow, which replaces the variegated beauties of a smiling valley with a monotonous expanse of turgid water, hiding even the very tree-tops from the sight, by degrees even minds, which occupy the most elevated standpoints in the social world, will, at length, sink under in the universal flood. Whether a man, then, be high or low; whether he see far or near; if he be bent beneath the flow of waters, he can be of no more service to his fellow-men than a sunken light-house to a stranded ship.

The danger of which I speak has been more keenly felt and more forcibly expressed by thinkers on the Continent than by ourselves. We can hardly understand, and certainly we cannot fully realize, the intensity of their feelings on this point. Like the warnings of the Prophets of old time, we stop, listen, and go on our way as if nothing at all had happened. We think that it is the way of foreigners to be more demonstrative than ourselves; and that, though they can make much more noise than we, and deal more liberally in superlatives; still, after all, we are every bit as deep thinkers as themselves, and infinitely more accurate in the expression of our thoughts. This, doubtless, is not without a "*fundamentum veritatis*;" yet I do not believe that mere difference of temperament can adequately account for the vivid appreciation which foreign thinkers have of the unhappy state of modern Europe. They are in a far better position for watching the movements

of society than ourselves. The gulf-stream of European thought, rushing into the future, and eddying round the great centres of intellectual activity—Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, Turin, and Rome—but gently touches our English shores; and, when it strikes a little boisterously, the Englishman makes as little account of it as of a gale of wind, or a spring-tide. As long as commerce, agriculture, and consols are “looking up,” he feels tolerably well contented. He can turn to his fire after breakfast, and run his steady eye down the columns of his morning paper, with the consciousness of a man who has made a hearty meal; and it would take a great many foreign troubles to disturb the serenity of his disposition in this one of the happiest moments of his day. Nay, far from the insecurity of foreign governments and thrones, and the effect of Continental philosophies causing him sensations of alarm; he rather strokes his beard with all the greater satisfaction; and, by the very contrast, feels that he is founded on a rock, and thanks God for the British Constitution. I mean that he would not feel that such occurrences came personally home to him. He would act the part of a simple spectator; as people at a play, or as lookers-on at a pageant. Indeed, a little of the “sensational” is rather in the fashion. There would be “absolutely nothing in the papers,” if there were not some scandal at home, or some catastrophe abroad. It would be the food without the condiments—so useful to secure an appetite, and give relish to a meal. I am, however, far from denying that there are thoughtful men, and many of them, who, full of an amiable philanthropy, keenly sympathize with suffering in every shape; and that there are not a few, who, taking a larger view than is the custom with men living in an insular position, clearly perceive how the philosophies, revolutions, and crises of a foreign nation can affect their own. But though this be granted upon the one side, and much more than this, it cannot be denied upon the other that a man who feels his house to be his “castle” has a much duller sense of danger than one who is standing on a mine.

The true English feeling of security is a psychological emotion almost unknown to foreign thinkers. They live under the shadow of a volcano, and they tread on the ashes of an exploded revolution. The danger is too near home for them to treat it lightly. Its action is too recent, and its effects too hideously frightful, to be easily forgotten. Whether it be France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, or Germany, it is the same: the only question is a question of degree. Strong pressure, and the iron arm, are the magistrates—unlike our “great unpaid”—who keep the peace. Men may be silent,

and self-restrained ; but it is not the silence of content ; rather that lull which, in the tropics, is the harbinger of a coming storm. The hurricane has swept past before, and may sweep by again. Despotism and Licence, the two component parts of every revolution, as of old days, are not wanting to the world. In every great city of the Continent there is a strong and heaving mass of disaffected men, full of the spirit of '93, idle now, because their hour has not yet come, but ready, when the moment does arrive, to rise on the surface of Society, and with pillage, massacre, and blood, to inaugurate a second Reign of Terror.

For French philosophy, which has long saturated the minds of cultivated men, has penetrated to the masses. A common labourer, in his blouse, knows enough philosophy to enter into the spirit of any revolutionary scheme, but not sufficient to warn him of the consequences. In England, there are few men who can be moved by an "idea;" in France, there are few who can withstand its force. Put an "idea" into a French mind, and it becomes like carbon in a furnace. The quick, hot energy of character; the vivacious, imaginative, and scheming mind, heated by a vague idea of "liberty," and set on fire with the flash of "glory," acts with the force of a dissolvent. The assertion that an English boy picks up notions of rebellion from his author, would be met, had any one the thoughtlessness to make it, as it deserves, with shouts of laughter; to make the same assertion of the French, would be simply the enunciation of a truth. No English boy, in his senses, would dream of being a Brutus or Lycurgus; or if he did, the conceit would soon be kicked out of him at school. One cannot imagine English youths capable of seizing hold of the heroes of antiquity, and so far identifying themselves with those wild, abandoned, desperate characters as to feel an impulse to imitate their lives. One can, indeed, imagine the wit, brilliancy, and pungent satire of Voltaire, seasoned with his habitual contempt for things sacred and divine, gaining possession of the French intelligence; or the bold, vehement, and pathetic language of Rousseau leading men on to desperate resolves; or the uncompromising and awful logic of Babeuf, clenching in the reason that which had been pictured by the fancy; or the grossness and obscenity of the hideous Mirabeau, finding a fitting resting place in minds only less brutal than his own, simply because they lacked his intellectual power; but for youths, for mere boys, to elicit a perfect system of revolution, and fit it to the exigences of their own day, from the lives of men who lived two thousand years ago, under completely different circumstances, and in a different

clime—for mere boys to extricate the character of Pagan assassins and regicides, in all the perfection of their hideous proportions, from where they lay imbedded in the hard Latin—for their minds to thus be set on fire by the books they thumbed at school,—to the prosaic Englishman is a phenomenon to which he has no example to compare. And yet, the reverse of this, at one time at least, in France, seems to have been the exception. We have the testimony of the boys themselves to this startling fact. For instance, in 1790, one tells us that he and his companions were fully prepared at school for the revolution: “The older ones amongst us,” says he, “the very day before the outbreak had gained the prize of rhetoric—the theme consisting of two orations after the manner of Seneca, in favour of the first and second Brutus. The day after, the revolution was the subject of conversation, and people wondered; just as if they ought not to know that in this system of education the revolution is already made!” “As boys,” says another, “we were made familiar with Solon, Lycurgus, and the two Brutus; and we held them in admiration; as men, we could not refrain from imitating them.” A third, in 1852, speaking for himself and his companions, exclaims: “We were revolutionists, and we glory in it; but we were children of the *renaissance* before we became children of the revolution!” Who were they who stunned the terrified ears of quiet men in '48 with those fearful cries of “Down with the Jesuits, away with the blacks?”; and this not in an isolated place but from Naples to Rome, and from Turin to Friburg? Why, they were the students in our Catholic colleges, who, but a short time before, were parsing and construing, as other boys do, those very authors which had set their intelligences in a blaze.

No wonder, then, that foreign thinkers take a graver view of European society than ourselves! They know the spirit which surrounds them. They feel the danger which harbours at their doors. The diseases, not on the surface alone, but at the very heart of society, which threaten its disintegration, oppress their minds. The Church has pointed out no fewer than eighty-four; and those all mortal. They feel that the political action of the world confirms the utterance of the Church. England and Ireland, Piedmont and Italy, Russia and Poland,—they feel such things as these can never last. The Continent of Europe may seem, indeed, to sleep; but it has the appearance of a sleep which is to issue in a terrific waking. The maniac lies down exhausted, after his fit of desperation—nature is merely recruiting her energies for a fearful repetition. No wonder that foreign thinkers cast about for some saving

remedy! They do not desire the tragedies of the past to be re-acted. They have too vivid a picture before their eyes of past atrocities—of a time, within the memory of living man, when the streets of Paris foamed with blood; when men, women, and children, were huddled together and piled into waggons, to be dragged off, through the din of Paris, to the shambles; when the guillotine with military regularity prosecuted its daily work; when more than one river of France was all alive with birds of prey gorging themselves with human flesh, or following the stream whirling and shrieking round the corpses of the dead; when, in fine, the rapacity of birds of prey was loving-kindness compared with the ferocious brutality of men—of monsters, intoxicated with delight, as they stuffed their pockets full of human ears, or tore the fingers off the hands of little children to stick them for feathers in their caps.*

It was with the horrors of '48 still fresh before his mind, and with such pictures as these of '93, burning in his imagination, that Abbé Gaume composed his "*Ver Rongeur*." That remarkable production bears within it an unmistakeable testimony that it was written by a man with his intellect on fire. The calm and calculating temper of an abstract philosopher need not be looked for in these pages. There is a fierceness, an energy, a recklessness of consequence, and an audacity in the whole current of his argument, which speaks of a man who has been moved to write, not by the exigences of the laws of thought, but by the terrible logic of facts—of facts such as the French nation alone seem able to produce; and who, by one desperate intellectual effort—by a kind of mental *coup d'état*—would save a failing world. Nor can it have been otherwise with any man of mind and heart. I would give little for the writings of a man at such a crisis, who could deliberately balance and poise to a hair the conflicting niceties which small and narrow men instinctively seize hold of for darkening and encumbering a great and splendid argument. Who would give anything for the earnestness of a man who could coolly give his mind to such contracted pedantry, when the bone and sinew of the question was clear and unmistakeable; and when a bold utterance and an uncompromising view might possibly save thousands from destruction? It is with unfeigned reverence for the writer, that I read the "*Ver Rongeur*." There is a Catholic breadth of view, a grasp of the entire figure of truth, and an apprecia-

* For these, and similar facts, see Art. Barère, *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1844.

tion of the value of principle—of its awful power—that may be sought for, but never will be found, in the writings of his opponents. They excel more in the minutiae. In this, Abbé Gaume must deliver them the palm. Not even their most strenuous enemies, I imagine, would deny that they have here and there succeeded in picking out a bit of mortar, or chipping a stone, or scratching their names upon a wall, or even breaking a window of that temple of philosophic thought, which they have been unable to destroy. One can almost say to Abbé Gaume, with one or two important reservations, what M. Montalembert wrote to him in October, '51 :—"Notwithstanding some inaccuracies and some exaggerations, which a strict critic would point out, the strength of your argument remains unimpaired, and the bold eloquence with which you develop your theory defies the attacks of your opponents."*

One great evidence of the weight of metal of the "Ver Rongeur" is the deep impression it produced. Like an earthquake, it staggered the mind of intellectual France from end to end. No sooner did men recover themselves a little, than the war began in earnest. They declared that they were fighting *pro aris et focis*. The destructive doctrines of the "Ver Rongeur" must be put down at any price. All those engaged in education were on the move at once. Venerable Professors of seminaries, who had spent their lives in teaching Pagan classics, appealed to episcopal authority. They would know, if with safe conscience they might continue in that system, which, for a long three hundred years, had been sanctioned by the Church. Mgr. Dupanloup published a reply. With his brilliant diction, his pointed style, and his customary chivalry, he condemned the doctrines of the "Ver Rongeur." Gaume defended himself in his usual uncompromising way, little calculated to quench the flames he had enkindled. The fire now flamed throughout literary France. The daily and weekly papers were full of the controversy. It was taken up by all the periodicals. Each party made capital out of the general disturbance. Gallicans on the one side, Ultramontanes on the other, thought that they saw the fruits of their fundamental principles; while the infidel and Voltairean press found much to ridicule, and satirize, and scoff at. Now was the time for sharp, stinging articles. Here was a grand opening for those rapid, brilliant thrusts, those graceful displays of intellectual skill, which the French alone can exhibit in perfection. This was a glorious oppor-

* The great Cardinal Gousset wrote to the same effect.

tunity, not only for the assertion of first principles of education, but for that peculiar kind of intellectual warfare in which the polished satire, the stinging inuendo, the withering sarcasm, the bright-pointed shaft, delivered with unerring aim, follow each other with marvellous rapidity, and are produced with such graceful dexterity and ease, as completely to dazzle a simple looker on. But the subject was far too serious even for Frenchmen to keep on their best behaviour throughout. Some of the blows were so heavy, and were delivered so well "home," as seriously to interfere with the perfect practice of the amenities. Our polite neighbours at length became so sore, that flesh and blood burst through their French polish. Their genuine nature came out. They set to work in hearty earnest. The small arms, and the graceful display, made way for what certainly was less polite, though perhaps more genuine. Bishop Dupanloup was accused of "nourishing children with poison," and of "feeding angels with the food of devils." Gaume, in turn, was stigmatized as "dishonest;" and was accused of falsifying the Councils, and misquoting the Fathers, and was set down, at once, as a Jansenist, a Lutheran, and a Manichean. The whole controversy terminated, as most quarrels do, by a torrent of abuse on both sides, and by an obstinate claim of victory by each. The *Correspondant*, the *Ami de la Religion*, the *Journal des Debats*, are to be found on the one side; the *Univers*, and then the *Université Catholique*, the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne* upon the other. Abbé Gaume was attacked by MM. Lenormant, Foisset, and the pungent Sacy; and MM. Veuillot, D'Alzon, Roux Lavergne, and Montalembert, carried the war into the camp of the enemy.*

But the momentary effects of the "Ver Rongeur" are by no means the only evidence of the weight of truth which it contained. There are other evidences of greater force than these. The views of the literary Catholic world have been gradually dissolving from old Pagan pictures, and forming into better things. I do not affirm that many men accept the doctrines of Abbé Gaume without reservation; but this I think no one can deny, viz., that a rapid advance, during the last few years, has been made in their direction.

The critical position of human affairs, the corruption of manners, and the growing naturalism of the day, by their constant pressure and presence, are beginning to make them think. Men now go about in search of remedies; they study the disorder; they would trace it to its spring; they follow up the genesis of

* M. Montalembert's views are now somewhat less pronounced.

mental thought:—they get on to the question of education. The old arguments of the “*Ver Rongeur*” are drawn forth, clothed in modern garb, pared down into less startling proportions and more generally received; for men are beginning to open their eyes to a very old truth, which they could not clearly see before; partly, because it was distorted and caricatured unwillingly, by the impetuosity of him who loved it most; and, partly, because their minds had not been in any way prepared for its reception. Several publications of recent date, the exponents of a large body of thinking men, mark, unmistakeably, this progress; and let us indulge an earnest hope that some practical advantage to education may thence result.

Here are three instances of what I mean.

1. We can have no better index to the general movement of the Catholic mind in literature and religion, than the utterances which, from time to time, come forth from the Society of Jesus. Though essentially conservative, that remarkable Society has never held itself so far behind the current of Catholic thought, as to lose its influence over it; nor has it placed itself so much in the advance, as to become an object of general observation. It has, as a rule, firmly, cautiously, and with a practical wisdom, manifested to so great an extent by no other order in the Church, kept pace with the general movement, and influenced its direction; and when it has not been able, through the unmanageable nature of the elements with which it has had to do, to lead, it has had the sagacity to bide its time and follow. It is this instinct which, though it may to “carnal men” savour of human prudence, to men who see things through a spiritual eye, manifests the workings of a governing Providence through one of the most able human instruments which has ever undertaken God’s work upon the earth. It is this reputation for peculiar wisdom, which the Company of Jesus has so fully earned, that gives to the utterances of its representative men a weight which no other religious body can command. These utterances will be sure to possess three striking qualities. They will always be orthodox; they will never be extravagant; and will betoken a prudent sagacity, which not only knows what it ought to say, but when it ought to say it. I should not, however, be absolutely candid, if I did not point out what appears to me, (I will not say the imperfection of those utterances,) but that quality which just weighs them down from the category of absolute perfection, and keeps them in the number of human things:—I mean an *extreme*, almost, of caution. There nearly always seem to be

powers and forces in reserve. The entire thing is seldom nakedly brought out. One is generally tempted to feel that "there is a great deal more where that came from." And yet, after all, this is the very quality which lends a special weight to what is said.

Now Father Curci is certainly no ordinary or common-place member of this Society; nor would he publicly express sentiments likely to be generally unpopular among his brethren. What has he said on education? During the octave of the Epiphany, 1862, F. Curci delivered, in the church of S. Andrea della Valle, in Rome, before a large and distinguished audience, a course of brilliant lectures on "Ancient and Modern Paganism." These lectures were eventually printed by the press of the *Civiltà Catholica*. Few utterances, one would imagine, would be conceived in terms of more rigid prudence, or be placed before the public with greater weight of authority.

First of all, what does the Father say of the condition of society? The picture which he draws of the state of modern Europe surpasses all the "exaggerations" of Abbé Gaume. It is made up of broad streaks of crimson and carmine. The eloquent orator, surely, has drunk of the torrent of the "Ver Rongeur," and has added the vehemence of the Italian to the impetuosity of the French. Ancient Paganism has been resuscitated. Political Christianity, rationalism, naturalism, sensualism, Caesarism, are but other names for the old Paganism of 1,800 years ago. Its essence was "the complete separation of the creature from the creator in theory and practice" (p. 31). To this modern society is returning. "Modern society," he says, "is returning with giant strides to paganism; and without resuscitating the grossness of its idolatry [yet who will make so sure of this? It was brought about at the French Revolution, and may be brought about again], it is paganizing in its thoughts, in its loves, in its inclinations, in its works, in its words. So much so indeed that if the contemporaries of Scipio or Coriolanus were to be raised out of this huge sepulchre of this Roman earth, and without noticing our temples and ceremonial were only to attend to the thought, the aspirations, and the conversation of not a few, ahimè! I do not fancy that they would find these very different from themselves, save in *prostration of spirit and enervation of will*" (p. 10).

Here, then, we have a prudent and illustrious member of the most prudent and illustrious order in the Church solemnly declaring in Rome, before the altar of God, in the church of S. Andrea della Valle—what? That a large por-

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tion of society in the Eternal City itself, at the present time, is more degraded than those pagans were whose bones lie buried beneath their feet, and that the only point of any material difference between the two consists in this, viz., that the modern pagans suffer from "a prostration of spirit and an enervation of will" to which the worshippers of Venus and Apollo were utter strangers. If any one will take the trouble to read the hard things that were said of Gaume, because he ventured to suggest that society was becoming pagan; how he was scoffed at and lampooned for an extravagant Don Quixote, because he saw further into the future than his busy critics; they will perhaps appreciate the advance that has been made by prudent and cautious men towards the utterances of the "Ver Rongeur."

So much for the state of society. Here Gaume is, after a lapse of years, out-Gaumed on his own ground; and it is not for me to say that F. Curci has exaggerated, in reality, the state of the case a bit. But what of the remedy?

Here it must be confessed the "Ver Rongeur," as far as the exponent of the Society is concerned, has kept its solitary stand. F. Curci does not absolutely condemn pagan classics in the uncompromising terms of Abbé Gaume. But still he manifests a great movement of thought on this vexed question. It is not ridiculed, and satirized, and laughed at, and held up to vulgar scorn; it is treated seriously, carefully; and as if the speaker knew well what an immense influence the great thinkers of the old world have on the present generation. Even this makes one breathe more freely, and look more hopefully into the future.

It is but natural to expect the lecturer to state clearly, what he considers to be the causes of the paganism which he finds so rampant—what relation education, Catholic education, has to the evil. And it is in this very question—the most absorbing that could occupy the Catholic mind,—that F. Curci thinks fit to display that extreme of caution which I have alluded to before. One feels disappointed, but not surprised. With the writings of FF. Minestrier, Porsey, Lebrun, Rapin, and Cotron; and, more recently, of FF. Daniel, Cahours, Prat, and Deschamps, open before his eyes, a cautious utterance must be expected. But, by his very weighing of words in one place, and by his open expression in another, F. Curci shows how far ahead he is of that body of writers which ran full tilt at the "Ver Rongeur." "I don't want to seek (*ie non vò cercare*) if, and how far, the study of Greek and Roman classics, which our youth handle in the schools, may have contributed to that exaggerated admiration of Paganism which

has come into fashion in the modern world." Why does not F. Curci want to find that out which everybody else is most eager to discover, and which stands at the very root of the entire question? He continues, "I say this by the way, viz., that such study joined to the catechism, and the holy fear of God, has been universal in centuries of much faith, has been admired (*celebrato*) by men who were not only Christians but saints, without any evil results. And hence if that same study tends to paganize our youth it ought rather to be attributed to the manner than the matter of study. But whether this or any other be the cause of it, the fact is undeniable;—admiration of pagan greatness in common, is encouraged and does not confine itself to theory but enters into practice" (p. 58). Now what is F. Curci's real opinion on this point of Pagan classics? Can it be picked out of the curious uncertainty of his expressions? When a man shirks a cardinal point in a great question, he does not do so without a reason. Now, there are some very weighty names, and weighty books too, occasioned by the Gaume controversy, with which, naturally, the Father would prefer not to come into collision. If he thought as they, he could have no difficulty in saying so; if he did not think with them, what could be more natural than to shirk the question with a "*io non vò cercare?*" This he has done; and, hence, it is but natural to surmise that, were he to utter out his own mind freely, he would simply repeat what the ascetic F. Gron, Pas, André, and Possevin have said before him. At any rate this is certain; that these cautious utterances manifest—(1) that society looks upon the classical question as a far more serious question than it did; and (2) that even here the tide is steadily flowing towards the "*Ver Rongeur*."

2. But if F. Curci did not think it prudent to draw the conclusion himself, which manifestly flows from his premisses, there were not wanting men who were only too delighted to draw it for him. His lectures of 1862 made so deep an impression on thinking minds that they could not resist the temptation to furnish a minor and conclusion to the major premiss which he had borrowed from the "*Ver Rongeur*."

Shortly after the delivery of the lectures, a "*Memorial*" was published and "*dedicated to the Catholic Episcopate assembled in Rome*." The author, in weighty words, undertook, as "*a sacred duty to society*,"—"to draw out the logical consequences which flowed from the solid principles established by Father Curci." "*The learned Jesuit*," he says, addressing the assembled Episcopate, "*having delineated with a power all his own the horrible picture of Paganism living and omnipotent in the*

midst of modern society ; and having indicated in a certain manner, though not without hesitation, that the cause of this great fact of modern paganism is just this—the imprudent (*improvida*) admiration which has been produced in the minds of youth by the ideas, the men, and the objects of ancient paganism ; and having come indirectly to say that society requires a grand reform in education ; having proved to admiration the premisses of his argument ; but not having drawn the consequences that necessarily flow ; as a Christian and a Catholic I have considered it my duty to supply the ‘lacuna’ in this ‘Memorial.’” He then goes on to state what he considers to be the “*unico mezzo*” for arresting the progress of modern Paganism. It is this : “an *anti-pagan reaction*, which alone can be effected by a mode of teaching which shall be thoroughly saturated with a Catholic element, and shall be able to pour into the mind of youth greater love for the men and things of Christianity, and less love and enthusiasm for the men, the ideas, and the things of the Pagans” (p. 6). Again : “It would be a crime not to modify *immediately* and *profoundly* a system of teaching which has not prevented, if it has not prepared the way for, the supreme catastrophe with which the world is threatened. It must be admitted, then, that this reform in its essence must consist in giving the *first place* to Christian authors ; and *only the second* to Pagan authors ; in being much more guarded in praising paganism, through its heroes and its works ; and much less so in extolling Christianity through its heroes, its literature, its fine arts, and its works”* (p. 41). So far, then, it can be seen (1) that F. Curci has out-distanced the “*Ver Rongeur*” in his picture of modern paganism ; and that the author of the “*Memorial*” is at one with the illustrious Jesuit ; next, (2) that the author of the “*Memorial*” is ahead of F. Curci, at all events in actual expression, respecting the remedy to be adopted ; and has advanced a good step nearer to Abbé Gaume.

3. But not only does public feeling seem to be so far affected as to urge an address to the Catholic Hierarchy ; but, moreover, what is most significant, a distinguished member of that venerable body boldly comes forward in the Eternal City and proclaims the very principles developed by Abbé Gaume. The Bishop of Aquila read a paper in September, 1864, before the Academy of the Catholic Religion in Rome. He was at liberty to select his own subject. He chose, what he considered, the most important question of the day. He treated of “the nature, cause, and remedy of the present

* The italics are his own.

evil." His whole argument might have been taken from the "Ver Rongeur." It is very simple. There are four great "notes" of modern society:—Rationalism, Sensualism, Cæsarism, and Anti-Catholicism. His lordship develops each of these "notes;" and fearful indeed is the picture that he draws. He concludes that Europe is visibly hurrying on to Paganism; or, "to speak with more precision, to Satanism" (p. 29). He demonstrates how those four "notes" were the marks of the ancient Pagan world. He declares Christendom to have been Christian till the Renaissance. Then Pagan classics were introduced. Europe became intoxicated with the old evil, prevaricated, and has completely fallen away. What is the remedy? There is "but one." "The salvation of society, and its return to sincere Christianity, alone can be effected by an intimate application of Catholicity to youth in the period of literary and scientific education" (p. 53). His lordship, who had studied the question—unlike those who have had a fear of doing so—is certain that a little "catechism" and "il santo timor di Dio" will not alone effect salvation. Youth must have a "solid, extended, and substantial religious instruction" (p. 57). He would replace the study of the Pagan classics by the study of (1) the Scriptures, (2) the Fathers, (3) the lives of the saints, and (4) the acts of the martyrs. He does not explicitly state that he absolutely excludes all Pagan classics; but this is certain, that he reduces them to a *minimum*.*

These are the broad lines of the eloquent discourse delivered by the learned Bishop. His views are in advance of F. Curci's; are more explicit than the "Memorial"—in point of fact, the whole brochure is nothing but *Gaume*, intensified by compression, and done into Italian. In plain English, the Accademia was listening to the "Ver Rongeur;" and seven Princes of the Church, a score of Bishops, and a large and brilliant company of Prelates, scientific men, and learned members of religious orders, attested, by their presence on that day, how great a change has come over the minds of enlightened men since 1851. And when one comes to consider that the three works, which have just been noticed, severally represent a large, a growing class of Catholic thinkers, who hold views more or less identical with one or other of them; when one considers what intellectual obstacles, what stumbling-blocks of prejudice, taste, and education many of these men must have had to remove away, before they could possibly arrive at their present

* The Bishop and "Der kranke Zeitgeist" are strikingly at one in their view of the state of society. See "Der Katholik," Marz, p. 370.

intellectual position ; when one studies the Gaume controversy as it presents itself in 1851, with its rabid "war to the knife ;" and then fixes one's thoughts on its position in 1866, who can repress the feeling that there must be some fearful "coming events" to cast such shadows as these before ? Like the dumb brutes, one feels as if the thunder-clap is coming, and the torrent will soon be here ; and one feels urged as by an instinct to walk quietly and silently to shelter. A man may be conscious of its presence, though he don't know how to prove it. And another thought ; this rapid advance upon unpalatable doctrine—which to many is bitter enough—this scream for the knife, to my mind is a stronger proof than all the logic in the world that an operation is required. Who has the firm determined will, the instrument, the steady hand for lopping off the limb ? And who has the power to summon up his energies in the centre of his soul, and keep them steady there, till one-half his life be cut away ?

But there is one other thought which bends one down by its oppressiveness, and creates a straining anxiety in the mind :—How do we stand in England ? What bearing have these growing views of Catholic continental thinkers on our country ?—on that small scattered few who are growing up like some chance seeds which have been dropped amidst the thorns and tangles of a wilderness ? How far are the views of F. Curci applicable here ? Can the "Memorial" be applied to us ? Does the right Rev. Prelate's picture include the British Islands ? In a word, to put once more those simple questions to which we have principally confined ourselves throughout :—What are the conditions of society in England ? and what is the remedy for the disease, if disease exists ?

1. We have already witnessed to the growing feeling on the Continent, that European society is swiftly tending to make its watchword, "*Adoremus Satanam.*" Now, let me grant, as I willingly do, that society in England is as yet in a far less debased condition than on many parts of the Continent. Still, can any one with his eyes open doubt that it is tending in the same direction ? Are not the four features by which the Bishop of Aquila identifies modern with ancient Paganism as truly visible, though not as prominent, in England as abroad ? Is there not (1) "an emancipation of reason from all divine authority respecting dogma ?" is there not (2) "an emancipation of the flesh from all divine authority regarding public and private manners ?" is there not (3) "an emancipation of social power from all divine authority in politics ?" and is there not (4) every bit as great "a hatred of the Catholic Church and her institutions ?" (p. 12). If the reader does

not see that there is, unfortunately we have no space to prove it to him here.

But he may urge that we have already destroyed, or at all events considerably weakened, the force of our argument at the beginning of this paper; for we stated that the English mind is very different, *e.g.*, from the French—that Englishmen (1) are not moved to revolution by their books at school; that (2) they are not easily inflamed by an idea; and (3) that they possess a sense of security unknown to foreigners. This is true; and it would seem that those three facts—two relating to the “intellectual build” of Englishmen, and the third to the circumstances of their lives,—are the three very conditions which render English Paganism far more difficult to deal with than the foreign form. It is the nature of foreign Paganism to manifest itself in fanciful extravagance; the foundation on which foreigners build their “castles” is not much more substantial than the superstructures; the earthquake of a revolution, or some frightful catastrophe, generally the result indeed of their “ideas,” quenches their fever, and brings them to their senses. With the Englishman the case is different. He is more cool, calculating, and plodding: if he does Paganize, he does so commercially. There is a basis of hard, common, worldly sense to all he does. He does not easily allow himself to be caught in an absurdity. He possesses an innate respect for power and authority. In his own way he fears God and honours the king. This temper of mind, which may be the result of the practical working of the polity under which he lives, permeates all his religious views. Indeed, now-a-days, there is a large, and it may be hoped, an increasing body of men who, breaking through mere human propriety and ideas of fitness, really apprehend the supernatural. From these, downwards to the most gross-minded unbeliever, there is a gentle gradation, the great bulk being made up of those who transfer the political temper of their minds to their relation with the Creator and Master of all. Their human appreciation of order, dignity, and position—their acknowledgement of the good, the beautiful, and the true in the plane of religion, gives a respectability and a seemingness to their religious performances, and a tone of deference to their conduct, which, in the absence of something higher and more ennobling, is by no means to be despised. Indeed this kind of appreciation for the supernatural is far more wide-spread in their country than is the catholic feeling for it on the Continent. Like gold-leaf it spreads over a very extensive area, but when put in the balance, it does not weigh many carats. *What gains in extension in this country, gains*

in intensity abroad. Where the supernatural is acknowledged on the Continent it is put down at its real worth—it at once makes the balance kick the beam.

In England, then, men quietly, naturally, and without any shock at all—indeed, as an act of just propriety—assimilate themselves to the systems which they see around them, and according to the nature of each, sink or rise between the two extremes of utter unbelief or fragmentary adherence to a supernatural standard. Which way *nature* is inclined to turn the scale is very evident. And the danger of such vacillation is not to be ignored. More or less, naturalism must infect the country—for it is Protestant. The question is only of degree. The pure value of the supernatural is not found outside the Church of God. And if a man places himself upon an inclined plane, we know pretty well which way he slips. What we call naturalism, F. Curci calls by the more startling epithet of "Paganism." "Don't imagine," says this Father, "that a man cannot be a Pagan without adoring idols; nothing of the kind! (*oh! niente affatto!*) Paganism in its constitutive parts, in its formal nature (*nella sua ragione formale di essere*) means nothing more or less than *naturalism*" (p. 14). England, then, in its own way, may be said to suffer from a less intensive form of the disease of Paganism than the Continent. It is not fantastical—not "French." It is founded more on propriety, fitness, and a reverence for order and authority, which is peculiar to the people.

It is into this atmosphere, created by the breath of seventeen million lungs, more or less corrupted by the taint of naturalism, that the hope and promise of England as a Catholic country is thrown. And on thinking upon the small handful that represents the Church—how our young men are enveloped with this atmosphere deprived of every element of life; what temptations are held out to them abroad; how the spirit of the times even finds them out at home; how easily they can forget the serious responsibility of their lives; how they will have to answer for more than the number of rabbits they have shot, how many fish they have killed, or how best they have been able to while away their time in frivolities which are often worse than useless;—the heart would almost sink within one. But then, again, let us fix our thoughts on what they *might* be, the work they *might* accomplish, the great things that a few earnest, detached men might achieve in England, where even what is noble in a Catholic character finds its recognition at last; when the imagination, or rather the reasoning faculty, is suffered to draw legitimate conclusions—which spread out before the mind *like a sort of Paradise*—from hypotheses which, for mere shame,

cannot be called extravagant. When such play as this is given to the intelligence, both heart and head at once are fired with a flame of hope that something may yet be done; that minds, that broad, experienced, many-sided minds, will look into our danger, and provide a remedy against that lightness of character, that easy-going *dilettante* spirit, that small appreciation of the serious position of Catholic men in this country, and that want of a large, broad, Catholic view of life,—that keeping of all the pores of the spirit open to the poisonous atmosphere of the pagan English world, which, alas! is far too prevalent with our rising generation. Who is coming on? To whom have we to look? Who are to be our Catholic leaders, to give a tone to Catholic thought, to display the loveliness of our Religion, to prove to the pagan world in which they live, like the great men of old, that Christ is more beautiful than the world, that His Truth is deeper, wider, more encompassing than the Pagan counterfeit; that we can be polished, refined, educated; that we can win and overcome; that we have power and strength? Who, I say, can show Catholicity *impersonated*, and by his very manhood, overflowing with true Christian grace, shame into their hiding-places those bold, proud, seducing representatives of naturalism, which stalk before us as specimens of perfection, and masters of the world?

Unless a very powerful antidote be applied against that naturalism which is the ocean in which men live their lives; unless something, not negative alone, but positive, be done for the human spirit when first it begins to open out and feel its way in this anarchical world in which we live; unless the disease be treated in its first symptoms, I say firmly, and with a sad sternness filling my mind, that those grand, those glorious possibilities, which overflow the heart, and almost make the eyes swim to think of them, will drop down dead and withered like the blighted promises of spring.

2. What, then, it will here be asked, do I propose for strengthening the system, and preparing it against the rude atmosphere of English life?

The answer to this question is contained in the history of the Universal Church, not for three or four short centuries, but during the long term of fourteen hundred years. I purpose to give a very short but broad, clear, general impression of the temper of the teaching element during that space; and purposely avoid, in so doing, all small, narrow questions, which present difficulties, but cannot obscure the grand general result. Too much has been made of these. P. Daniel's *perseverent ferreting into details*, like a German watchmaker,

has seemingly ruined his vision for aught else but the cogs, screws, and wheels of history, and has utterly unfitted him for that broad philosophy which gives them a position and significance, and points out their relative worth. Compare, as a glaring example of what I mean, his chapter on the Renaissance, with what Dr. Newman says of it.* All these minutiae must be cast aside, not because they are not valuable in their proper place, but because here, in reality, they are beside the issue.

First, then, I will give the broad effect of teaching, (1) from the Apostles to the destruction of the Roman Empire, very rapidly: then (2) from the destruction of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance. In this the answer is held in solution; presently it will be precipitated into a tangible form.

1. The education, then, which children received in the age of the Apostles, *à priori*, one would imagine would be Apostolic. The Miracles and merciful Passion of our Saviour had hardly had time to pass into the pages of history. His blessed life was still sufficiently near to invigorate with its presence the minds of his followers. The Apostles, moreover, had borne away a portion of that fire in their breasts which had consumed the Victim of Cavalry, and kept alive the heroism of the Cross in the hearts of the faithful. But, besides receiving an illumination from so great a nearness to Christ, there were other motives, sterner and sadder, which urged Christians to keep close under the light of Truth, and build themselves up in fear, yea, and in trembling too, under the mighty Hand of God. Those were seasons of expectation and of prayer—of waiting for the day to be revealed. Those were seasons in which parents kept their garments, and watched; and prepared their children to be strong and steadfast, to be pure, holy, and undefiled in the midst of a corrupt generation and a persecuting race. Naturally, the education of those days would receive its colour from the circumstances with which it was surrounded. The supernatural would be all in all. The possibilities of the future would keep the Christian's mind on a higher goal than earth. He would look upon his child as a tender "lily among thorns." He would point out to him the better land—to which he might any day be called. He would direct his young eyes to the invisible, teach his

* Compare cap. vii. p. 179, seq. of "*Des Etudes Classiques dans la Société Chrétienne*" of P. Daniel, with Dr. Newman's "*Mission of S. Philip Neri*," p. 8; also with "*Lectures on the present Position of Catholics in England*," Lecture II. p. 65.

young heart to love the heroism of the Cross, and his whole aspiration to be after the kingdom to come.

In those days our present classics were in the full vigour of their life. What we now learn with much drudgery, they acquired with all the ease of the vernacular. Hence, children did not go so soon as we to school. They remained longer under the paternal roof, and breathed for a longer while the healthy atmosphere of home influence. Their classics were exclusively Christian. The letters of the Popes, the lives of the Saints, the acts of the Martyrs,—these were their Horace, their Cicero, their Virgil. Then they were practised in sacred song. They learnt by heart the Psalter of David. They were instructed in the mysteries of Faith, in the life of Christ, in high and noble principles of Christian charity, in sacrifice of self, and self-abandonment to God—in a word, they were moulded into athletes ready to fight the battles of Christianity, and to hold life cheap, in a question of testifying to the faith by personal loss.

The Apostolic Constitutions are a valuable witness to the spirit which animated the disciples of old. They stigmatize, in no very measured terms, Pagan writings as profane and diabolical. They warn the faithful against them, in somewhat the same spirit with which the Jews, anterior to the captivity, were warned against worshipping stocks and stones. A kind of infection was supposed to attach to them; and the literature of the heathen world was avoided, as we should shun the habiliments of a man who had died of plague. The Scripture was the grand disinfectant of those days. If the mind of youth were steeped in its holy spirit there would be comparatively little danger, it was thought, from the poison floating in the Pagan atmosphere of the heathen world. This strong faith in the efficacy of the Word of God runs through the entire history of the early ages. In the lives of all celebrated Christian men and enlightened women, this one trait is never wanting. What is more affecting than the young Origen, drinking deep of the spirit of the fire of the chalice of the Lord in tender youth, and his preparation, through that invigorating draught, for his eventful and chequered life? What Eusebius says of Origen can, with little variation, be also said of the early days of S. Gregory and S. Basil. They were nurtured in the same fear and love, and were, from the spring-day of their intellectual life, ignited with the same celestial fire. The early education of Macrina, as written by S. Gregory of Nyssa, opens another cleft in the rock of the past, through which can easily be seen how wide-spread was the spirit of Scripture education in ancient days. Macrina

herself was educated by a mother of gentle, holy life, in the unspotted light of Gospel truth. She handed down the tradition she received. She brought up her brother, Peter, as she had been brought up herself. It is but natural that youths, who had thus been educated, should feel anxious that others should reap the same advantages as themselves. The Fathers, east and west, accord in their appreciation of Gospel education. S. Jerome, in his letter to Gaudentius, makes out a complete curriculum for various portions of Holy Writ for young Pacatula. And with the same earnestness with which he recommends the Word of God, he condemns any predominance being given to Pagan letters. "It is always a scandal," he says, in his vigorous way, "to see a Christian soul in a temple of idols." S. Chrysostom and S. Basil take the same view as S. Jerome. They lay it down as a first principle of Christian education that children destined for the world should learn and live in the atmosphere of Sacred Scripture.

It was thus that they were prepared for the heathen author, or to sit at the feet of the Pagan professor. S. Chrysostom and Basil were already men when they studied under the rhetorician Libanius. S. Gregory of Nazianzen had passed boyhood, when he commenced his travels to Cæsarea, to Alexandria, and to Athens. S. Jerome was eighteen when he commenced grammar under Donatus. For, be it remembered, to gain ever so slight a tincture of letters in the days of the early Church, it was absolutely necessary to drink from a Pagan fount. The Pagans had entirely monopolized the rich domain of literature and science. Every chair of learning was filled by a Pagan professor. If a Christian would teach, perforce he would have to make use of the models of elegance and purity of style in fashion in those days. If he would have scholars, he must teach what scholars would care to learn.

But in spite of this seeming necessity for frequenting Pagan schools, and perusing Pagan authors, the majority of the Fathers looked unfavourably on the practice. The minority, who, seeing the difficulty in which Christians were placed, had approved the custom which had obtained, no sooner perceived the appearances of a germ of literature in the field of Christian speculation, than they warned their children with great earnestness of the danger to which their souls were exposed by the influence of Pagan letters. The writings of S. Athanasius and S. Basil, and of the two SS. Gregorys, are sufficient confirmation of this statement; while S. Chrysostom, S. Jerome, and S. Augustine, seem to have been purposely raised

up for closing the doors of the Pagan schools, and beginning a new literary era. Then came the grand crash—Imperial Rome with its monuments, its arts, its classics, its rhetoricians, its luxuries and fascinations, sunk under and perished in the flood that swept down from the North.

(2) But the destruction of the Roman empire by the barbarian hordes did not annihilate the tradition of Christian teaching. Though the Church was bent down for the moment in the general visitation, she rose up from her trial more powerful and more vigorous than before. The very movement created in her by the anger of the elements, fastened her roots the more firmly to the rock; and the fall and crash of the giant which overshadowed her, heralded in her undivided sway over a renovated world.

Now, at last, she had full scope for carrying out, in its entire breadth, the Divine commission with which she had been entrusted. Now, at length, the grand obstacle had been removed, which stood in the way of the onward press of her power. The Romans of the empire had perished, together with the civilization which they had created. A new race, vigorous, virgin, and robust; unbroken by the effeminacy of an enervating civilization; fresh out of the glowing hand of a rude and healthy nature; brave, honest, and impressionable; adorned with the sublime simplicity of unadulterated manhood; and though half-educated, half-polished, and unrefined, still capable of being tempered into the noblest types of civilized perfection; occupied the place of that effete and sickly generation which had passed away. The penetrating eye of the Church saw her advantage at a glance. She looked with triumph on those rough treasures which had been collected out of the fastnesses of the North, and had been, with a profuse but not too gentle hand, showered at her feet. She saw in those strong and hardy frames, in those brave and simple hearts, material which might be manipulated to high and holy purposes. She felt herself at once a "*Matrem filiorum lætantem*." And, with all that confidence which inspiration gives, and all that joy which illuminates the certainty of success, she set about raising of those stones children to Abraham.

And how did she set about her work? Did she collect together the *dicta* of the ancient philosophers, ransack the earth for their hidden wisdom, and endeavour to dig out of the ruins of an empire that was, materials for insuring the splendour of an empire to be? Did she draw together the shreds and tatters of ancient letters which had been scattered about her; and essay to draw, out of the dust of an exploded life,

that polish of manners and that refinement of mind which threw a halo of fascination over the huge polity of Rome as it crumbled to the fall? Did she try to lift up the fallen world, set it on its feet, and drug it into life with potions of that Greco-Roman civilization which had once animated its frame from end to end? No. She cast her eyes back, indeed, into the past; but not into the past of Pagan greatness. Her vision carried her not to the Domus Aurea of the Caesars, but to the Cross of Calvary; not to the learning of the philosophers, but to the simple principles of apostolic life; not to the glory of this world, but to the glory of the world to come. She stood to her Traditions. Her only aim and the summit-point of her dearest ambition was to plant Christ Crucified in the midst of those rugged natures which had collected round her, and to construct a new civilization, not upon the frail but gorgeous platform of worldly greatness, but upon the imperishable framework of an everlasting religion. By what means was this accomplished? By the means which she had made use of from the beginning—by education. By a Christian education. By a Christian education of the young. By that very same means which had, over and over again, been recommended by the great doctors of the Early Church, by S. Basil, by S. Gregory, by S. Chrysostom, by S. Jerome, by S. Austin. By forming the supple heart and elastic mind of youth on a Christian model.

And how was this accomplished? The Latin language, during the middle ages, or, at least, during a great part of them, was the common language of the people of Europe. Up to the ninth century, Greek, also, seems to have been pretty generally known. Hence, as in the first ages, children remained long under the paternal roof. Their classics were almost the same as in the days of the Empire. But there was this significant difference—the use of Pagan classics had greatly diminished, whereas the number of Christian classics had considerably increased. The Scriptures, the *Liber Passionum*, the works of the Fathers, the Legends of the Saints, the histories of the holy wars, the Travels of Pilgrims, the wonderful lives of remarkable men, and founders of religious orders; these were the chief instruments for forming the minds of youth. Nor was this all. The influence of Christianity was brought to bear upon the plastic heart and intelligence of the child, not only through the classics, but in a still more constraining manner, by means of that vast organization which by degrees spread itself over the face of Europe. Its ruins are still amongst us, which, beautiful in *their decay*, even now proclaim the majesty of our Fathers in

their generation, the cathedrals and monasteries, the presbyteries and palaces, which, like the night stars of Heaven, shed their calm, intellectual light, over a christianized world. In these seed-plots of a noble and elevated Christianity, the same course of education which had been initiated at home, was more fully developed. Those who had abandoned everything out of love for the Crucified, were not the men to hide the fire in their bosoms. They were as incendiaries, setting everyone on fire with the love of Christ. That which so fully possessed their beings, penetrated into every manifestation of their lives. The very system of knowledge which they imparted, partook of the universal influence. God was all in all. He was King, Lord, Master, of every order, of every realm. From the huge foundations to the uttermost spiral whorl of that splendid cathedral of mediæval knowledge, one spirit was made manifest,—one simple and sublime spirit, which gave a unity to its overwhelming complexity of parts, and breathed a meaning into every stone—the spirit of the Crucified. In literature, in language, in arts, in philosophy, in science, in religion, in the family, and in society, wherever man lived, wherever the influence of man's hand or mind extended; wherever you could trace his breath—there breathed the dominant spirit of the Ages of Faith—there was incarnate, in oil and in glass, in stone and in marble, in poetry and in fiction, in drama and in song, in public and in private, on the hill-top and in the valley, in the town and in the country,—*ubique*, that which gave breath, life, reality, meaning to the existence of the creature,—Christ Crucified. The great aim of man, then, seems to have been to make Christ live upon the earth. Christian society became enamoured of our Lord. And the more men thought of Him, the more they melted everything into His image. They would as soon have thought of creating light by blotting out the Sun, as of gaining even so poor a glimmering of science, where God was not.

Nor did the leaven of religion, which ran through their teaching, interfere with the strictness of scientific method. The establishing the Creator in the midst of His creatures, did not make truth less true, nor science less persuasive. God was the acknowledged centre, from which all rays of human knowledge flow, and to which they all should tend. But the centre, far from confusing the circumference, lent to it a reality, which belonged to its very definition. Around this centre, the ever expanding circle of human cognition developed in the fulness of God's light. As is natural, the sciences partook in their degree of the stability of Him to

whom they were referred. The well-known course of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, with little variation, can be traced from the days of Capella, in the fifth century, to the end of the ages of Faith. For many centuries it held undivided sway. It formed generations of wise and holy men. It formed men of every variety of type, of every variety of occupation. Philosophers, statesmen, lawgivers, kings, popes, soldiers, poets; men eloquent with the tongue, men eloquent with the pen—it laid for them all one thing in common—a broad, deep, consolidated, granite foundation of science, not secularized from God, but acknowledging and adoring Him in the midst. Him they know to be the Stay, as well as the Maker of all. They felt, as it were, in their own weakness, that the *scibile*, like the foundations of the world itself, rested on the Living God—that “underneath were the Eternal Arms.” God is not separate from knowledge in reality; nor is knowledge separate from God; nor was there one in those days who dared divorce them by a vicious abstraction from each other. Filled with the holy traditions of his childhood, and illumined by a Christian course of education, the Christian youth left the calm atmosphere of the cloister, the Presbytery, or Bishop’s Palace, and commenced, with a heart as full of God as of knowledge, his university career.

At the university he found the same spirit, which he had learned to admire when poring over the *Liber Passionum*, or the Life of our Lord, in the days of his boyhood. He found that same spirit elevated, expanded, developed to a system,—and fitting to the growth and maturity of his mind. What, as a boy, had merely the power to stir the depth of his heart or set his fancy in a flame, now could be weighed and appreciated by his intelligence, and become rooted in the newly-cultivated ground of his expanding reason. What home had done for his heart, what school had done for his memory,—that the University did for his intelligence. The spring of his affections had been directed to his Supreme Good in the first; his memory had been stored with a varied wealth of *nova et vetera* in the second; in the third, he learnt how to grasp his knowledge as a whole, how to understand the relations of its various parts, and their respective values: what was his own position—his relation to God, to man, to Creation; he learnt to adore his Maker, to grasp the *scibile*, and to understand himself; he was unfolded from the Christian boy into the Christian man; he was prepared to meet the world, to struggle with it, to do his work in his place, and ever to keep his eye upon that last end for which he was created. His infancy, his boyhood, his youth, his manhood, all were under one supreme,

absorbing, abiding influence,—the influence of an unspotted Christian Religion, luminous in so many examples of the past, brilliant in so many examples of the present, streaming forth from every pore of that great society which pressed upon him on every side, and encompassed him with an atmosphere of faith and charity, which in itself was little less than a *médecine* of life and immortality.

Now, what is the impression left upon the mind by the outline we have attempted to draw? I do not ask whether it be true or false that classics were much studied before the Renaissance; nor do I enter into the influence of living Paganism on the Christian mind in the early ages. I am not discussing the good or evil effects of the revival of letters; nor is there need to settle the endless disputes which would make S. Jerome, S. Basil, S. Austin, and a dozen more Fathers and schoolmen, contradict each other, and themselves, in successive sentences on the question of education. Nor, supposing the students of the middle ages did pore over the writings of the Pagans, am I called upon to demonstrate that the wretched manuscripts from which they studied, were of themselves sufficient preservatives from danger. All these are very interesting, and by no means unimportant topics: but they have little to say to the one large general impression—the striking picture left upon the mind after the study of those fourteen centuries of Christianity. They may present, indeed, difficulties,—but they can no more prevent the onward flow of the majestic traditionary teaching of the Church, than the pebbles that raise a ripple in a stream can impede the steady progress of its waters.

And this is where, in my poor opinion, Abbé Gaume, notwithstanding his breadth of view, made a great mistake. I will bring this forward now, because it leads straight to the answer. It was a natural mistake when we think of his position. He saw the crying need. He felt that some specific enemy had done these things. Besides, the public would not heed vague and general complaints. It must be a distinct charge against a specific evil. Where, then, could the devastating enemy be found—the wild beast which had done such slaughter? The Abbé tracked him to his earth, by the bloody footmarks of the French Revolution. Here, thought he to himself, is the animal at last, which has committed all this havoc—we must destroy him, and then peace and plenty will be our share again:—little thinking, seemingly, that a forest which could produce one such beast, most probably would harbour many more.

That Pagan classics had a great share in the deterioration of
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the world on the Continent, where they were thrown into the furnaces of French and Italian minds, is a proposition, I presume, no thinking man would deny. But that the sum of human miseries, even on the Continent, should be put down exclusively to their door, seems to me very like ignoring altogether other causes of disorder, that, in reality, every one believe to have a substantive existence. I believe that the wood contains more than one wild beast; and that Pagan classics have quite enough to answer for on their own account, without being made the scapegoat for the accumulated sins of the civilized world. Had Abbé Gaume been satisfied with showing the real mischief they had done, and the real danger they contain; had he pointed out the abnormal position which they occupy; he would have rendered a still greater service to society. But, as has been said before, he drew a picture which repelled many, because the proportions were extravagant.

He made also, I think, another mistake; viz., in the particular shape which he gave to his practical suggestions. It would have been better to lay his whole stress and emphasis on the positive element which he desired to introduce; and to speak against classical studies only so far as their undue pre-eminence interferes with giving a primary place to what is really primary.

Still he has done incalculable service. His admirable development of the Christian "System," and its working in human life, has never been surpassed. It is a grand vision of a Christian intelligence; and the effects of the Pagan "system," which stands over against it, throw a strong glare of light upon the hideous proportions of the merely natural man. But, as I said just now, the desired end is not *directly* to overthrow what is heathen; but to do so *indirectly* through introducing what is Christian. Life is intensely positive; and to give life, or to sustain its energy, something positive is required. A *negative* good will not do; the good must be positive. As justification consists, not so much in being free from sin, as in being possessed of a positive spiritual favour; just as a man should not only avoid evil, but should do good also:—so the remedy for the corrupt state of society must consist in some positive actual good:—a positive good, indeed, the privation of which constitutes that very disease which its presence is calculated to cure. What, then, is the disease of the present day? We have seen, *Naturalism*. What is Naturalism? F. Curci has already told us:—"The complete separation of the creature from the Creator in theory and in practice" (p. 31). What is the privation or loss which constitutes this disease? The loss of the Creator. What the remedy? Jo

man again to God. How is this effected? By realizing the Supernatural. "*Realize the Supernatural*"—this grand formula covers the entire area of the broad question of Paganism. It contains a force equal, nay, more than equal, to the energy of the disease. It is not a barren fact, or a mere *hiatus*,—but a large, encompassing principle, pregnant with vitality:—like the "*Fiat lux*" of old, which flashed day over creation.

This it is that was done in the fourteen first centuries of Christendom—the supernatural was realized. This, I maintain, is the grand, general impression left upon the mind after studying the history of that vast tract of Christianity. From the Apostles to the Apologists; from the Apologists to the columnal Fathers;—from the Catacombs to the glories of Mediæval times, this realization seems to have been the main governing law of the human spirit. I have only space to suggest that such was the case, and that this formula is a key capable of solving difficulties, which, without it, never could be answered. It explains the fear the Fathers had of ancient letters; it answers their seemingly conflicting statements upon classical lore. I do not at this moment remember one single instance, amongst the multitude which Abbé Landriot brings forward, of the favourable expression of Fathers and schoolmen regarding the study of Pagan classics, which cannot, by an application of our formula of the supernatural, be reconciled with (seemingly) conflicting extracts of the "*Ver Rongeur*."

But the question in hand is respecting ourselves—the remedy, not so much for the Naturalism of Protestants whom we cannot reach as of Catholics, whom we can. What is to give Catholic vigour to the rising generation? and what will preserve them against the awful dangers of English society—I not only speak of the rich but of the poor—of all, from the first to the last,—what? I would boldly proclaim to them, with the blast of a trumpet if I could,—Realize—learn at school to realize—the Supernatural. I strongly suspect that scholarship will not be the cause of the loss of many souls amongst us just at present; but will not Naturalism? And supposing Pagan classics are too prominent, and absorb precious time which might be better spent, how is this evil first to be seen and then to be remedied? Simply, I say, by realizing the supernatural. The man who realizes the supernatural, truly realizes the divine order of things. He sees the multiplicity of things in the effulgence of one simple Light, which gives them unity, value, and proportion—in *lumine Tuo videbimus lumen*. As one perceives myriads of minute bright points floating in a sunbeam, each gradually sailing and sinking to its level,

according to the simplicity of a single law, so with the acts and the facts of life,—illuminated by the brightness of the supernatural,—each would tend towards its proper place, according to its intrinsic worth in the mind of Him who is the All-Wisdom. For, the light of the supernatural being cast upon the facts and the acts of life, the eyes of the mind can clearly see the direction they are taking under the supreme law, and instead of crushing them or changing their true direction, through the obscurity and darkness of an unilluminated intelligence, it sees them, and each movement of them, so vividly in the light of the supernatural, that the mind has no difficulty in even forecasting their position and anticipating the order that they will occupy, in obedience to the mind of the Creator. Classical studies are one of these facts. Would you know the position they should occupy? Realize the Supernatural. See them in the *Light*: if you venture to move amongst them in the dark, your movements will result in utter confusion and disorder. The supernatural must be realized; for in the supernatural alone is the "*lux vera*" to be found.

How to realize the supernatural in detail; how to make it enter into the life of school; how it illuminates the whole course of teaching; how it throws its light upon the relation of master to boy, and of boy to master; how it dictates the conduct of boy to boy; how it gathers into one the whole Catholic system, and gives it a unity which becomes clearer and more developed as the mind expands and feels its way further towards truth; how it explains the system which stands in antagonism to itself, and lights up its hidden darkness, and makes manifest to the intelligence the broad chasm between the two; these are points which would occupy an entire article. Nor have I space left to demonstrate, were it necessary, how it is the specific against the noxious atmosphere of English society; how it sobers the mind, implants in it a sense of responsibility, and tends to make men earnest, devoted, and attached; how it can make them patterns of gentleness, refinement, and nobility, while it sinks the roots of true humility and modesty deep into their souls; how, in a word, it has the power, if applied in its fulness, to cast into shadow the mere veneering and gloss of the superficial education of the present day, and create substantial perfections, founded, not on the frail and perishing foundation of fashion or taste, but on the immutable principles of Christian philosophy: all this, too, perforce, I must for the present leave alone, and rest in the hope that on another opportunity I may be suffered to develop the thoughts which fill my mind.

R. B. V.

Papal Brief

IN FAVOUR OF "LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA."

WE have peculiar pleasure in placing before our readers the following Brief:—

The most weighty office of Our supreme Apostolic ministry absolutely requires that with most intent care we should always provide for the performance of those things, of which we know that they may conduce in any way to promote the cause of the Catholic Church, and the salvation of souls which has been intrusted to us from God by the Lord Christ Himself. Truly, when we were raised to this Chair of Peter, by no merits of our own, but by the secret counsel of Divine Providence, we saw and lamented, with incredible sorrow of soul, the grievous and never sufficiently to be lamented calamities and evils which in these most bitter times are inflicted on the Catholic religion, and on civil society itself, by men who hate all justice and truth, through pestilential books, pamphlets, and especially journals, filled with every most pernicious error and evil doctrine, and written with most bitter and altogether diabolical hatred against our divine religion, and published and disseminated far and wide among the multitude. For this reason, among other things, we did not fail again and again to urge men who were endowed with piety, ability, and sound doctrine, that, principally under the guidance, each man of his own bishop, they should by their writings defend our august religion, refute its assailants, detect, expose, overthrow so many monstrous prodigies of their opinions, and enlighten with truth especially the minds of unwary men and of inexperienced youth, which may be moulded like wax in an evil direction (Alloc. April 20, 1849). And certainly we are

GRAVISSIMUM supremi Nostri Apostolici ministerii munus omnino postulat ut intentissimo studio ea semper peragenda curemus, quae ad Catholicæ Ecclesiæ causam, animarumque salutem Nobis ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus commissam tuendam quovis modo conducere posse cognoscimus. Incredibili certe animi Nostri moerore, ubi ad hanc Petri Cathedram nullis Nostri meritis, sed arcano divinae providentiæ consilio, fuimus evecti, vidimus et lamentati sumus maxima et nunquam satis lugenda damna et mala, quæ asperrimis hisce temporibus catholice religioni, ac vel ipsi civili societati inferuntur ab omni iustitiæ ac veritatis osoribus per pestiferos libros, libellos, et præsertim ephemerides perniciosissimis quibusque erroribus, pravisque doctrinis plenissimas, ac acerrimo et plane diabolico contra divinam nostram religionem odio conscriptas, ac longe lateque in vulgus editas, ac disseminatas. Itaque inter alia haud omisimus viros pietate, ingenio, sanaque doctrina præditos etiam atque etiam excitare, ut sub proprii potissimum Antistitis ductu suis scriptis angustam nostram religionem defenderent, eiusque oppugnatores refutarent, ac tot monstrosa illorum opinionum portenta detegerent, refellerent, profligarent, et incantorum præsertim hominum, ac imperitiæ inventutis cereæ in vitium flecti mentes animosque veritatis lumine illustrarent. (Alloc. die 20 April. 1849.) Ac non mediocri certe afficimur

filled with no small joy, since many men have everywhere arisen who, most willingly obeying these our exhortations, and animated with admirable zeal towards the Catholic Church and this Holy See, do not cease, with honour to their name, to oppose with appropriate writings the most foul stream of so many growing errors and the fatal plague of evil journals, and to defend truth and justice. But, in order that there should ever be certain appointed men who, being heartily devoted to Us and to this Chair of Peter, and eminent for their love of our most holy religion and celebrated for sound and solid doctrine and erudition, may be able to fight the good fight, and by their writings to defend unremittingly Catholic interests and sound doctrine, and to vindicate the same from the fallacies, injustices, and errors of opponents, we desired that certain religious of the illustrious Society of Jesus should constitute a College of Writers, formed of members of that Society, who, by opportune and appropriate writings, should, with skill and learning, confute so many false opinions springing forth from darkness, and should unintermittingly defend with their whole strength the Catholic religion, its doctrine and rights. Which aforesaid religious, most willingly seconding our wishes with all observance and zeal, undertook from that very time (the year 1850) the writing and publishing a journal called "*La Civiltà Cattolica*." And, following the illustrious footsteps of their predecessors, and never sparing care or labour, by means of that journal, diligently and wisely conducted, they had nothing nearer at heart, than by their learned and erudite elucubrations manfully to protect and defend the Divine truth of our august religion, and the supreme dignity, authority, power, and interests of this Apostolic See; to teach and propagate true doctrine; to expose and resist particularly the multifold errors of our most unhappy age; its aberrations; its poisoned writings, so pernicious both to

laetitia, cum complures ubique surrexerint viri, qui Nostris hisce exhortationibus ac votis perlibenter obsequentes, et egregio erga Catholicam Ecclesiam, et hanc Sanctam Sedem studio animati, idoneis scriptis teterrimam tot serpentium errorum colluviem, ac funestam pravarum ephemeridum pestem propulsare, et veritatem iustitiamque tutari cum sui nominis laude non desinunt. Ut autem certi semper existerent homines, qui Nobis, et huic Petri Cathedrae ex animo addicti, ac sanctissimae nostrae religionis amore, ac sanae, solidaeque doctrinae, et eruditionis laude spectati valeant bonum certare certamen, suisque scriptis rem catholicam, salutaremque doctrinam continenter tueri, et ab adversariorum fallaciis, iniuriis, et erroribus vindicare; optavimus, ut Religiosi inclytae Societatis Iesu viri Scriptorum Collegium, ex ipsis Societatis Sodalibus conflatum, constituerent, qui opportunis, et aptis scriptis tot falsas ex tenebris emersas doctrinas naviter scienterque confutarent, et catholicam religionem, eiusque doctrinam, ac iura totis viribus indesinenter propugnarent. Qui Religiosi Viri, Nostris desideriis omni observantia et studio quam libentissime obsecundantes, iam inde ab anno 1850 Ephemeridem, cui titulus *La Civiltà Cattolica*, conscribendam, typisque vulgandam susceperunt. Atque illustria maiorum suorum vestigia sectantes, et nullis curis nullisque laboribus unquam parentes, per eandem Ephemeridem diligenter, sapienterque elaboratam, nihil antiquius habuere, quam doctis, eruditisque suis lucubrationibus divinam augustae nostrae religionis veritatem, ac auctoritatem huius Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem, auctoritatem, potestatem, reverentiam tueri, defendere, ac veram doctrinam edocere, propagare, et

Church and State; and to repel the nefarious enterprises of those who endeavour to overthrow (if it were possible), from its very foundation, the Catholic Church and civil society itself. From whence it ensues that the writers of the aforesaid journal have deservedly every day obtained for themselves in a greater degree our good will and high estimation, and the praise of our venerable brethren the bishops, and of [other] most illustrious personages; and that their journal has been, and is, held in the greatest value by all good and right-thinking men. And since from this journal, now sixteen years old, no slight benefits have redounded to the Church and to literature, by God's Help and to our vast joy, therefore it is a matter of our especial desire that so admirable a work should for ever remain in a stable and flourishing state, for the advancement of God's greater glory and the salvation of souls, and for promoting daily more and more a true method of study.

Therefore, by these letters, by Our Apostolic Authority we erect for ever the said Jesuit College of the Writers of the Journal "*La Civiltà Cattolica*," to be fixed in a home peculiar to themselves; and we establish it according to the laws and privileges which other Colleges of the same Society of Jesus possess and enjoy; in such sense, nevertheless, as that the said College must be in all things entirely dependent on the General of the Society. And we decree that the constitution of this College shall be, that those who have been selected by the said General to carry on the said journal or produce other writings, as shall appear more opportune to Ourselves or to the Roman Pontiffs our Successors, must sedulously devote all their labour, industry, and zeal to the composition and publication of writings for the defence of the Catholic religion and this Holy See. For which reason we

plures huius praecipue infelicissimae nostrae aetatis errores, aberrationes, et venenata scripta cum christianae, tum civili reipublicae tantopere perniciosae detegere, odpugnare, ac nefarios illorum conatus retundere, qui catholicam Ecclesiam, si fieri unquam posset, et civilem ipsam societatem funditus evertere commoliuntur. Ex quo evenit ut commemoratae Ephemeridis Scriptores Nostram benevolentiam, existimationemque, et Venerabilium Fratrum Sacrorum Antistitum, et clarissimorum Virorum laudes sibi quotidie magis merito comparaverint, eorumque Ephemeris a bonis omnibus, ac bene sentientibus viris summo in pretio fuerit habita, et habeatur. Et quoniam ex huiusmodi Ephemeride, sexdecim abhinc annos vigente, non levia in rem christianam, et litterariam rempublicam bona, Deo bene iuvante, cum ingenti animi Nostri gaudio redundarunt; iccirco Nostris in votis omnino est, ut tam praeclarum opus ad maiorem Dei gloriam, animarumque salutem curandam, atque ad rectam studiorum rationem magis in dies iuvandam stabile perpetuo consistat, et efflorescat. Itaque hisce Litteris idem Collegium Societatis Iesu Scriptorum Ephemeridis vulgo *La Civiltà Cattolica* in peculiari ipsis domo habendum Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica, perpetuum in modum erigimus, et constituimus iuxta leges, et privilegia quibus alia eiusdem Societatis Iesu Collegia utuntur, ac fruuntur, ita tamen, ut Collegium idem a Praeposito Generali ipsius Societatis in omnibus pendere plane debeat. Huius autem Collegii institutum esse volumus, ut qui ab ipso Praeposito Generali electi fuerint ad eandem Ephemeridem, vel alia scripta conficienda, prout Nobis, aut Romanis Pontificibus Successoribus Nostris opportunius videbitur, debeant omnem eorum operam, industriam, ac studium sedulo impendere in lucubrandis, edendisque

decree that the same writers continue to dwell in the abode which we have assigned to them in Rome, those conditions being observed which we have prescribed; and this until a more convenient dwelling can be obtained. And we permit to them that, for the fulfilment of their office, they may possess offices for printing, and may print and publish books, and sell them, and spread and disseminate them far and wide over all countries. But the revenues which exist now, or shall exist hereafter, must be devoted to supporting and daily enlarging the same work, in order that a continually greater and stronger force may be employed in opposition to so many and great aggressions of ill-disposed men. But, if it should ever happen in any case that the said College has to depart from this Our city, we will that they may be able to establish themselves in any other city [at the time] more convenient, which may be named by the General of the Society of Jesus with Our consent and that of the Roman Pontiffs our Successors, and there to fulfil their office until (the impediments having been removed) they may be called back by the same General to their ancient home. But if, by chance, no suitable place can be found for prosecuting the work, then we will that both funds and revenues be reserved for promptly renewing the work at the first possible moment. And we grant all these faculties in perpetuity, not only to the present members of the aforesaid College, but to others also who shall be elected by the General in these or future times to perform this same office; reserving to Ourselves and our Successors alone the power of making any change in respect to this College of Writers of the Society of Jesus; such power being entirely refused to all others, of whatever dignity, authority, and degree.

All these things we appoint, will, concede, enjoin, and command; decreeing

scriptis pro catholicae religionis, et huius Sanctae Sedis defensione. Quocirca volumus, ut iidem Scriptores pergant habitare in aedibus, quas ipsis in Hospitio hic in Urbe haereticis convertendis iam destinavimus, iis tamen servatis conditionibus, quas praescripsimus, atque id donec opportunior domus comparari queat. Concedimus autem, ut iidem pro sui muneris ratione possint librarias officinas habere, librosque typis in lucem edere, et vendere, ac longe lateque in omnes regiones spargere, ac disseminare. Redditus vero, qui in praesentia sunt, quique in posterum esse poterunt, ad opus idem sustentandum, ac magis in dies amplificandum adhiberi debent, ut tot tantisque inimicorum hominum aggressionibus ampliora semper, ac validiora obiciantur praesidia. Quod si unquam quocumque casu contigerit, ut eidem Scriptorum Collegio ab hac alma Urbe Nostra sit recedendum, volumus, ut ipsi in alia qualibet opportuniore civitate a Praeposito Societatis Iesu Generali cum Nostro, et Romanorum Pontificum Successorum Nostrorum consensu statuenda, possint consistere, ibique suum munus obire, quoad amotis impedimentis in pristinam Sedem ab eodem Praeposito Generali revocentur. Si autem nullus forte opportunus locus operi prosequendo reperiatur, volumus, ut tam fundi, tum redditus in eandem operam reserventur, mature instaurandam, ubi primum licuerit. Atque has omnes facultates non solum praesentibus commemorati Collegii Sociis, verum etiam aliis, qui a Praeposito Generali ad idem munus obeundum hoc, futurisque temporibus deligentur, perpetuum in modum concedimus, reservata Nobis, ac Successoribus Nostris dumtaxat facultate aliquid circa idem Societatis Iesu Scriptorum Collegium immutandi, et aliis omnibus cuiusque dignitatis, auctoritatis, et gradus penitus interdicta.

that these our letters and all things therein contained—not even on the ground that any men interested, or professing to be so, have not been called and heard, nor agreed to the foregoing,—can ever be noted or impugned for defect of subreption or obreption, or for nullity, or for fault of our intention or for any other substantial defect; nor otherwise infringed, suspended, limited, or called into controversy; &c., &c.

Given at Rome, at S. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, Feb. 12, 1866, in the twentieth year of Our Pontificate.

We hope in our next number to give a general account of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of its history, and of the important work which it has accomplished and is accomplishing. Meanwhile, we must not delay for one quarter to draw attention to the Holy Father's express judgment, that the journal in question "has been and is held in the greatest value by all good and right-thinking men." We have a personal reason for drawing attention to this. No one can have read the extracts from the *Civiltà*, which have from time to time appeared under our head of "Foreign Periodical Literature," without observing that its principles are precisely identical with those, on which we endeavour consistently to conduct this review. In further illustration of this, we insert the following passage, which appears in the very number of the *Civiltà* containing the Papal Brief.

"To Christianize liberalism! Such is surely a flight of fancy higher than Pindaric! . . . In what manner do you think of making liberalism Christian, and on good terms with the Pope? Certainly [you can only do so] by inducing it fully to admit the *Syllabus*, and condemn all the errors therein prescribed. . . . You think then of inducing it to condemn civil marriage (prop. lxxiii.), accomplished facts (lix.), non-intervention (lxii.), liberty of worship (lxxvii.), liberty of thought and of the press (lxxix.), separation of the State from the Church (lv.). . . . Liberalism does not consist in having a fundamental constitution, and the institutions of representative government. If there were only question of that, there would be no difficulty in being at once Catholic and liberal; so only that the constitution were in conformity with evangelical principles, and the national representatives were jealous in observing the same. The Church is indifferent towards any particular form of political government, so only it be legitimate in origin and just in operation" (pp. 29, 30).

Haec omnia statuimus, volumus, concedimus, praecipimus, atque mandamus, decernentes has Nostras Litteras, et in eis contenta quaecumque, etiam ex eo quod quilibet interesse habentes, vel habere praetendentes vocati, et auditi non fuerint, ac praemissis non consenserint, nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis, vel obreptionis, aut nullitatis, seu intentionis Nostrae vitio, vel alio quolibet etiam substantiali defectu notari, impugnari, aut alias infringi, suspendi, restringi, limitari, vel in controversiam vocari, &c., &c.

Notices of Books.

The Anglican Theory of Unity. A Second Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Birmingham. By the Right Rev. Bishop ULLATHORNE. London: Burns & Co.

IT is a very unusual circumstance that two works should be simultaneously going through the press, so strikingly similar in great part of their argument, as this work and the pamphlet of Mr. Allies, which we noticed by anticipation in our last number. The bishop's argument is in fact simply identical with Mr. Allies's, so far as he is occupied with assailing Dr. Pusey's miserable view of ecclesiastical unity, and miserable attempt to defend that view by the precedent of S. Augustine. Yet even on this head he puts forth one or two very important criticisms of the Eirenicon, which had not occurred to Mr. Allies. The following, *e.g.*, is the first Catholic comment which we happen to have seen, on the most fundamental of all Dr. Pusey's errors concerning the Church's constitution; nor can anything be more forcibly thought and expressed.

"But Dr. Pusey separates these attributes, and constructs four Churches from them, of which one is invisible, and three are visible. To the one Church he ascribes holiness and universality; to the three he attributes Apostolicity. Thus he not only divides Apostolicity from being commensurate with the One Catholic Church, but he divides Apostolicity itself, and distributes that qualification into three separate communions. Thus his theory is an eclecticism from the doctrines of the Low and the High Church parties of Anglicanism--an attempt to reconcile the two at the cost of the Creeds. His sympathy with the Evangelicals he does not merely leave us to conjecture; he tells us plainly: 'I believe them to be "of the truth." I have ever believed, and believe, that their faith was, and is, on some points of doctrine, much truer than their words.' He accordingly adopts their theory of an invisible Church" (p. 16).

The Bishop is also the first Catholic critic who has exposed the miserable subjectivity of Dr. Pusey's scheme; its practical and virtual overthrow of all ecclesiastical organization whatever.

"Little can the advocates of this system have reflected how often, and under what circumstances, this theory of a spiritual Church has been raised; or what fanaticism, what spiritual self-inebriating and bitter pride it has called up; or what social as well as moral disorders it has engendered and justified. It has been the invariable refuge of those sects which have assaulted the Apostolic ministry of the Church with unrelenting hostility; and

if the Unionists wished to destroy instead of reuniting those three visible communions, they could take no more effectual way than by inculcating that the One Catholic Church of Christ consists only of spiritual lovers, receiving all their gifts directly from God. They may strive to check the consequences by urging the necessity of some visible Apostolic ministry as a medium of grace; but others will not consider themselves bound to follow them into this part of their theory. Even Dr. Pusey has himself travelled beyond its bounds" (pp. 26-27).

And the author then proceeds to cite Dr. Pusey's portentous suggestion, that "Presbyterians have what *they* believe, we what *we* believe;" as though all men as a matter of course possessed every spiritual privilege which they *believe* themselves to possess.

On the argument from S. Augustine we will not here speak at length, because we commented on it in our notice of Mr. Allies. We will only repeat what we said on that occasion: viz., that Dr. Pusey is imperatively called on, either to meet the very direct and heavy blows dealt by the Bishop, or else to admit (what at last cannot possibly be denied) that his whole reasoning on the African Church is one mass of worthless sophistry.

The following remarks are especially opportune at the present time, when doctrines most unquestionably Catholic are again and again assailed as "extreme" and as characteristic of a "party."

"Let me, before proceeding, take note of this abuse of the word *Ultramontane*. It is here put offensively for the whole Catholic communion; and I am sorry to see Dr. Pusey guilty of the same offensiveness in sundry places. As a controversial trick, it is simply unworthy; a sort of substitution for the word *Popery*, which last has grown vulgar. The word *Ultramontane* has a definite theological sense as opposed to the word *Gallicanism*. It bears exclusively upon particular questions relating to the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is unfair and ungenerous to speak of doctrines as Ultramontane, or as held by Ultramontanes, which are universally held in the Catholic and Roman communion; thus leaving the effect of an insinuation that they are the doctrines of some party amongst us. Even that antagonism which existed between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism, as it stood on its own special ground in the seventeenth century, exists no more. It was mainly owing to the French Court, its courtiers and lawyers. Pascal himself, during the height of the combat, could not help noticing, that '*Scarcely anywhere except in France* is it allowable in these days to say that the Council is above the Pope.' Gallicanism, as claiming an exceptional condition for France, died with the old régime. Napoleon reasserted its principles in the Organic Articles; a gross fraud upon the Concordat, which has only served to keep alive a strenuous resistance to their authority, as well on the part of the French Church, as on that of the Sovereign Pontiffs. Even the prerogatives of the Holy See, as they are universally believed throughout the Catholic Church, are not of Ultramontane but of Catholic doctrine" (p. 36, 7).

Again,—

"There is no occasion for going further to show what the Unionists mean by the 'Œcumenical intercommunion which was existing before the division of East and West.' They mean that the Pope should cease from being Pope. We also understand why these writers love to call us Catholics Ultramon-

taunes ; it means that we are Papists. And this association turns out, in effect, to be a society of *prayer for the cessation of that supremacy* which our Lord established in Peter. *Exeter Hall is nothing else."*

We are very grateful also to the author for making us acquainted with the admirably-reasoned passage from F. Lacordaire, which is inserted from p. 93 to p. 95.

Our readers may remember Dr. Littledale's language in regard to the first Roman decree against the A. P. U. C. He said that that decree "was obtained by the intrigues of three or four well-known converts," especially that "master of the art of suppression and mis-statement," Mgr. Manning. It now appears that, whether or no Dr. Littledale knew better when he thus wrote, at all events the secretary of the A. P. U. C. was at that time well aware how absolutely unfounded was the notion of Mgr. Manning having had anything whatever to do with the matter. The Bishop had told him, as he now tells the world (p. 5), that the Roman decree originated with Cardinal Wiseman and with the Bishop himself, who, with unanimous episcopal approval, had addressed the Holy See for instructions on the subject. The Bishop has made no comment on Dr. Littledale's mis-statement. We suppose he thought that the only reasonable comment would be a more severe one than he chose to place on permanent and public record.

With a surprise which we cannot express, we have seen it recently stated by a Catholic writer that the condemnation of the A. P. U. C. was based, not on the essentially anti-Catholic principle of that association, but on the tone and temper of the *Union Review*. This is simply to say, in other words, that the Roman congregation professed one ground, but acted on another totally different. The various extravagant statements, of which this is a specimen, do but show more impressively how distinct and unmistakable has been the ecclesiastical condemnation of the association ; and all Catholics owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Bishop Ullathorne, for the attitude of opposition which he has so consistently maintained from the very first.

The Second Eve, or the Mother of Life. By V. DECHAMPS, Bishop of Namur. Authorized Translation. London : Burns & Co.

PERHAPS English Catholics are indebted for this volume to the Eirenicon. We know the case of one person many years ago, then on her way to the Church, who was goaded (as it were) into saying her first "Hail Mary," by way of reparation for the shocking insults on our Lady which she heard uttered by a Protestant bishop. In like manner there is more than one person, to our certain knowledge, and we believe there are several, who have been driven, by Dr. Pusey's irreverence, to study S. Alphonsus and Montfort with far greater zest and far more hearty appreciation than ever before. It must not, of course, be forgotten that Mgr. Dechamps is one of S. Alphonsus's spiritual children, and therefore an

enthusiast in his defence. Still, after reading Dr. Pusey, it is almost diverting to find the "Glories of Mary" thus spoken of. "This is my spiritual thermometer," said a friend to the author; "when I am careless and lukewarm, the treatise no longer suits me; but when the eye of my soul is restored to its strength and purity, it finds itself in union with this precious book" (p. xii.). The author, indeed, does not agree with this opinion; but his disagreement arises from his thinking such praise too little. "Experience proves daily that the 'Glories of Mary' touches sinners and brings them back to God," no less truly than it edifies those who are interior and saintly.

Mgr. Dechamps's own work, however, is on a different plan from the "Glories of Mary," being far more doctrinal and systematic. A careful dogmatic foundation is laid down for the whole devotional superstructure; and we fancy that several readers may find the present volume most interesting and satisfactory, who do not value the "Glories of Mary" as that admirable treatise deserves. In fact, the Bishop of Namur has made every chapter a brief dogmatic essay, closed by a suitable prayer.

We need hardly mention—the Bishop being a Redemptorist—that his devotion appertains throughout to that "extreme" or Alphonsine type, with which we are ourselves far more in sympathy than with any other. He quotes Gregory XVI. as pronouncing that S. Alphonsus himself "shines among the greatest luminaries of the Church" (p. 89). "*How blind do those appear, oh Lord, who fear to say too much of thy Mother!*" (p. 27). "The more faithfully we follow the Divine order by constantly approaching Him by the blessed medium of His Mother, the more shall we find our prayers increase in the confidence which renders them efficacious. . . . Do we go less directly to God by going in company with His Mother?" (p. 96). "Let us venerate Mary with all the powers of our soul and all the affections of our heart" (p. 98). "*There is nothing which we may not hope from a heart which is faithful to this devotion—a heart which does not lose hold of that merciful chain by which God has bound the hearts of His prodigal children in all ages to Himself.* No wonder, then, that theologians give devotion to Mary as *one of the most certain signs of predestination*" (p. 192). S. Stanislaus Kotska "never began any action without first turning to an image of Mary to ask her blessing" (p. 198). "The Son, Omnipotent by nature, has made His Mother omnipotent by grace" (p. 204). And the calm, scientific tone in which the volume is written adds threefold force to such expressions.

The translation is beautifully executed; and we have to express our heartfelt gratitude for the boon bestowed by it on English Catholics.

Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Challoner. By Rev. J. SIDDEN. London: Richardson.

MR. SIDDEN writes in a most genial and kindly spirit, and has a good word for every one. Nor can anything be more excellent than the purpose of his pamphlet. He thinks that many Anglicans are now fully

prepared to become Catholics, were they not deterred by their alarm of "Mariolatry;" and he wishes to show them that their alarm is groundless.

But, although we cannot but profoundly respect both Mr. Sidden's character and his intentions, we are obliged, nevertheless, to think the means adopted by him entirely inappropriate to his end. He aims, of course, at influencing—not violent fanatics—but pious, intelligent, and candid Anglicans: yet the truths on which he lays stress are such, that no men of this kind ever doubted them. He points out (p. 6) that S. Alphonsus's extreme expressions, "however misintelligible by English separatists, bear a truly Christian and devout sense;" and he also explains that, according to the belief of every Catholic, our Lady can no otherwise benefit us than by her prayers. But surely it is only the more violent and prejudiced of Protestants, who have any *doubt* on these two facts; and the stumbling-block of candid and intelligent Anglicans is something quite different. They would probably have no great objection to our addressing the most Blessed Virgin from time to time, with a view to obtaining her prayers. What alarms them, is the prominent position held by her in the mind of devout Catholics; the extremely important place assigned to her worship in the whole interior life; the constant and (as it were) indissoluble union between the thought of her and of her Son. For instance (see p. 146 of our present number), prayers indulged by successive Popes use such expressions as these:—"I give thee [Mary] all myself;" "I consecrate myself to thee without reserve;" "O Joseph, obtain for us that we may be entirely devoted to the service of *Jesus and Mary*." As Dr. Pusey has urged again and again, all this is quite different in *kind* from a mere practice of occasionally asking her to intercede for us; and we do not see that Mr. Sidden has said one word to remove this difficulty.

The real question for a Catholic's consideration is surely this:—Does the Church, or does she not, counsel the habitual and (as it were) unintermittent thought and remembrance of the Most Holy Virgin? Is such thought and remembrance, or is it not, an invaluable means of grace? Does it, or does it not, give extraordinary help in acquiring a true love for her Son? If it does not, then surely—considering the frightful prejudice excited in the non-Catholic mind by Marian devotions—it is the dictate of charity greatly to curtail and pare down those devotions; to cease from observing the Month of Mary; to exhibit her images far less conspicuously in our churches; &c., &c. And this, as we shall immediately see, is Mr. Sidden's own practical conclusion. But if, on the contrary, the preceding question should be answered in the affirmative, then a Catholic will regard Anglican objections to his worship of Mary, just as he regards Unitarian objections to his worship of Jesus.

Mr. Sidden, we say, does not explicitly treat the preceding question at all; but implicitly he answers it in the negative. "Let us not needlessly add," he says (p. 12), "to the unreasoning fears of our Protestant fellow-countrymen; let us, in all uncommanded forms of worship or devotion in public, *charitably refrain from much that, not being necessary for ourselves, might tend to detain our neighbours in a mere fragmentary Christianity*" (p. 13). He cannot of course mean that, for the sake of not shocking Protestants, we

should abstain from pressing forward a devotion, eminently conducive to the love of God and of Christ; and he must hold, therefore, that habitual and unintermitting devotion to our Blessed Lady is *not* thus conducive. We are not here arguing against this opinion: we are only pointing out that such is the real question at issue, and that Mr. Sidden nowhere confronts it.

We will make one final observation. Let us here assume, that the true answer to this question is contradictory to that implied by Mr. Sidden; and let us suppose accordingly, that a number of interior and fervent souls do fix their thoughts constantly on Mary. Their devout meditations will indefinitely differ from each other, according to the circumstances of personal or national character; of education; of intellectual power; of accidental habit; and the like: but in one point, rely on it, they will all agree; viz., in being unspeakably startling and repulsive to an ordinary Anglican. It is not the *particular shape* into which S. Alphonsus and Montfort have thrown their reflections, that repels such men as Dr. Pusey; for no two shapes can be more extremely different. It is not because they are foreigners and he an Englishman, that he finds their devotions so absolutely intolerable. It is because their thoughts in any shape are fixed so constantly, intently, reverently, on a creature. Between him and devout worshippers of Mary lies a broad gulf of doctrinal separation; and we cannot think that Mr. Sidden's pamphlet will give him any help for crossing it.

We have been the more full in noticing this short pamphlet, because we think that some such method of meeting Protestant objections finds favour with various excellently-intentioned Catholics; and because we are convinced that it must totally fail. It does not deserve success, because it is altogether fallacious; and it will not obtain success, because it is keenly felt by all Protestants to evade their real difficulty.

Fortnightly Review for June 15th, Art. 3. London: Chapman & Hall.

IT is certainly a curious proof how large a portion of the English public now gives its attention to theology in general, and to the Unionist movement in particular, when we find even the *Fortnightly Review* devoting an article to the subject. This is written by the Rev. W. Kirkus. Its purpose is to show that "Romanism, Anglicanism, and Evangelicalism" are "logically identical," as being based on the common principle of authoritative dogma; and that what Catholics call rationalism is the only form of religion which can be reasonably embraced. We can see no traces whatever of intellectual ability in the article; nor have we observed in it one new remark. We should not therefore have thought of noticing it, except for two reasons.

(1) We have maintained all along in this Review that Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* itself—as distinct from its author's personal intentions—is imbued with a most unfriendly spirit towards the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Kirkus, an impartial witness, is explicit on this head.

"For many a long year to come the '*Eirenicon*' will be one of the best-furnished armouries for those who wish and endeavour to bring about the

destruction of the Church of Rome. It is scarcely too much to say that no book written within the present century has so completely demonstrated the hideous, not to say blasphemous, character of popular Romanism" (p. 285).

(2) Mr. Kirkus adds on his own account that "no Protestant need hesitate to denounce with the utmost severity *such extravagances of Mariolatry as are quoted in the Eirenicon*, when even Dr. Newman himself can only speak of them in such terms as these;" and then follows a well-known passage from F. Newman's letter to Dr. Pusey. But the passage itself, as it stands in Mr. Kirkus's own article, testifies the erroneousness of Mr. Kirkus's statement. F. Newman does not admit in that passage at all, that the writers cited by Dr. Pusey have uttered any "extravagances." On the contrary—as has been more than once pointed out in the *Month*—he expresses his conviction that the writers "did not use such sentences and phrases in their literal and absolute sense;" nor will he speak unfavourably of "these statements *as they are found in their authors*," because he believes that those authors "have not meant" what Dr. Pusey supposes. We are the more anxious to point this out, because more than one Protestant writer has carelessly overlooked this most important explanation, given by F. Newman himself of his own meaning.

Etudes Religieuses Historiques et Littéraires, Juin, 1866. Paris: Albanel.

THE *Etudes* for January, February, and March contained three communicated papers on the *Eirenicon*, with many parts of which we were ourselves totally out of sympathy. It was expressed, however, both in the January and February numbers, that "la direction" was by no means identified with these papers; and we observe with great satisfaction that the present number commences a series of articles on the *Eirenicon*, which promises to be of considerable value. The particular doctrine to be treated is that of ecclesiastical unity; and the first article examines very satisfactorily the question of S. Victor and the Quartodecimans. We hope to avail ourselves of these articles, when our own controversy with Dr. Pusey reaches the question of Papal Supremacy.

Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon considered in relation to Catholic Unity. By H. N. OXENHAM, M. A. London: Longmans.

THE Unionist party seems always profoundly unconscious, that those writers most opposed to it are no less keenly desirous for the reunion of Christendom, than is the Unionist party itself. One would have thought it impossible, after the Archbishop's Pastoral, that this misconception should continue; but here is Mr. Oxenham exhibiting it again in its full extravagance. We cannot, then, express our judgment on his pamphlet, till we have made this matter clear. Those Catholics from whom Mr. Oxenham most violently dissents, hold such opinions as the following:—

The Church is infallible, not only as "testis" and "judex," but equally as

"magistra." The one appointed way for learning the true road to sanctification and salvation, is the inquiring into her true mind and her practical teaching. It is true that, in this or that local church of this or that particular period, the Catholic magisterium may be less fully and purely exhibited than elsewhere; but this is always because the influence of Rome is there less pervasive and dominant. If, then, those Catholics are to be pitied who have been educated where the Holy See has less influence, how far more deplorable is *their* lot who are actually external to its communion. As a matter of mere Christian charity, one cannot be too zealous,—by argument, explanation, and every other available means,—in placing emphatically and convincingly, both before Catholics and Protestants, the divinely-given prerogatives and privileges of Rome. And further, were a considerable approach really made to the reunion of Christendom, such approach would be unspeakably beneficial, not only to the individual souls newly imbued with knowledge of the Truth, but to the whole Church; nay, and to the whole world. Once let all earnest religion be fully and purely Catholic, the advantage would be quite inappreciable, as regards whether the sanctification of individuals, or the Church's influence over mankind in general. So vast, indeed, is this advantage, that in every country where Catholic unity exists, the civil power should use the material force at its command, for the purpose of preserving that unity free from aggression and interruption.

Such is the language which has been used age after age by orthodox and saintly Catholics; and no one can say that such aspirations after unity are less keen, than those exhibited by Mr. Oxenham. His own view may be expressed somewhat as follows; though of course he is not responsible for an opponent's wording of it:—

"The Church is infallible in her definitions of faith, but her infallibility extends no further. As regards all external to these, the Church's prevalent opinion is left by God to depend on purely human and secondary causes. Here we see a peculiar evil, which has resulted from the divisions of Christendom. The Church's *practical teaching*, as distinct from her decrees of faith, depends for its purity, not on God's promises to S. Peter's Chair, but on the free and mutually corrective admixture of conflicting elements. And by consequence the comparative absence of the Teutonic race for so many centuries, has been a fruitful source of corruption as to the doctrine practically taught. The reunion of Christendom then is eminently desirable, as for other reasons, so also in order that a more healthy spirit may animate the Church. Catholics have almost as much to learn from Protestants, as these from Catholics."

Now we are the very last to under-estimate the contrast between this view and our own: but it is evidently monstrous to speak as though this difference turned, in any degree whatever, on a greater or less desire of Christian reunion. It turns on a question absolutely and totally distinct; viz., the divinely-given privileges of the Church in general, and of Rome in particular. It is a curious instance, then, of Mr. Oxenham's characteristic mistiness, that there is no profession of reasoning, throughout his pamphlet, as to those most serious questions which are really at issue between him and his Catholic

opponents. He does not argue at all, except for conclusions, which his opponents either themselves heartily embrace or at least regard as undeserving of any censure. For instance. By far the most systematic course of argument in his whole pamphlet, and, we think, in every respect the ablest portion of it, is from p. 67 to p. 85; and to what conclusion does that argument professedly tend? To the conclusion that inappreciable blessings would ensue if Christendom were reunited. What imaginable opponent is he dreaming of? Who is there that ever *doubted* this conclusion? We cannot, indeed, concur with every individual expression contained in these pages; but, on the whole, we can sincerely recommend them to our readers: for very great benefit often arises from being practically reminded of truths, which speculatively no one ever thought of denying. Mr. Oxenham points out with undeniable force the vast benefits which would accrue if "the religious energies of Christendom were concentrated on a common purpose and a common truth" (p. 68); if Catholics could devote themselves exclusively to an appreciation and remedy of evils existing within the Church, instead of having also to defend her against the attack of enemies (p. 71); if Christendom in its visible unity could be a public witness to the heathen (p. 74); if Christians in England could combine against the frightful social evils under which their country groans (p. 76); if they could more unitedly contend against scepticism (p. 79); and if those impediments to holiness were removed, which are so largely engendered by the "religious esprit de corps," "obtruded" as it is "in its least amiable form" (p. 80). And, for our own part, God forbid we should raise the cry of "visionary," "Quixotic," "enthusiast" (p. 83), against any number of men who should make it their real practical end to labour against all those frightful evils which flow from disunion. How strange Mr. Oxenham should not see, that all this is common ground between him and ourselves! The one point really at issue is this; whether Christian union is to be sought in the way of absolute and unreserved submission to the Holy See—to all its formal utterances, and to its whole practical magisterium,—or by some different method which Mr. Oxenham is to explain. But on *this* question, not one single syllable of elucidation or argument does he attempt from first to last. He well knows the low opinion which we have formed of him as a thinker and a reasoner: here is an excellent opportunity presented him, both for rebuking us and for proving himself to possess that ability which we do not ascribe to him. He has not even taken the trouble to glance at the argument which has been drawn out in this Review, for the infallibility of Papal Allocutions and Encyclicals.* Let him fairly confront that argument and attempt an answer.

* We say that he has not even glanced at our argument, for this reason:—He considers us to hold (p. 45, note) that "every passing and incidental expression in such documents is verbally inspired;" whereas if he had so much as glanced at any one thing we have written on the subject, he would have seen that we regard such "incidental expressions" not only as not "verbally inspired," but not even as in substance infallibly true. We have quite invariably confined the claim of infallibility to those doctrinal instructions which are *directly* conveyed, as *distinct* from "passing and incidental expressions."

And this will be a good place for saying whatever is necessary, on his various criticisms of this Review. Thus (p. 44) he supposes that Dr. Pusey has protested against some particular doctrine of Papal infallibility, put forth in this Review; whereas in every case Dr. Pusey protested, not against any claim put forth in this Review, but against the claims put forth by the Pope himself. Mr. Oxenham's misapprehension is the more unaccountable, because he expressly cites (p. 44, note) two distinct passages of the Eirenicon; and the language of both is quite unmistakeable. In p. 290 Dr. Pusey speaks of "the claim now raised" by "*the Encyclical of 1864*" (p. 289); adding (*ib.*) that the DUBLIN REVIEW has shown such claim to have been really made by that Encyclical. And in p. 303, which Mr. Oxenham also cites, Dr. Pusey is not alluding to this Review ever so distantly; but speaking of "the infallibility claimed" for Papal decrees by *the recent Syllabus*. Nay, in a note at the preceding page, Dr. Pusey actually complains of this Review, as *understating* the doctrine put forth by Pius IX. on his civil principedom. Lastly, no one, who fairly examines Dr. Pusey's citations, will doubt that the Pope does claim the fullest extent of infallibility which we have ever ascribed to him. Consequently the "strange assertions" and "startling eccentricities," on which Mr. Oxenham comments (p. 44), are nothing less than the authoritative declarations of that Pontiff who has been appointed by God as "the teacher of all Christians." The authoritative teaching, we say, of Pius IX. is denounced by Mr. Oxenham as a "startling eccentricity."

Mr. Oxenham also comments (p. 39) on our "somewhat tardy admission" that this Review "is now a purely private and unofficial periodical." What are the facts? In January we said accidentally that when it was the admitted organ of Cardinal Wiseman, it had more claim on Dr. Pusey's attention than in its present "purely private and unofficial" position. A correspondent of the *Weekly Register* drew attention to this statement, and added that a different impression had been widely prevalent as to this Review's real character. The Editor wrote that very week to the *Register*, stating that he had had no idea before of such a misconception existing; and that otherwise he should have contradicted it far more emphatically. An explanation is not usually considered "tardy," which is put forth the very moment one hears of the misunderstanding; but in this case we accidentally made it even at a somewhat earlier period.

In other particulars Mr. Oxenham's language about this Review exemplifies a general and important truth. His notion of large-mindedness, is to see indefinite good in almost every form of religious error external to the Church; and to regard one set of opinions, almost alone, as simply contemptible and detestable: that one excepted class consisting of Catholics, who profess unreserved submission to the Holy Father's authoritative teaching. In behalf of those whom he somewhere calls "Roman Ultramontanes," he has not one syllable of sympathy or extenuation. He expresses his "conviction" (p. 12) that Anglican liberalism "will find not only its needful corrective, but a place and a home in a reunited Christendom:" but he has nowhere attempted to explain how such a Church as he desires is to contain those who sincerely hold Ultramontane doctrine. He concurs in the proposition that

the language of the Ven. Grignon de Montfort is "mischievous and heretical;" though he qualifies his concurrence by an admission that it is not so in the sense intended by the writer (p. 42). Thus Mr. Oxenham speaks of language, which has been authoritatively decided at Rome to be free from anything theologically censurable; such is his sympathy with error, and such his antipathy to the Truth. And so it has ever been. All forms of error ever gravitate towards each other; while they are ever intolerant of the one exclusive Truth.

But this assumption of large-minded appreciation on which we have just spoken, is surely not less unreal than it is offensive. In p. 85, note, he quotes from Mr. Lecky a statement, as being substantially true though exaggerated, that "the very men who would once have been conspicuous saints are now conspicuous revolutionists." He then proceeds on his own account to improve on Mr. Lecky, by adding that "there are points of contact between the characters of *S. Bernard and Garibaldi*;" and further that the atheist "*Shelley had the making of a saint in him*." We do Mr. Oxenham the justice to believe, that he uses such words with the view of exhibiting his large-mindedness, but with no definite meaning.

There is one other conclusion, in addition to that mentioned in the earlier part of our notice, for which Mr. Oxenham does argue; viz., that various parties in the Church of England are far better disposed towards Catholicism, than appears on the surface. We think his remarks on that head undeviatingly crude, shallow, and feeble in the extreme; but we have no room left for replying to them. The question is a perfectly open one; and any Catholics might go Mr. Oxenham's whole length in a hopeful view of Anglicanism, without being at all mixed up with his theological errors. Cardinal Wiseman, *e.g.*, as Mr. Oxenham has pointed out, at one time of his life entertained so sanguine a view, as to astound the present writer even when himself an Anglican; and which appears on retrospection even more marvellous than it appeared then. But Mr. Oxenham has not shown, nor can he by possibility show, that the Cardinal expressed any idea by the term "union," except that of the most absolutely unreserved submission to the Holy See. There is no good Catholic, then, who would not be delighted, if he could bring himself to believe that the Cardinal's sanguine anticipations were really based on solid fact.

As to this matter, then, we will make but two comments on Mr. Oxenham. Firstly, even if the Anglican clergy and laity were as much inclined as he supposes towards "reunion" in *his* sense,—it by no means follows that they are disposed to that humble and unconditional submission, which is really exacted of them by the Church. Secondly, Mr. Oxenham's great Anglican authority is throughout Dr. Pusey. Now, only two years ago Dr. Pusey so desponded on the prospects of his own communion, that he meditated secession from the Establishment.

However, it would be, of course, a simple happiness to any good Catholic, if he could believe that submission to the Church throughout England is probable on a large scale. The project of *corporate* union stands on totally different ground. In this Review we have again and again expressed one *simple* objection to it. God has imposed on all men a precept of submitting

unreservedly to the Roman Catholic Church. This precept binds all without exception who have means of knowing it ; or in other words, no individual is dispensed from it except by invincible ignorance of its existence. Nor, on the other hand, can any man be admitted into the Catholic Church, until he believes that this precept has been given. Suppose an Anglican bishop becomes convinced that this precept *has* been imposed. Would Mr. Oxenham have him dissemble his conviction, and continue to exercise episcopal functions in a society which he now knows to be schismatical ? Such a proposal Mr. Oxenham would undoubtedly stigmatize as un-English ; but we hope he would also pronounce on it the immeasurably more important censure of its being un-Christian. Unless, therefore, you suppose wholesale episcopal hypocrisy, and that of the most frightful character, the prospect of corporate reunion resolves itself into this. Mr. Oxenham must expect that, some day or other, a large majority of Anglican bishops, with a great number of clergy and laity, shall be struck at one and the same moment, as by a light from heaven, with the sudden conviction that this precept of submission has been imposed by God. Even then one does not see what advantage would be gained by their submission being made collectively rather than successively. But to anticipate corporate reunion, is to anticipate either that God will work an astounding and most unprecedented miracle, or else that a number of Protestant bishops and clergy shall be guilty of the basest treachery and hypocrisy. We have urged this argument again and again in former numbers ; and this being a particular on which reasoning is really needed, is of course one on which Mr. Oxenham has not *attempted* to reason.

We will conclude by animadverting on three isolated theological statements.

1. "When Anglicans become aware how completely the recent definition" of the Immaculate Conception, "— apart from any question about the binding authority of Papal Bulls as such,—was *endorsed*, or rather anticipated, by the verdict of the *sensus fidelium*, they will not be unwilling to accept" it "as a doctrine" (p. 54). Certainly Mr. Oxenham has liberty to think that the Papal definition of this doctrine was not infallible, apart from episcopal assent. But the above words contain no reference whatever to the Catholic Episcopate ; and most persons will understand them as implying, that the "endorsement" of the *sensus fidelium* is requisite as a condition of infallibility. Mr. Oxenham, of course, cannot intend this, because he is a Catholic ; but we wish he had not expressed himself in words so open to misapprehension. As it is, we cannot even conjecture his meaning.

2. Mr. Oxenham considers (p. 81) that the Photian schism was "the first great schism which rent the unity of Christendom," and the Reformation the second. Such language is most intelligible from an Anglican Unionist ; for he thinks that on both these occasions true branches of the Church began to remain separate from each other. But what can Mr. Oxenham possibly mean by the statement ? Was not the Arian heresy a fearful "rent in the unity of Christendom ?" and the Nestorian ? and the many branches of the Eutychian ? And did not all these precede the Photian ?

3. Mr. Oxenham (p. 45) expresses agreement with an opinion that "the

Church Catholic acknowledges no other authoritative standards of teaching than . . . General Councils." He regards it, no doubt, as of small account, that this error has been expressly condemned in the Munich Brief; yet in the present case, at all events, deference to Papal authority would have saved him from a palpable blunder. For it follows from such a view, that during the first three hundred years of her existence the Church had no "authoritative standard of teaching" whatever: except, indeed, on any doctrinal matter decided in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem.

Here we close our remarks. On the personal characteristics displayed in this pamphlet, we purposely abstain from expressing any opinion.

Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon. A Review, by GERALD MOLLOY, D.D., Professor of Theology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. London: Longmans.

THIS is the reprint of an article which has appeared in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record." We most heartily recommend it to our readers; for while its tone is most courteous, its principles are most Catholic, and its arguments most forcible.

In regard to Dr. Pusey's Marian citations, Dr. Molloy points out that no one who has been educated a Catholic can by possibility misunderstand "ambiguous or exaggerated" phrases, even should he meet with such in Catholic writers; because "it has been *engraved on his mind from earliest infancy* as the fixed unalterable teaching of the Catholic Church," that "the honour which is due to the Blessed Virgin is very different in kind from the honour which is due to God" (p. 22). And in his whole treatment of this delicate subject, the author, we think, exactly hits the happy mean. On the one hand he has no wish to extenuate any doctrinal error which the Church may have condemned; but, on the other hand, he does justice to "the depth and tenderness of devotion" (p. 22), which are Mary's due, and rejoices that a Catholic should "rush eagerly to her as a child to the embraces of his mother," interchanging with her "fond endearments" (p. 21).

On the infallibility question Dr. Molloy is equally satisfactory. He maintains confidently (p. 16) that the Church is infallible, not only in her formal decrees, but in her whole practical teaching; nor have we anywhere seen this doctrine more clearly expressed in a few words. As regards her formal decrees themselves, he protests against Dr. Pusey's notion that any Catholics consider her to be infallible "in the *incidental statements*, or the *arguments*, even of a dogmatic bull" (p. 34). Again, no pronouncement can be considered infallible even in substance, "unless it treats of some question which appertains to faith, [directly or indirectly] and unless it be addressed [in effect] to the universal Church" (p. 32).

So much on the "object" of infallibility. As regards its "subject," Dr. Molloy considers that "the belief" in *Papal* infallibility "is now very general in the Church, and that it may possibly become at some future period *the subject of a formal definition*" (pp. 29, 30). God grant this in His own good time!

The First Age of Christianity and the Church. By JOHN IGNATIUS DÖLLINGER, D.D. Translated by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A.
London : Allen & Co.

OUR readers are well aware that we profoundly distrust Dr. Dollinger, and consider his recent course opposed both to true theological principle and to the interests of religion. There is no occasion, however, here to express our reasons for this opinion, as the work before us occupies ground almost entirely external to the points at issue. We do not deny, indeed, that we open any volume of his with an antecedent prejudice ; on the contrary, we maintain that such is the legitimate attitude of a good Catholic's mind : but we have honestly endeavoured to estimate this work fairly on its own merits.

Its idea seems to us admirable, and (so far as we know) quite original. The author considers that such a continuous history of the Christian Church as he contemplates in future volumes, if it is to be really satisfactory, should be preceded by a careful treatment of our Lord's ministry and of the Apostolic period ; and that such treatment should be mainly grounded on a most careful and exhaustive study of the New Testament. Such, then, is Dr. Dollinger's excellent plan. The execution of that plan seems to us varying in merit. In many portions it is as admirable as the plan itself ; in other portions defective ; in a few, even deserving of reprehension. And our readers will the better understand the reason of this variety, if they consider the author's peculiar characteristics.

Of those studies which are appropriate to a Catholic theologian as such—putting aside those merely philosophical—some are pursued with fully equal (perhaps, alas ! with greater) zeal by Protestants ; while there are others of which the Protestant world hardly knows the existence. Of this latter kind is the scientific mastery of Dogma as a whole ; again, Moral Theology ; and again, Ascetical and Mystical : of the former kind is inquiry into the nature and extent of inspiration ; critical exegesis of Scripture ; critical examination, both of ecclesiastical history in general, and of doctrinal development in particular. Now we do not object at all to the mere fact of Dr. Dollinger having given far more profound attention to the latter than to the former class of studies ; for we believe that a largely increased division of theological labour is among the exigencies of the time. But we do think (1) that every Catholic theologian of eminence should possess more acquaintance with the former class than the present author displays ; and (2) that Dr. Dollinger most unfortunately and narrow-mindedly under-estimates those studies which are not to his own taste. The language, indeed, on scholasticism, which he held in his celebrated speech at Munich, is absolutely identical with what the Church has since condemned ;* and we think that these volumes present abundant evidence of a similar spirit.

For instance. Considering the enormous preponderance assumed by dogma

* See Syllabus, prop. xiii.

in the ecclesiastical history of every age, we cannot think that he has here laid down anything like an adequate doctrinal foundation for his future volumes ; on the contrary, we hold that specially dogmatic investigations should occupy at least ten times the space which he has assigned to them. No enterprise can well be imagined, either more important at this time in itself, or more serviceable for a real study of ecclesiastical history, than to examine in detail the full evidence furnished by the New Testament—(1) on the body of dogma received by the Apostles from our Lord ; (2) on the doctrines taught by them to the various classes of their converts ; and (3) on the particular shape in which they expressed those doctrines on this or that occasion. This is what Dr. Döllinger's undertaking required ; but what in our judgment he has by no means accomplished. We are far from undervaluing the singular power and skill which he has displayed throughout in bringing together from various parts of Scripture, and combining into one whole, a vast number of scattered doctrinal references. He has fulfilled his own conception, speaking generally, with remarkable completeness and success ; but the conception itself (as we have said) seems to us essentially defective.

We could easily illustrate our criticism from various doctrines ; but our limits confine us to one instance. We will take, then, purposely one particular point, on which we (*i.e.* the present writer) warmly concur with Dr. Döllinger's doctrinal view. There is hardly any more critical question, in examining S. Paul's view of Justification, than the drift of his constant contrast between "works" and "good works." It is admitted by all Catholics that the latter term means with him "works founded on faith ;" and that he always considers "works" as differing in this respect from "good works." But it is a most important question, whether by the term "works" S. Paul generally means to express "actions morally good, not founded on faith, and of the purely natural order ;" or whether he attaches to the term some sense altogether different. Dr. Döllinger (as we understand him) adopts the latter alternative. We must consider, indeed, some among his incidental statements of doctrine as mistaken ;* still we think that on the whole he has thoroughly seized the true drift of S. Paul's teaching ; and we cannot but warmly admire the power with which he has brought together, within so short a compass, so large and well-connected a group of Pauline dicta. But why *did* he confine his treatment of the matter within so short a compass ? A full systematic exhibition of S. Paul's teaching on Justification could not, we verily believe, be presented in less than half a volume of the size before us ; and we will here mention only one of the defects which arise, from the brief treatment adopted by our author.

The Church has pronounced various most important judgments against Baius and Jansenius. It would not of course be appropriate to have con-

* Thus, "*The form which righteousness takes in man, Paul calls faith.*" Man's "*righteousness is nothing else than faith*" (vol. i. p. 273). "*Hope, love, fear, trust, humility, steadfastness, and zeal—all are comprised in justifying faith*" (p. 274). The language also about original sin, in p. 254, strikes us as incorrect.

sidered in the present work those judgments as such ; but it was imperatively called for that S. Paul's doctrine, in disparagement of "works," should be drawn out with so much fulness and accuracy, as to show its complete distinctness from all those errors which the Church afterwards condemned. But to do this adequately, would require a larger and deeper scientific mastery of dogma, than any which (so far as we know) Dr. Döllinger has ever displayed.

Indeed, we may go further. We fully believe indeed (as we have said) that the author does *not* understand S. Paul to use the word "works" as expressing "morally good works of the natural order." We are led to this opinion, not only by various express statements, but by the whole drift of his doctrinal exposition. Yet he has not by any means expressed this elementary proposition with the clearness which was desirable ; and still less has he given any distinct explanation of what S. Paul does mean by the term. In p. 295 this obscurity is especially notable. He says, firstly, that S. Paul expresses by the term "works where the mere outward act, and not the principle or motive, is the thing considered ;" and such works of course are for the most part not morally good at all. He then says that these "works" "are done indeed from obedience to a command, but from a selfish, blind, slavish obedience ;" from which explanation no one, we think, will derive any precise impression whatever. Finally, he adds, that they are "works which the unenlightened man, left to himself, does from his own natural powers ;" and this phrase rather points to the interpretation which he started by excluding ; viz., that they are morally good acts of the natural order. And if the reader will carefully examine his language in pp. 258, 261, 264, 272, 279, 280, 284, he will find several instances of similar indistinctness and apparent vacillation.

We have been obliged by our limits to take an instance from one particular portion of one particular doctrine ; but remarks more or less similar might be made on every part of Apostolic Dogma which he has treated at all.

And this very phrase reminds us of one doctrinal subject which he has absolutely omitted. Surely, considering the immense development of Marian devotion which has grown up in the Church, it was incumbent on Dr. Döllinger—in order that in his subsequent volumes he might appreciate that devotion—to examine carefully the question, what the New Testament declares concerning the Mother of God ; to express an opinion as to the degree of veneration in which she was held by the Apostles ; and on the place which she occupied in the Church, whether before or after her Son's ascension. In vol. i., p. 173, he explains Apoc. xii. 1-6 without any reference to our Lady, and (so far) in direct contradiction to Catholic sentiment ; but all positive mention of the Most Holy Virgin he seems, as if on purpose, to have carefully avoided.

In vol. I., p. 228, the author amazes us by saying that "the first deposit of doctrine"—by which we understand him to mean the doctrine delivered by the Apostles during their life—"consisted mainly of facts, principles, dogmatic germs and indications." Why, we need not go beyond these volumes for an overwhelming refutation of so strange a thought. Read that very

compressed and pregnant analysis of S. Paul's doctrine on Justification, to which we have been so recently referring; is that assemblage of beautiful doctrine a mere *germ*? a mere number of *facts*? or of *principles*? or of *indications*? And whether one reads the author's account of our Lord's teaching (vol. i., p. 23 to p. 47) or the whole second chapter of his second book, one is struck with ever-increasing astonishment that the theologian, who wrote these expositions, should have expressed himself in the strange way on which we are commenting.

His translator is even more obviously self-contradictory. In Dr. Döllinger the above expression seems to have been (as it were) casual and incidental; but Mr. Oxenham quoted and laid earnest stress on it, in an express treatise on development. Yet in his preface (p. ix) to the present work he gives an opinion, we think a most just one, that S. Paul's "statements" on justification are "fuller" even than those of the Tridentine Council.

We regret to add that Dr. Döllinger's inadequate dogmatic study has led him to one far more serious inadvertence. In vol. i., p. 54, speaking of our Lord's agony, he says, "*a passing wish came over Him* that, if it were possible, this chalice of agony might pass from Him . . . But *the next instant* the clear *returning* consciousness of the irrevocable counsel of God *triumphed* in Him." And this unhappy mistake leads us to lay greater stress than we should otherwise have done, on inaccuracies, much less serious but in the same direction, which occur in pp. 7, 10, and 16.

We have said so much on the question of dogma, that we can but most briefly express a similar remark on that of ascetics. There is a most definite theory of the interior life pervading all Catholic ascetical works, and contrasting emphatically with Protestant "spirituality." It would be a most important and interesting task to exhibit the profound harmony of this theory with the Apostolic teaching, and with our Lord's sacred Words. Now we are very far from wishing to undervalue the admirable remarks made by Dr. Döllinger in vol. ii., pp. 181-195, and elsewhere; but no one will say that he has seriously applied himself to such an enterprise as that above sketched. Yet it was an enterprise, we think, entirely called for as a foundation for his subsequent history. And it is a consequence of this unfortunate brevity on dogma and on ascetics, that subjects, which might have been made transcendently interesting, assume in these volumes a somewhat dry and repulsive appearance.

We wish we could have left ourselves room to dwell on the more simply favourable side of our comment. As things are, however, we must be brief in expressing our most hearty and unqualified admiration of many portions. The second and third chapters of the first book, and almost the whole second volume, are most excellent and instructive. We would particularly refer to Dr. Döllinger's treatment of the episcopal question (vol. ii., pp. 104-141); of the *χαρισμματα* (pp. 152-159); and of Christ's teaching on marriage (pp. 222-233). Our present impression is indeed, that this latter is the first thoroughly satisfactory explanation which has been given of a most serious difficulty.

We must protest, however, against the theory of inspiration implied in

the first line of p. 216 in vol. i.; and perhaps elsewhere. But we cannot enter here on this theme.

With all drawbacks, these volumes constitute a very valuable addition to English Catholic literature; and even had Mr. Oxenham done his work roughly and inelegantly, he would have conferred a signal service. But we are bound to add that (so far as one unacquainted with German can judge) this translation is admirably executed; and the additional notes are generally unpretending and useful.

We wish the more, then, that Mr. Oxenham had not obliged us to criticize him unfavourably, by his extraordinary remarks in p. xi. of his preface. There are various Catholics—we are ourselves in the number—who consider that Dr. Dollinger is theologically unsound for two reasons, to mention no others: (1) and chiefly, because he does not accept as infallible any decisions of the Church, except definitions of faith; and (2) because he does not accept as infallible that particular decision (Syllabus, prop. xiii.) which concerns scholasticism. We have often enough given our reasons for thus thinking, and Mr. Oxenham was most free to reply to those reasons. Instead of making such an attempt, he oracularly pronounces that “such a method of serving” the Church’s “cause” as our own appears to such men as Dr. Dollinger “*the most fatal*, because the least intentional, *contribution to the progress of unbelief*.” It will be a very welcome novelty, when all this vague declamation is succeeded by at least some little attempt at argument. As yet it would appear that all the argument is to be left in exclusive possession of the “bigots;” and that “liberals” will condescend to no other line of opposition, than that of unreasoning invective.

Mr. Oxenham further, without giving one single reason for his judgment, denounces our course as “un-Catholic,” “un-German” and “un-English.” He does not, however, seem so clear whether it is also un-French, un-Spanish, un-Belgian, or un-Italian.

In Sancti Gregorii Nysseni et Origenis scripta et doctrinam nova recensio, cum Appendice de Actis Synodi V. œcumenicæ, per ALOYSIUM VINCENZI, in Romano archigymnasio Litterarum Hebræicarum Professorem: voll. 4. Morini, Romæ. 1864.

IT was about the year 307 that S. Pamphilus, soon to become a martyr, wrote, in his prison at Cæsarea of Palestine, the *Apologia pro Origene*. In this work the holy Confessor, who had spent a long life of sacred literary labour on the scene of the schools of Origen, was assisted by his fellow-prisoner Eusebius, the future Father of Church History, and the six books were dedicated to the confessors who were then suffering for Christ in the copper-mines of Arabia, at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Origen had been dead for fifty years, and the controversies that seemed to have been silenced by his death had risen again more clamorously than ever. Of the six books of S. Pamphilus, but one has reached our times; of those that he

tells us were being written by others his contemporaries, not even one ; but, since the day that he and Eusebius worked at the justification of their master until our own times, the Origen controversy has seldom slumbered long ; and perhaps the majority of students of Church History have come to the conclusion that nothing certain can ever be decided.

Professor Vincenzi, happily for the interests of patristic literature, has thought differently. His work, which has been before the public now more than a year and a half, is a complete re-opening of the whole question, and, we may add, a re-settlement of it in a sense that will rejoice the hearts of many a lover of Origen who has had an instinctive repugnance to admit him to have been a heretic. We shall best make our readers acquainted with the book, and at the same time indicate the ground travelled over by the author, by giving a short account of each of the four volumes into which it is divided.

The first part, or volume, undertakes to prove the "complete agreement of S. Gregory Nyssen and of Origen with Catholic dogma on the question of the eternity of future punishment." * It is well known that S. Gregory of Nyssa, Origen, and some other early writers, speak of a certain *παλιγγενεσία* (*regeneration*) or *ἀποκατάστασις* (*restoration*) that is to affect all human nature, whereby its *viciousness* (*κακία*) will be destroyed, and itself will be made incorruptible, and even receive *blessedness* (*μακαρία*). The bulk of this volume is taken up with an explanation of this theory and these terms. The adversaries of Origen's orthodoxy have maintained that the "restoration" here meant was nothing less than the final salvation of all men, or what is now called Universalism. It appears, however, that neither the Alexandrian doctor nor his disciple meant anything of the kind. In the first place, they both, in a multitude of passages, state as clearly as words can state, their adherence to the dogma of the eternity of punishment. In the next place, the "restoration" of human nature is proved, by a comparison of texts, a critical examination of translations, and citations from contemporary authors, to mean that "restoration" which will happen to all mankind, good and bad, at the resurrection of the dead, whereby their bodies, freed from the mortality caused by original sin, will be rendered immortal and capable of sustaining endless joy or endless torment. All the difficulty about it has arisen from a very simple cause. Origen and S. Gregory had a definite object in insisting upon it. Celsus, for instance, scoffed at the notion that a "filthy carnal body" could be the subject of an eternal existence ; and other impugners of the resurrection used similar arguments. Hence we find the theory in Tertullian, and traces of it even in S. Jerome. But when the resurrection of the body ceased to be a controverted point, there also ceased to be a necessity for stating the fact of the "regeneration," and so the statements in Origen and other fathers became fossilized and apparently unreasonable. One argument employed by Professor Vincenzi to show the reasonableness of what Origen says, is worthy of notice. It is a correction of a well-known text in that celebrated fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, in which S. Paul says so

* *Sancti Gregorii Nysseni et Origenis de aeternitate poenarum in vitâ futurâ omnimoda cum dogmate Catholico concordia.*

much about the resurrection. The Vulgate reads, as in the English version: "Behold, I tell you a mystery; we shall all indeed rise, but shall not all be changed." Professor Vincenzi ventures to say that this reading is a mistake; and he does so on no less an authority than that of the famous Vatican Codex. This most ancient Greek MS. reads thus:—"Behold, I tell you a mystery; we shall all ^o *not sleep*, and we shall *all be changed*;" that is, both good and bad; an emendation which not only expresses the very "restoration" spoken of by S. Gregory and Origen, but is much more in accord with the whole run of the Apostle's context.

The second volume is entitled "Origen vindicated from Impiety and Heresy in his other doctrines."† As the treatise, *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, or *Concerning Principles*, is that on which nearly all the accusations of heterodoxy rest, the author begins by a luminous exposition of the motives and object of this much-impugned treatise, proving that it was not an attempt to make Christianity square with the Platonic philosophy, but an essay towards a scientific statement of Christian dogma, including a recognition of what truth and beauty there was in the philosophy of Greece, and a refutation of the perverse use both of philosophy and revelation made by such heretics as the Gnostics and Marcionites. We cannot enter into a detailed examination of this Part, which extends to upwards of 500 pages; we can only state that the objections to Origen's orthodoxy, here fairly stated, and for the most part successfully met, include the whole range of the points usually controverted; on Metempsychosis, the Angels, the Nature of God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Consubstantiality of the Word, the Holy Spirit, the Human Soul, the Eternity of Matter, the Plurality of Worlds, &c. Perhaps the most interesting chapters of this Part are those in which the author considers the question of the genuineness of the two rival versions of the *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, by S. Jerome and Rufinus, and decides, after much acute criticism, that "the MS. which Rufinus translated contained the real opinions of the author,"‡ notwithstanding some conjectural emendations which Rufinus says he made; and that other MS., used by S. Jerome, "were full of heretical corruptions."§

The third volume contains "The Critical History of the question at issue between Theophilus" (the Alexandrian Patriarch), "S. Epiphanius, and S. Jerome, against Origen, and S. John Chrysostome, Theotimus, Rufinus, and the Nitrian Monks, in his favour."|| The hero of this third volume may be said to be Theophilus of Alexandria. This turbulent and intemperate

* Πάντες οὐ κοιμηθήσόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγθήσόμεθα (p. 186).

† *Origines ab Impietatis et Hæreseos notâ in ceteris institutionibus vindicatus.*

‡ Jure arbitror istos, quos Rufinus transtulit codices, sinceros continere auctoris sensus (p. 24).

§ Ceteri, quoscumque vis, a Hieronymo lecti, undequaque videantur corrupti ab hæreticis (ib.).

|| *Historia Critica Quæstionis inter Theophilum, Epiphanium et Hieronymum, Origenis adversarios, et inter Joannem Chrysostomum, Theotimum, Rufinum et Monachos Nitrienses, Origenis patronos.*

prelate * is well known for his persecution of S. John Chrysostome. He is also distinguished as the prime mover of that whirlwind of opposition and opprobrium which everything connected with Origen underwent about the year 400. What made him so bitter against Origen is not quite clear, but his surname of Ἀμφαλλάξ, or the *Turn-coat*, seems to point to expediency as the motive of his denunciations. He had a solemn synod assembled, and the books of Origen read before the Bishops, by whom, he tells us, they were unanimously condemned. The point of interest here is to know what is meant by these "books of Origen." To have read all the works of Origen, or a hundredth part of them, would have tried the endurance of any synod of mere mortals. We must therefore conclude that what was read was a judicious selection. Our author devotes a chapter to the elucidation of this point, and decides that there must have been a *Syntagma*, or summary of Origenist doctrine, ready prepared for the decision of the Synod, which *Syntagma* was afterwards sent to S. Jerome and S. Epiphanius, whereby the former of those Fathers was converted to that intense zeal against Origen with which his name is so intimately connected. And so, by the "execrable perfidy"† of Theophilus, S. Jerome was deceived, and multitudes since his time have unquestionably followed him in his deception.

The important question, whether Pope Anastasius condemned Origen or not, is also felicitously discussed in this Part. The Pope condemned, certainly not Origen, as he *expressly* says, but, to all appearance, the identical *Syntagma* compiled by the unscrupulous Theophilus.

The fourth Volume is "The Triumph of Pope Vigilius, of Origen the Adamantine, and of the Emperor Justinian in the 5th General Council."‡ If there is an intricate question in Church history, such a question is certainly that of the Three Chapters, the 5th General Council, and Pope Vigilius.

Professor Vincenzi clears the Emperor Justinian from heresy, and, what is more important, Pope Vigilius from the very undignified vacillation of which he is very commonly accused.§ He first of all carefully quotes and analyzes the various documents bearing upon the Pope and the Council, especially the *Judicatum* and the *Constitutum* (names often confounded, and which, in fact, both mean a judicial decree of some kind). The Pope had a difficult part to play. He had to please the Greeks, who wanted the Three Chapters condemned, and not to offend the Latins, who were ready to see, in that condemnation, a slight upon the Council of Chalcedon, which had left the Chapters untouched. Thence his caution in the first *Judicatum*. All sorts of misunderstandings, however, followed it, and the Pope, now at Constantinople, consented to the assembling of a general Council. He afterwards refused to attend this Council, saying he would send in his sentiments in writing. This is the first point whereon he "vacillates." But Professor Vincenzi shows he had a perfect right to stop away, and several excellent reasons for doing so; as, for instance, that the vast majority of the assembled

* Receveur, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, ii. 482.

† P. 319.

‡ *Vigilii Pontificis Romani, Origenis Adamantii, Justiniani Imperatoris Triumphus in Synodo Ecumenica V.*

§ See Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, p. 61.

prelates happened to be Greeks. The Council met and discussed. That its canons were afterwards approved by the Pope we know, both from the sixth General Council and from other sources. His own sentiments he gives, as he promised, in a second *Constitutum* or *Judicatum*, in which he reiterates and develops the condemnation which he had pronounced in the former. Certain words in this second decree are quoted to show that, during the seven years which had elapsed between it and its predecessor, the Pope had wavered, and was now retracting. This Professor Vincenzi proves to be a false inference. Finally, he proves that a certain additional decree or *Constitutum*, expressing retraction in still stronger terms, is undoubtedly a forgery. This last document, brought to light by Petrus de Marca in the seventeenth century, has been suspected by others before our author; though Hefele, in his account of the fifth General Council, seems to accept its genuineness.* Several chapters are devoted by Professor Vincenzi to critical remarks on this and several other documents. The explanation of all this troublesome and chaotic history is not far to seek, and, moreover, explains the reason of the connection of Origen's name with the extant fragments of the Acts of the Council. The object of the Pope and the Emperor in calling the Council was to have the Three Chapters condemned and done with. On the other hand, there arose a party who upheld the Three Chapters. It was to the interest of this party (and to that they devoted their energies) to represent that the Council had been called, not to condemn the Chapters, but to condemn certain heretics who had been condemned long ago; and that the Council had not said anything about the Chapters, but had only anathematized these heretics, into the list of whom they slipped the name of Origen, a name which had the double advantage of being a good party-cry and of being hitherto uncondemned. With these ends, they produced quite a little literature of false epistles, forged decretals, and unhistorical Acts (p. 208). Thus Origen's name got into bad company, and has suffered in reputation ever since; as, indeed, has Vigilius himself. It is true that more than one writer has guessed or argued that Origen cannot have been mentioned in the fifth General Council. Hefele, in his valuable "History of the Councils," has ably summed up the arguments, and decided in the same sense as Professor Vincenzi; but our author has the merit of making a complete and consistent story, from independent points of view, of the whole case, and it is satisfactory to find that what clears Pope Vigilius, clears also Origen.

We should be glad if this brief notice of an important and independent work induced students of Church history in England to read it for themselves. The *Civiltà Cattolica* called attention to it last October, and, in a criticism on Part I. confessed that the author had completely exculpated Origen from the charge of denying the eternity of punishment. In the number also that appeared on May 5th of the present year, the work was again noticed in terms of high praise. We may add that Professor Vincenzi's book bears the *imprimatur* of the Master of the Apostolic Palace and of the Roman Vicegerent.

* Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 881.

Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ. London : Macmillan.

THIS work has created a most unusual interest in the Protestant religious world ; so much so, that Catholics are somewhat eager to know what they should think of it. For our own part we substantially agree with the powerful and thoughtful article which appeared in the June number of *The Month* ; and we are not without hope that in a future number we may express at greater length the reasons of our opinion. Many statements contained in the volume will be doubtless most shocking to all our readers ; nor can we wonder if many Catholics—particularly those less acquainted with the present direction of Protestant religious thought—regard the “*Ecce Homo*” with almost unmitigated aversion. But for our own part, considering the truly deplorable and most calamitous tendencies of English Protestantism at this moment, we cannot doubt that the book will exercise a powerful influence in the less anti-Catholic direction. The writer’s tone throughout is most loyal, and (one may even say) reverential, to Him whose life he treats ; and the whole spirit of his work is profoundly earnest and serious. We observe, moreover, that *Fraser’s Magazine* assails it with great bitterness ; and we have great belief in the unerring instinct with which that magazine detects and abhors every argument or line of thought tending to what is good and holy.

The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day by various Writers. London : Longmans.

THIS volume has been sent us for notice ; and we have had much pleasure in finding, from a general inspection of its contents, that the *Union Review* is far from faithfully representing the universal tone and temper of Unionists. The *Church Review*, of which we have lately seen many numbers, is another instance in point ; and we see plainly that there are many extreme Anglicans, who are deluded indeed by the dream of corporate union, but who write and (no doubt) think in a truly Christian and temperate spirit.

As to the volume before us, we do not profess to have looked at it very carefully, as this happens to have been an unusually heavy quarter. The subjects treated are of very varying importance ; the most momentous of all being that which the Rev. M. M’Coll has chosen : “*Science and Prayer.*” We are of course in most hearty agreement with the author in his conclusions ; and he writes most unaffectedly and straightforwardly : but he seems to us more successful in stating candidly the infidel objection, than in elaborating a solid and satisfactory reply. Yet he will have done a really inappreciable service, if he lead the way to a more profound examination than his own of the theological and philosophical difficulties which his theme suggests.

We have read carefully through the ninth paper, which is autobiographical, without being able to guess ever so distantly, on what possible theory of ecclesiastical authority the candid and excellently intentioned authoress bases her refusal of submission to Rome.

The Holy Communion: its Philosophy, Theology, and Practice. By Rev. F. DALGAIRNS. Second Edition. Dublin and London: Duffy.

THIS work was reviewed by the DUBLIN at its first appearance; but we are unwilling that its second edition should be published without a commemoration of the fact.

It impresses our imagination with F. Dalgairns's unusual variety of study. We are really not aware of any author who equals him in this respect: so profound in Metaphysics; so profound in Ecclesiastical History; so profound in Ascetic Theology. It is among the most unfortunate facts of our time—considering his truly orthodox principles and most unreserved submission to the Holy See—that his prolonged illness has for so considerable a period prevented the Church in England from benefiting by his literary services.

Perhaps the most important feature of this volume is the author's argument (Part iii., c. 2) against those very exaggerated notions which have prevailed concerning the rigorism of the early Church; and his unrivalled picture of Jansenism in the same chapter and in the note at p. 430. His metaphysical power is strikingly exhibited in the second chapter of the first part, which has been greatly improved in this edition: and of his ascetical acumen, perhaps the chapter on worldliness (Part iii. c. 5) will give as good a specimen as any. It ends with these most serious words:—

"There are cases where . . . the soul is perfectly engrossed with and absorbed in the world, and where God is practically forgotten. In such cases I freely admit I do not see on what principle Holy Communion can be [ever] allowed, except as it is sometimes given to sinners of most doubtful repentance, out of sheer compassion, for fear of their being driven altogether from God" (p. 378).

If any unfavourable criticism is to be made on the book, such criticism must be founded on the very circumstance which illustrates its author's variety of study. The volume is, perhaps, somewhat too heterogeneous.

Translations of it have appeared in Italian, French, and German; so that its good effects have been widely extended over the Catholic world.

A Catholic Eirenicon. London: Hayes.

WE did not notice this pamphlet in April; because it was impossible to do so satisfactorily, without pursuing various inquiries, for which we had no leisure, into the history of English Catholicism since the Reformation. We hope before long to publish an article on this subject as a whole; and into that article we shall incorporate whatever is to be said on the particular document which forms the chief contents of this pamphlet. But our readers will thank us for at once republishing a letter on the subject from the Rev. Mr. Anderson, which appeared in the *Weekly Register* for March 31st. The italics are our own.

(To the Editor of the *Weekly Register*.)

"SIR,—The *Saturday Review* of the 24th inst., in an article headed 'The Oaths Bill and the Ultramontanes,' speaks thus:—

"It is perhaps well for Roman Catholics that Ultramontaniam had no existence in England when the last of the Roman Catholic disabilities were

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removed by the Relief Act. Archbishop Manning and his allies would have made this settlement impossible. It will be worth while to contrast the language held by the old-fashioned and hereditary Romanists in this country with the pretensions now put forward by the Ultramontanes, and by those *Romanis Romaniores*, the recent converts. *There existed a profession of faith on doctrinal and political principles which, from about the year 1680 to the present century, all Anglo-Romanists appealed to, and on the faith of which emancipation was slowly won from the fears and prejudices of England.* This is the famous declaration of "Roman Catholic principles in reference to God and the King." It has lately been reprinted, not, we suppose, without melancholy reference to the change which has come over the Ultramontane section of the English Catholics. We find that from 1680 to 1815 as many as twenty-four editions of this document have been traced. It was adopted by such famous champions of orthodoxy as Hornyhold, Berington, Walmsley, Poynter, and Waterworth; and it has been said not unjustly of it, and, as it seems by a Roman Catholic, that "by a loyal profession of these principles our fathers effected a reconciliation between themselves and their and our country in State."

"Further, the *John Bull* of the 24th inst., in its 'Literary Review' (supplement) calls the same work, as now reprinted from the edition of 1815, 'an exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine in a compendious and popular form, the authorship of which is attributed to Rev. James Croker, a Benedictine, in 1680, and has since been a text-book with Roman Catholics in this and other countries. It contains also a defence of the social and political principles of Roman Catholics.'

"Public attention having thus been called to a book which might not otherwise fall in the way of your readers, it seems time to lay before them its true character, and the degree of authority it can claim. I trust you may be able kindly to afford space for the following extracts, as showing the position assumed towards this publication by *Bishop Milner, and the Vicars Apostolic of England in his day.* Your readers will judge how far the descriptions above given of this book are accurate; how far it speaks the language of hereditary Catholics, or was appealed to by all 'Anglo-Romanists,' or has since been a text-book with Roman Catholics in this and other countries.

"Provost Husebeth's 'Life of Bishop Milner,' p. 226.

"'The chief objection to it [Kirk and Berington's "Faith of Catholics"] was, that it adopted as its text an exposition of doctrine known by the name "Roman Catholic Principles in references to God and the King," first published in the reign of Charles II. . . . He (Dr. Milner) . . . examined some of its propositions. One declares that "the merits of Christ are not applied to us otherwise than by a right faith." This, as it stands, sanctions the condemned errors, that man is justified by faith alone, and that infant baptism is of no avail. . . . Dr. Milner censured another proposition which declared it "no article of faith that the Church cannot err in matters of fact or discipline;" and the suppression of the Pope's title of Vicar of Jesus Christ,' &c., &c.

"*Ibid.*, p. 262. Dr. Milner writes (against the objection that this treatise had never been censured), that if its first appearance 'was, as alleged, at the end of the reign of Charles II., it was no wonder if it was not censured, since there was then no Bishop, Archbishop, or ecclesiastical Superior in the kingdom.' As regards its republication by the agents of the *Protestant Dissenting Committee*, in 1791, 'Dr. Milner, having been the agent of the Vicars Apostolic at that time, affirms that it was condemned by them, and even stigmatised by their supporters as the *Staffordshire Creed*.'

"*Ibid.*, p. 347. 'The Bishop first censures Mr. C. Butler for patronising and publishing, as one of the creeds of the Catholic Church, that treatise best known as "Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the King."

... 'It is a fact,' he says, 'known to the writer of this, that the Vicars Apostolic, then living, *highly disapproved* of the measure (its unauthorised publication nearly thirty years before) and of the treatise itself.'

"*Ibid.* pp. 410, 411. Dr. Milner's letter in 1819, to a General Vicar of his district, 'was written in consequence of Mr. Charles Butler having, in three several works, proclaimed the treatise known as "Roman Catholic Principles," to be "a just and fair exposition of the Roman Catholic creed, in direct opposition to the authoritative censure of that formulary by Dr. Milner."' . . . The Bishop gives 'the objection to it on the part of the Vicars Apostolic and the Scotch Bishop Hay; he instances one proposition from it which *the English Vicars Apostolic in 1792, condemned even as heretical*. He refutes Mr. Butler's assertion that Bishop Hornyhold gave a partial edition of the "Principles;" the fact being that Bishop H. merely denied three or four vulgar charges against Catholics, in terms partly resembling the corresponding articles in that formulary.' . . . Dr. Milner says at the conclusion of this letter: 'I declare, under correction of the Catholic Church and the Holy See, that the said treatise is *inaccurate and censurable in many respects*.'

"*Ibid.* pp. 468-70. Bishop Milner's 'Lenten Pastoral' for 1823, speaking of the same formulary, 'charges his clergy not to admit this into their flocks as a *just and accurate exposition of Catholic doctrine*, and reminds them of his having previously specified his grounds for censuring it as *defective, ambiguous, suspicious, and erroneous*.' . . . He informs his clergy, 'that to his judgment and censure all the Catholics of the district have submitted, except one lay gentleman of the law.'

"Dr. Milner's 'Letter to a General Vicar of his District,' of which some account is given in the fourth extract here sent to you, may be found *in extenso* at the end of his 'Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics,' appendix A. It is a valuable document, well worthy of reproduction, but too long to be here inserted, and hardly to be abridged.

"Believe me, Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"W. H. ANDERDON."

"8, York-place, Monday in Holy Week."

Correspondence between Rev. R. E. Guy, O.S.B., and Rev. Canon M'Neile, D.D. Liverpool: Rockcliff.

DR. M'NEILE, the well-known Protestant controversialist, cuts a very sorry figure in this correspondence. He begins by stating, as a matter of fact, that no Catholic is permitted to read the vernacular Bible, without a certificate of fitness; and that "such certificates are not easily gotten." Being brought to book, he admits that he knows nothing whatever of present Catholic practice, whether in England or elsewhere; and yet he will not admit that he spoke incorrectly. Firstly, then, he cites an alleged Tridentine decree; and, when it is demonstrated that no such decree was ever made by the Council, he again alters his statement, while again refusing to admit that he has been wrong. And more than once he makes the ludicrous assumption—just in order to say something—that the Church compromises her infallibility by varying her discipline.

F. Guy is as superior to him in argument as in straightforwardness; and his replies *ad hominem* are absolutely crushing. Yet we cannot enter into everything which F. Guy says. Thus, at starting, he complains (p. 8) of Dr.

M'Neile's "odious accusation." We cannot see how it is an odious accusation—though no doubt it is an unfounded statement—to allege that the Church still continues a discipline, which she undoubtedly once enforced; and which every Catholic is bound—as F. Guy himself actually does—to defend *in principle*. Then, again, we really cannot see any difference worth mentioning, between a Tridentine decree sanctioned by the Pope on one hand, and a Papal decree on the other; for in either case the decree derives its whole authority from the Vicar of Christ. Nor can we concur with the late Bishop Doyle and with F. Guy in thinking (p. 19) that, "of all things said against" Catholics, "there is not anything said more opposed to truth than that" they "are averse to the circulation of the [written] Word of God" in the vernacular. "*Lectio Sacræ Scripturæ est pro omnibus*" is a condemned proposition; Quesnel's 80th. And considering that the Church has, in various times and places, taken active steps to limit the circulation of vernacular Bibles, it does seem to us that there are many frightful accusations, brought against Catholics, which are very far more violently "opposed to truth" than is the particular accusation in question. Cardinal Wiseman, as quoted by Dr. M'Neile in p. 16, impresses us as having stated the true Catholic doctrine very fairly and temperately.

The question of vernacular-Bible-reading is far too extensive and important to be discussed in a notice. We are not without hope that, before very long, we may have an opportunity of treating it at length.

Homeward. A Tale of Redemption. By the REV. H. A. RAWES, M.A.
W. Knowles, 7, Norfolk Road, Bayswater.

F. RAWES is singularly happy in the choice of titles for his books. "*Homeward*," like "*Sursum*," tells its own story. It is the pilgrimage of the Christian soul from the shadow of the great darkness, whence she has been rescued by Redeeming love, through the desert of life and the cold waters of death, to her home in the palace of the King.

It is a true poem, partly in prose, partly in verse; the prose being, to our thinking, far more poetical and vigorous than the poetry, which scarcely equals some of the author's former productions; for instance, those exquisite lines in "*Sursum*," "*The three Songs of the Bride*." As a whole, however, "*Homeward*," we think, far excels that or any of F. Rawes' former works.

The "*Tale of Redemption*" is told with a simplicity suited to the ear of a child by a cottage fireside, and yet with a pathos and a majesty befitting the sacredness of its sublime subject, and which harmonize without break or jar with the language of sacred Scripture used by F. Rawes with the fulness and freedom of one whose heart and mind have been fashioned and moulded in that divine treasure-house. "*Homeward*," to be appreciated, should be read as a whole; and therefore, even had we space to do so, we should refrain from making extracts.

It abounds in strong contrasts of light and shade, the effect of which would be lost unless seen in succession. Witness the dreary, desolate sublimity of the Prologue, with the doomed ship drifting onward to destruc-

tion, and the glorious autumn-sunset, lighting up the great Harvest-home, which closes the Epilogue. Or, again, the lonely conflict of the Divine champion breasting the red torrent with His ransomed Bride in His arms, and the calm, majestic repose in which, seated motionless on His white war-steed, with His many diadems upon His brow, He watches the last triumph of His faithful army over the legions of hell assembled to contest her passage through the river which divides her from her Home.

The description of the desperate and final conflict between the hosts of good and evil is, perhaps, the most powerfully-written passage in the book. The squadrons of death are at last swept away by the white waves of the army of light "as the white glittering breakers in the storm sweep masses of dark tangle and drift-wood resistlessly along the beach." From "that field of doom, where there were no mourners to weep over the slain," we turn to the Bride stepping down into the dark river, with a loving smile on her face, as she sinks beneath the waters "that she may go to her love, that she may find Him in her home."

"The dark waters closed over that sweet, beautiful smile.

A circling ripple spread itself out on the surface of the deep, swiftly-flowing river.

Her long, dark veil floated away down the stream."

We see her next "white-robed and golden-girdled" in the garden of the king.

There are exquisite touches in the picture of that heavenly garden described as the *desert* transfigured and made new. We find all the wild flowers which peopled our childhood's favourite haunts on heath or glen, in tangled coppice-wood or forest-glade, blooming in their familiar loveliness amidst the mystical lilies and pomegranates. "Drooping willows grew by the water-courses, but they did not seem sorrowful there; and the aspens were bright in the light, but they did not tremble there.

"There the golden crowns of the water-lilies always shine in the brightness of the day, for there they never hide themselves beneath the water. Never do they close their alabaster cups there, for no shades of evening ever fall upon that land."

Yet it is harder for the pen of man to write of that blessed Home than of the long journey homeward. After all that can be said, we fall back upon the "*Eye hath not seen nor the ear heard*," which speaks greater things to our hearts than human language can convey. And those who have meditated most deeply upon the blessedness of heaven feel most deeply the inadequacy of their own words to describe it.

"I have wanted," says F. Rawes, "to set the blessedness of this Home before you, that you might love it greatly and desire it greatly; that its shadow might be a shelter to you in this desert, keeping off from you the burning heat; that the thought of all its indescribable joy might be to you a solace in your cares, and trials, and sorrows; still more, might be a solace and a comfort in those times of fearful anguish; those times, days, or years, perhaps, of unutterable agony; which come to some (should I say to many?) from the hands of our Father, always merciful, always compassionate, always full of love. You must bear with me if I have done it imperfectly."

very difficult in the weak words of earth even to shadow forth the blessedness of our Eternal Home. And, if anyone thinks I have done it very imperfectly, I think so still more. This book, therefore, is not what it might have been; that I know. Yet, such as it is, I hope that it may help some on their way through the desert to their Home."

Royal and Other Historical Letters, illustrative of the Reign of Henry III.

From the originals in the Public Record Office. Selected and edited by the Rev. WALTER WADDINGTON SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. II. 1236-1272. London: Longmans. 1866.

DR. SHIRLEY published his first volume of Letters in 1862, and, as we understand him, this, the second volume, is to be his last. We have never been able to ascertain the principle on which he selected the letters he published, and are therefore unable to say whether he has been successful in his undertaking. However, the second volume is disfigured by fewer blemishes than was the first, and the Canon has added a table of errata, modest in size, but which an unfriendly critic could seriously enlarge.

The prefaces to these volumes are written in an unfortunate manner: for it is very difficult to conceive how any man could, even after reading the letters of this series, penetrate so deeply into the secrets of Popes and Kings, as we are persuaded Dr. Shirley has done. "We find," says the Professor, "to our surprise, the worthless Faukes de Breauté becoming, for a moment, the pivot upon which the politics of Europe are turning" (p. xxiv.). Is this true? Was that soldier so important a personage as to occupy the serious attention, say of the Emperor of Germany? Again, was he so "worthless"? If he was so, he must have been a very considerable hypocrite, for there were persons, among his contemporaries, who did not think so ill of him.

"At a later date we have the Archbishop of Bordeaux endeavouring, by Papal letters, secretly obtained, to embarrass the English government in Gascony" (Pref., p. xxiv.). Dr. Shirley refers his readers to p. 101, and there we learn from the King's agent in Rome that Prince Edward, son of Henry III., and the heir to the throne, had confiscated to his own use all the temporalities of the Church of Bordeaux when that see was vacant. The archbishop denied the justice of what was done, and it is in his favour that the agent of Henry III. does not venture to say that such proceedings as those of the prince could be justified. As Dr. Shirley's sympathies are not with the plundered prelate, it would be interesting to know what he would say if the Prince of Wales had, during the recent vacancy, taken his canonry into his own possession, and deprived the ecclesiastical Professor of the revenues which were due to him. If, under those circumstances—improbable certainly—Dr. Shirley had applied to the courts of law for redress, nobody would have accused him of "embarrassing the English government."

The Professor says that this letter, to which he refers us, was written

between the first and the tenth day of November, 1254. If that be so, it is another fact which goes a great way to show that the Professor's sympathies are misplaced: because the King refused redress for so many years; and if that refusal can be proved, the letters could hardly have been secretly obtained. Now there was no vacancy in the see of Bordeaux from the end of January, 1227, before January, 1259.

The compilation of an index is no doubt beneath the dignity of a Professor of Ecclesiastical History; but an editor, nevertheless, is bound to look after it. We read in the Index, "Anney, bishop of." Persons not Professors of Ecclesiastical History may be forgiven if they are startled by such an announcement. Dr. Shirley has translated "*Episcopus Aniciensis*," Bishop of Anney, instead of bishop of Le Puy.

In p. xxv. of the Preface, Dr. Shirley calls our attention to the "report of the audacious chaplain who keeps two wives and claims a Papal dispensation." For this we turned back to the first volume, and after some trouble, for Dr. Shirley has spared himself the trouble of a reference—we find a letter in which the Rev. William Dens, vicar of Mundham, near Chichester, is delated to the bishop of that see as a bigamist. Mr. Dens produced letters from the Pope, apparently justifying his proceedings; but the Sussex people, among whom he lived, said that those letters were never issued by the Pope, and that they were contrary to the decrees of a general council. The bishop's correspondent, who delates the iniquities of the Rev. William Dens, is not very much scandalized by them; and it may be said that he treats them as a very common affair; for after asking the bishop what he was to do in the matter, he reminds his prelate of the necessity, above all things, (*super omnia*,) of having six wolf-dogs in the park at Aldingbourne.

The story is very strange: a bigamist clerk, the people talking of general councils, and the bishop's agent saying that six hounds are more necessary than the discipline of the Church. Here are the words:—*Duas habet uxores, ut dicitur, quarum . . . una apud Cicestriam. Qui quidem Willelmus literas detulit a summo Pontifice, ut dixit, sed in partibus Sussexie . . . sit, quod nunquam literæ illæ a conscientia domini Papæ emanaverunt, sed contra statuta concilii generalis, fuerant impetratæ.* (Vol. i. p. 277.)

The people of Sussex were very sceptical about the alleged dispensation: they regarded it as a fraud on the Pope, and contrary to the decrees of a general council. Now, what general council ever forbade a priest to have two wives at once? Did the Sussex people know of it? Can Dr. Shirley, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, produce the decrees which it made? We should like to see them ourselves, and we do not know where to look for them.

The truth of the matter seems to be this:—The Rev. William Dens was in the early part of the thirteenth century, like a great many of his brethren, a respectable and prosperous pluralist. He had two wives, as they say, *ut dicitur*; that is, he held two benefices. Those who were not his friends would not believe in the dispensation, and quoted the decrees of a general council; those of Lateran in 1179, under Alexander III., and again repeated in another council of Lateran in 1215; both, then recent, and not yet quite forgotten. The Professor who edits these letters is probably a grave and sober man, who

does not know a jest when he sees it, and, moreover, who is not quite familiar with the modes of speech current among ecclesiastics who spoke Saxon and Norman French. S. Francis of Sales might be convicted on better evidence of being not only married, but actually acknowledging his wife—*femme*; and as his conviction would be unjust, so we believe of Mr. Dens. That respectable ecclesiastic had more than one benefice, perhaps with cure of souls; but we do not think it can be said of him that he ever had even one wife, otherwise than in the sense of being a pluralist.

Cosas de España ; illustrative of Spain and the Spaniards as they are. By MRS. WM. PITT BYRNE, author of "Flemish Interiors," &c., &c. London and New York : Alexander Strahan. 1866.

"COSAS DE ESPAÑA" is a most readable book on Spain. It is not written for a purpose, or on a foregone conclusion. Almost every page bears evidence of the freshness and impulsiveness of the writer. A practised traveller, a keen observer of things, yielding to an excited curiosity concerning the habits of a newly visited people, and to a thirst for accurate knowledge, noting facts as they arose on every side, and drawing rapid inferences, was sure to find, in such a peculiar country as Spain, stuff for an interesting and lively book. Such a traveller is Mrs. Pitt Byrne, the authoress of "*Cosas de España*," and of several other popular books of travel. Eschewing the commonplace, the authoress threw herself on her own resources in her journeyings through Spain, in her dealings with the Spaniards, and in her researches for information. The travelling party, for the writer, it appears, was accompanied by some near relatives, seems to have enjoyed themselves heartily. Nothing came amiss, or any misadventure but added to the zest of the travellers. Such an enjoyable spirit, rising at times into fun, secures the readers of the "*Cosas de España*" from ill-tempered observations and cross-grained criticisms, which are temptations but too likely to beset unwary or ungenial travellers in such an out-of-the-way country as Spain.

The design of "*Cosas de España*" is to present its readers with the moral and material aspects of Spain as it is in its period of transition. Such periods are always noteworthy, not only because they present a state of things about to pass away from familiar observation, but because they are the seed-plots of future good or evil. If the observer accurately discerns the nature of the seeds which are being cast in the soil, and faithfully describes what he sees, he enables every man to form an estimate of the harvest which the next generation is to reap. To present a picture of things as they are, and to forecast the future lot of this almost unexplored country, is the purpose of this latest work on Spain. To this end the authoress, during her sojourn in the Peninsula, has collected a large store of facts, necessarily miscellaneous in their nature, but all illustrating in their degree, and by their very variety, the character of the people. Although statistics, interesting and useful, are by no means wanting, "*Cosas de España*" is not a merely statistical book. It is not only back-bone. The skeleton outline furnished by official or well-collected statistics, is filled up by the results obtained from personal observa-

tions of a varied character. Olive yards, and city factories, rough country roads, and fashionable promenades, prisons and theatres, give colour and life to the picture. This enterprising party of travellers left the high road or the rail, and went, so to speak, across country. The rough road, the field, the ditch, the village inn, gave ample materials of observation. The country bumpkin, the peasant woman, the motley crowd at the inn door, the grave and solemn stare giving way to the natural courtesy of the Spaniard, are all portrayed by pen and pencil in such a way as to show that the experience of Spanish life was well bought at the expense of the personal comfort of the spirited travellers.

But Mrs. Byrne's observations were not all drawn from one source; although she "roughed" it in the country, she indulged in the luxurious sights of cities; although she was charmed with the wooden wine-press of the sleeping vine-dresser's cot, yet she also had to endure the sanguinary spectacle of the Madrid bull-fight. Picture galleries and ruined palaces gave their silent testimony to the past greatness and fallen grandeur of Spain. Concerts and theatres exhibited modern tastes and customs, and bookshops and publishers' lists showed the extent or character of modern Spanish literature. The authoress points out, let us remark by the way, as one of the great impediments to the success of new works, the deficiency of really clever reviews and magazines in Spain.

Had we space even to attempt an analysis of this instructive and lively work, our readers would be surprised at the variety of the information to be found in these two well-furnished volumes. The happy lot of the vine-dressers of Valladolid or of the Andalusian olive-growers, finds its contrast in the prison scenes of great cities which are described with life-like exactness by Mrs. Byrne, who has made herself familiar with the prisons and the prison discipline of most countries in Europe. On this special subject she has a right to speak. We quote, as follows, one fact she mentions about the attendance at the chapel attached to the prison near Valladolid, as showing a want of zeal and absence of discipline which are not to the credit of the authorities, ecclesiastical or civil:—"The chapel is a very plain and most unattractive place; though large, it can only contain a fourth of the prisoners, so that, as there is only one mass a week, the bulk of them, who are obliged to remain in the draughty corridor outside, never hear mass at all. This corridor is their préau, or recreation room, and during the office they amuse themselves by playing at various games. Notwithstanding the very indifferent way in which moral discipline is practically carried out, there is a show of theoretical morality, and pious aphorisms are painted up on tablets all round for the edification of the prisoners." (P. 120, Vol. I.) For the description of Spanish prisons and prison discipline, which seems satisfactory, we must refer to the work itself.

We will not attempt to describe the grandeur and the variety of Spanish cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, which our traveller met with, and has so graphically pictured, from her first entrance into the Basque provinces until she took up her quarters at Córdova. What contrasts are not presented to us in these pages—relics of fallen greatness jostled out of place by the energy of modern enterprise, the apathy of contented indifference, or the pride of

Castilian blood, aroused or wounded by the presence of the foreign capitalist ! Then we are told of the overthrow of ancient customs, prejudices, and self-complacent dreams of national superiority by the advent, so eloquently described by Mrs. Byrne, of all-conquering iron. Railroads—those great levellers—are beginning to break up the Spain of romance and of indolence. Of their prospects, and of the effects which they are producing on the national character, we must refer again to “*Cosas de España*” itself. No reader can go over those pages without gaining a lively impression, not only of the ancient cities and of the wayside or mountain scenery of this beautiful country, but also of the customs and peculiar characteristics of this, in many respects, singular people. Such an impression is considerably enhanced by the spirited woodcuts, which add so much to the pleasure and value of these handsome volumes. With quick and thoughtful observation the peculiar characteristics of Spanish sights and scenery, national costumes and buildings, have been caught and reproduced with happy effect. The steep, hilly descent to Santa Cruz, with the mountains in the distance ; one diligence, with its numerous mules, rushing down the decline, and another clattering on the foreground, accompanied by drivers with cracking whips, are executed with great dash and bold and accurate perspective. Segovia and its Gothic cathedral will be sure to attract the reader’s admiration. Córdoba, also, with its Moresque tower and buttressed bridge over the Guadalquivir, is a spirited sketch. It was very thoughtful to provide for the stay-at-home readers of these volumes such pleasant glimpses of actual life in Spain. These illustrations, which are of great variety, bear the monogram, “R. H. B.,” and are, we believe, the work of Mrs. Pitt Byrne’s sister and fellow-traveller in Spain.

In parting with this agreeable and instructive book, we have one objection, or rather, perhaps, explanation to make. The impression, then, which “*Cosas de España*” conveys as a whole is that Spain is not only out at elbows, and unenterprising in industrial pursuits, but that she has also yet to be civilized ; that she is not up to the progress of the age. Now, if this means that Spain, owing to no matter what causes, has lagged behind these marvellously enterprising times ; that she has yet to learn from France or England almost the first elements of commercial prosperity ; that, from indolence of character or from national prejudice, the natural resources of wealth are undeveloped, and her credit consequently low in the markets of Europe, we grant the estimate to the full. But if the estimate implies anything more than this—if it means that in the higher branches of civilization, in moral culture, in the knowledge and practice of the divine precepts, in national virtue and consequent happiness, Spain is behind England and France,—we hold such an opinion to be open to grave objection. In as far as civilization—not meaning thereby merely the progress of the material arts—in Christendom is not Christian, it is not progressive but retrogressive ; it is a going back to the materialism of Pagan ideas, and the effect of such a return to Pagan principles of civilization would necessarily be a dissolution of Christian society. But not to make too much of this objection, or rather to show that *in reality* the writer of “*Cosas de España*,” while justly criticizing the want of industry and enterprise in Spain, gives full credit to the high

moral worth of the Spanish character, we cite, to conclude our notice of this varied work, one out of many passages recording the high and noble qualities—the virtues of self-denial, forbearance, generosity, which are the long results of Christian civilization on the Spanish mind :—

“The national code of honour,” says the authoress of “*Cosas de España*,” “has been thus detailed by one of their popular writers : ‘*Ese código hace que el que es ingrato se le llame mal nacido*. If a man be ungrateful, the people say of him he is as one whose father is unknown. If he be perjured, they mark him as infamous as with an iron brand. If he deceive a woman, they point at him the finger of scorn and cry, “villain.” If he abandon his parents in old age, they spit in his face.’ Among the country people the habits of life are simple, and their morals very pure. The virtues of the village women have formed the theme of eulogium among social writers. ‘The village women of the single-minded Catholic Spaniards have exceptional hearts ; they are mines of love—pure and holy models of wives and mothers.’ It is the wife who is always the depository of the family funds, from whatever source. The Andalusians are benevolent, hospitable, and charitable. Alms they call ‘*la bolsa de Dios*’—the purse of God. They also entertain a respect and veneration for age, which is often a charming characteristic of a simple, unsophisticated people. They address any old person (though reduced to pauperism, and become a ‘*pordiosera*,’ as beggars expressively term themselves) as ‘*tio*’ or ‘*tia*,’ answering to our ‘gaffer’ and ‘gammer,’ corrupted from grandfather and grandmother ; and if he approach their dwellings at the hour of a meal, they ask him to sit at table with them and ‘*echar la bendición*’—say grace for them. . . . The Andalusians were formerly remarkable for their piety, the traditions of which still live among them. Up to the end of the last century theatres were forbidden in Sevilla, and the number of little images and altars placed in niches, at the corners of streets and on the walls of houses, was so great that the town required no other lighting than the votive lamps that burnt before them. Very few of these survive to the present day ; but of the prospects of religion in the Peninsula, a modern Spanish author writes thus :—‘The tide has, however, now turned : at the present day there are numbers of men, and especially young men, who constitute among themselves what may be called an aristocracy of religion and virtue, giving promise that the day is not far distant when the cynicism of vice will fall under the contempt and ridicule which is already the lot of the old cynicism of infidelity.’ Of the practical virtues of honesty, sobriety, and cleanliness, we found very obvious evidences in Sevilla itself ; and in the course of walks, rides, and excursions into the rural neighbourhood, we observed them in a still greater degree. The cleanliness in some of the poorer suburban houses, and in the clusters of very humble cottages forming little villages of a very primitive character, is quite Dutch in its perfection, and gave us a favourable idea of the bright, happy Andalusian race, among whom we had come. Our readers will perceive that we have as yet only established ourselves in Sevilla, where we hope to sojourn for some time. Sevilla, with its present treasures of antiquity, and the past associations with which they are connected, deserves almost a volume to itself. It becomes an episode and a chapter in the life of him who visits it.” The authoress of “*Cosas de*

España" proposes to treat, in a future volume, an entirely different phase of the Spanish character, as exhibited in the active populations of the southern and eastern provinces. We shall look forward with interest for the appearance of the promised volume on a country so interesting and yet so little known as Spain.

Lectures on Catholic Faith and Practice, by REV. J. N. SWEENEY, O.S.B.
London: Richardson.

BY an unfortunate accident these volumes did not come to hand, till it was too late in the quarter to give them that careful notice which they deserve; and we think it better, therefore, rather to delay our notice, than to fail in giving due attention to so important a work. Nothing can be more admirable than F. Sweeney's plan; and wherever we have happened to dip, we have found most orthodox principles enforced with great vigour and freshness of argument and illustration. We have been led by the circumstances of the moment to look carefully at the author's reply to Protestant objections against Marian worship (vol. iii., pp. 147-184); and we earnestly recommend it to our readers, as one of the most successful arguments on the matter which we have ever seen. In October we will give a full view of the entire work.

Journal of Eugénie de Guérin. Edited by G. S. Trebutien. Simpkin Marshall, and Co. London: 1865.

WE have read this journal with deep interest, and yet with a feeling of something like remorse, as if we were looking at a letter not intended for our eyes, or listening to a confidential conversation: in so great a degree does its charm depend on its unconsciousness, and upon the perfect conviction of the writer, that to no eye but his for whom she writes would this record of her deepest and most hidden feelings ever be disclosed.

"When everybody is busy (she says), and I am not wanted, I go into retreat, and come here at all hours to write, read, and pray. I note down here, too, what goes on, either in my mind or in the house; and in this way we shall be able to find again, day by day, the whole past. For me, what passes is of little worth, and I should not write it down, but that I say, 'Maurice will be very glad to see what we were doing while he was away, and to re-enter thus into the family life;' and so I wrote it for thee."

The journal of Eugénie de Guérin embraces, with occasional interruptions, a period of six years, from 1834 to 1840. It is simply the record of a woman's daily life in a remote château in Languedoc, written for a brother far away in the midst of the great intoxicating world of Paris, partly, it would seem, to give utterance to the affections of a heart which flowed forth in love upon all God's creatures, and rested with almost idolatrous fondness upon him; partly to give him pleasure; and, most of all, as a means of *speaking a word to him for God*, by keeping the thought of home alive in *his heart*; for Maurice de Guérin, whose childhood had been so holy and so

pure that venerable prelates of the Church had looked forward to the day when he should be called to minister at her altars, had fallen under the fatal influence of the unhappy Lamennais, and followed that wandering star into the darkness of scepticism. The brightness of his genius, and the grace and beauty of his person, which might have beseeemed a troubadour of the chivalrous days of his own sunny Languedoc, made him the idol of the infidel and intellectual society of Paris. Yet the companion of Victor Hugo and Madame Sand was still bound to the holy traditions of his childhood by the old links of home memories, kept bright and strong by the loving and untiring hand of his sister; and by the might of her patience and her prayers she drew the wanderer home at last to die a Christian death—"a death," as she says, "upon a crucifix."

We have no space for the quotations, which we would fain make, from a book so full of beautiful and holy thoughts. Eugénie de Guérin, like her brother, was a poet; the light of poetry falls upon the commonest and humblest features of her every-day life, and homely beyond the wont of women of her degree, was the life of this gifted child of an ancient but impoverished house, who leaves her pen ever and anon, now to wash her gown in the stream, now to assist in preparing the family meal. Her intense love of home and kindred, and her keen enjoyment of country life, are such as ordinarily belong rather to a German or an English woman than to a Frenchwoman. Hence, perhaps, the popularity which her journal has obtained amongst English Protestants, who, finding there so much of the natural goodness and beauty in which they can fully sympathize, have been willing to tolerate in her that measure of the supernatural which must needs be expected in a Catholic.

Some, we hear, have placed her on a level with S. Teresa; while others have contrasted her favourably with the saintly Curé of Ars. All this Protestant sympathy, together with one or two questionable passages in the journal, such as an expression of enthusiastic admiration for that unhappy child Lady Jane Grey, may possibly raise a suspicion that the spirit of Eugénie de Guérin's journal is not purely Catholic: we should say rather, that it is not *distinctively* Catholic, certainly not *saintly*. We have the picture of a pure and beautiful spirit, in which baptismal grace had been shielded from exterior temptations, and from any severe internal trial, save that to which in a measure it yielded—the temptation to suffer an innocent and most unselfish earthly affection to darken her heart with its shadow, and to intercept the shining of the full light of God's countenance upon it. S. Teresa, whose love for her brother so strongly attracted Eugénie's heart, could never have said, "I want Maurice and God." We are not presuming to censure or to criticise; it would be a hard heart that could do either: we would simply warn Catholic readers not to expect what they will not find; and assure Protestants, who compare Eugénie de Guérin with Jean Baptiste Vianney, that they speak of what they do not understand. He who makes even the imperfections of His faithful children work out their eternal good, used what was excessive in the sister's love to win back the brother's soul, and to purify her own, as in a fiery crucible, for Himself.

There are some few trifling blunders in the English translation, which

betray an uncatholic hand ; such as the repeated mention of *parsonages* at Languedoc : but it has the merit of simplicity and spirit ; the verses especially flow with the ease and grace of original poetry.

Mass of the Holy Child Jesus, for Unison Singing, with Organ Accompaniment, composed for the Church of the Oratory, and dedicated to the Very Rev. Father Dalguirns, by WILHELM SCHULTHES, op. 40. London : Lambert & Co.

WE have much pleasure in directing attention to the above work of Herr Schulthes. Our supply of Mass music of a simple and popular character is by no means too abundant, and we are ready to welcome the present addition to our stores, especially as it comes recommended by its connection with the Oratory of St. Philip Neri at Brompton. We understand that the present Mass, which was composed by the desire of the late Rev. F. Gloag, is already in use by the pupils of the Training School at Hammer-smith and elsewhere, and that it is found both easy and effective. We should think it, therefore, well worthy the attention of communities and schools especially where, as in convents, music for treble voices is required. We may venture to add that in small choirs it would not be amiss if simple devotional masses like the one before us were oftener substituted for those difficult compositions which are frequently attempted without the means for their proper execution.

Melodies for the Hymns of F. Faber, F. Caswall, S. Alphonsus, &c. 18mo. Accompaniments for the same, royal 8vo. London : Lambert & Co.

THERE are now, it is presumed, few among us who do not sympathise with the movement in favour of popular hymn-singing set on foot by the Oratorian Fathers some ten years ago, and of which experience has so unmistakeably shown the advantage, especially to the middle and lower classes of our Catholic population. For the setting on foot of the movement the chief materials, as is well known, were the Hymns of the late lamented F. Faber. These were followed, or rather accompanied, by the beautiful translations and other compositions of F. Caswall ; and more recently our store has been still further enriched by the simple and charming verses of S. Alphonsus, so well translated by the Fathers of his Order. All these, with other publications having a similar object, may now be heard in our schools and popular services throughout the length and breadth of the land, and are destined, we doubt not, to be the delight and edification of young and old for years to come. The highest praise we can give to the little work before us is to say that it is a worthy companion to the poetry to which it is allied. Hymns without music have their use, and an important one, as Father Faber has shown in the Preface to his Hymns ; but the addition of melody, and again of harmony, immensely enhances their value for all public, social, or educational purposes. In these aspects we can hardly imagine a more useful Manual than the present ; and as a book for the present day it seems to us to supply the difficult, though

not impossible combination,—of simplicity and attractiveness with musical taste and skill. This, indeed, might have been expected from the names of the eminent Catholic composers we meet with in glancing over its pages. Herr Schulthes, of the Oratory, is, as is meet, a frequent contributor, and his melodies for some beautiful hymns of F. Faber never before set to music will be much esteemed.

Substance of the Speech made by Earl Grey in the House of Lords, on the 18th March, 1866, on the State of Ireland. London: Murray.

Contributions to an Inquiry into the State of Ireland, by the Right Hon. Lord DUFFERIN, K.P. London: John Murray.

LORD GREY'S speech on the state of Ireland is characterised by the great natural acuteness and clear sincerity which belong to his mind and character; and no English statesman has denounced the folly of governing Ireland on the assumption that the Roman Catholic religion is false, and must therefore be systematically discouraged, in more indignant or in wiser language. His grand remedy is a redivision of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland among the Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian communions, in proportion to their respective numbers. We do not dispute the justice and policy of such a proceeding; but we utterly disbelieve that it would have the particular effect which Lord Grey contemplates. It would not touch the great discontent which prevails in Ireland. That discontent is almost altogether caused by the bad relations which as a rule prevail between the Irish tenantry and their landlords. Until the contest between these two classes is settled by legislation, or comes to some other end, there can be no peace in the country. During the recent Fenian proceedings the Roman Catholic clergy did their utmost to maintain the Government and to prevent the spread of the conspiracy—and probably with more effect than if they had been in the receipt of a Regium Donum at the time. To offer the Catholic clergy a state provision may be just and politic; but there is hardly a priest in Ireland who would not declare that if the object of statesmen is the pacification and prosperity of the country, that can only be secured by limiting the powers of the landlord, and securing the fruits of his industry to the tenant.

We confess to a grievous sense of disappointment in regarding the contents of Lord Dufferin's volume. Lord Dufferin is one of those rare persons among the Irish oligarchy—we must unfortunately prefer the word to aristocracy—who might serve his class by endeavouring to harmonize their interests with that of the country, and whose character has a fascination, sure, if it were only well enough known, to attract a wide-spread popular loyalty in Ireland. Ireland is greatly capable of being served by and of serving such a man. The easy and brilliant genius, the graceful wit, the fine dexterity of style of the Sheridans, come to him with his mother's blood: it may be feared too, somewhat of the crude and shallow character which belonged to the politics of the greatest of the name. There is a passage in one of Mr. Sheridan's speeches, in 1809, on Catholic Emancipation, of whose peculiar falsetto character certain sentences in Lord Dufferin's speech of last March remind us. "What is the use of emancipating the Catholics?"

asked Mr. Sheridan. "It is like giving a laced hat to a man who wants shoes to his feet." "There is no use," exclaims Lord Dufferin, "in legislating for Ireland, in consequence of Fenianism. The present Fenian movement in Ireland is entirely disconnected from any of those questions which can ever become the subject of parliamentary interference." But why is Fenianism formidable, and why does it endure? Because of the wide-spread discontent which the neglect and the inertness of Parliament in regard to those questions generates. Because the Irish people in general despair of any redress of any wrong, however gross, by process of Parliament, unless they can first produce a panic on the part of Parliament. It is a fallacy, therefore, to urge that the Fenians are not really solicitous for Tenant Right, and do not press for the disendowment of the Established Church, or for Freedom of Education. What the Fenians substantially say to the Irish people is: "It is no use to ask Parliament for these concessions. Parliament will never do justice to you, unless under pressure of force. But let us abolish Government by Parliament, and then all the rest will follow." If Parliament, however, would only do its duty in regard to those great grievances, of which every dispassionate person admits that the Irish people have cause to complain, this the one great argument for disaffection would cease to have any more force with the Irish than it would have with the English or the Scotch people. If the English or Scotch people were treated as the Irish have been and are; if the law compelled them to endure a Catholic Church Establishment, and the whole population was reduced to the Irish system of tenancy at will, administered by Irish landlords, Parliament might have to reckon nearer home with something worse than Irish Fenianism.

This fundamental fallacy seems to us to vitiate all Lord Dufferin's argument, for it involves the conclusion that the case of Ireland is one to which legislation can do no good, or next to none; and Parliament is only too willing to be allowed to abstain from legislating. We deeply deplore the fact that such a man as Lord Dufferin, instead of applying his excellent intellectual powers and great influence with his Party to the solution of the problems of government which press for settlement in his country, should commit himself to what would amount to an advocacy of the cold-blooded and stupid system of managing Ireland, which prevailed during Lord Palmerston's administration; but from which his successors seemed to have broken away. It is bare justice to say that the Tenant Right Bill introduced by Mr. Fortescue this session is the largest and fairest measure of the kind introduced by any Government; and, if it should fall through, as is but too probable now, the fall of Lord Russell's ministry will be a grave calamity to the people of Ireland.

WE have received too late for notice in this number a copy of Mr. Earle's excellent Manual of the History of the Popes, just published by Messrs. Richardson, which seems to us to answer very admirably to a want which many have felt in English Catholic literature; and we are obliged reluctantly to *postpone*, among others, a notice of Dr. McCorry's pamphlet on the Scotch Sabbath.

THE

DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1866.

ART. I.—S. PIUS V., THE FATHER OF CHRISTENDOM.

Histoire de S. Pie V., Pape de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs : Par le Comte de Falloux. Liège, J. G. LARDINOIS. 1852.

The Pope and the Turk (Lecture the Third of Dr. Newman's Lectures on the History of the Turks). DUFFY. 1854.

"THE blessed germ of faith," writes M. de Falloux in 1852, "was discovered by a handful of men, some forty years ago, beneath the ruins of the revolution. The priests had been driven forth, and the lips of laymen began to speak the language of the Church. This mission was first shared by three men—Chateaubriand, de Bonald, and de Maistre."

The Count de Falloux himself has nobly followed in their steps, and in the work before us has vindicated the fame, by simply relating the history, of that great and much calumniated pontiff, S. Pius V.

In this picture, drawn by a statesman of the nineteenth century, we see in a strong and clear light the truth of those words in our catechism which teach us that "the word Pope signifies father." We need not, indeed, go so far to seek an example of this truth; for the heart of every Catholic amongst us swells within him at the name of Pius IX. No one who has looked upon his living face, or even upon its commonest representations, but recognizes in its mingled sweetness, sanctity, and strength the representative of Him "from whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named," and feels a sense of joy, and rest, and security in the right to call him Father.

But alongside of this our living Father, and of the first Father of our Saxon race, the great S. Gregory, the founder of our English Church, as Pius IX. is its restorer, we may well place one who loved our land no less than they, the last canonized Pope, S. Pius V.; for nowhere in the page of history is this fatherly character more visibly traced, than on the calm steadfast brow which bears the brunt of Protestant and infidel

hostility, as that of the stern inquisitor, the furious bigot, the fomentor at once of persecution and rebellion, who roused the gentle spirit of Elizabeth Tudor to the reluctant retaliation of the gibbet and the axe.

The childhood of Pius V., like that of so many other chosen instruments of Divine Providence, was cradled in adversity. The family of Ghislieri, one of the most ancient of Bologna, had been cast out of its native city, almost in a state of beggary, by the civil wars which desolated Lombardy in the fifteenth century.

The parents of the Saint, both of them devout and fervent Christians, lived in poverty and obscurity in the little town of Bosco, near Alessandria. His childhood was marked by the early development of a fervent spirit of piety towards God, and a most tender devotion to His Blessed Mother. He showed such aptitude and diligence in his studies, that, by the time he had reached the age of twelve years, his parents began to seek for some employment for him, by which he might repair their fallen fortunes. But another call had already sounded in his ear, and his daily prayer was for strength and opportunity to follow it. At the very moment when he was most urgently pressed to enter some worldly calling, two religious of the Order of S. Dominic happened to pass through Bosco. The child timidly accosted them, and in the premature wisdom of his questions and replies, the experienced religious discerned the tokens of a vocation hitherto disclosed to no mortal ear. They at once proposed to him to accompany them to their convent, and to study under their direction, promising, should he prove himself worthy, to receive him in due time into the Order. The boy wondering in himself at this unlooked for fulfilment of his secret heart's desire, ran to ask the blessing of his father and mother, and then, taking hold of the border of one of the Dominican's cloaks, followed them with a light step and a lighter heart from the home, which, as his after life proved, he loved so well, to the convent of Voghere at seven leagues distance from Bosco.

He soon gained the affection of all his teachers, and carried with him the approbation and hearty recommendation of the Prior when he left the convent of Voghere to begin his noviciate in that of Vigevane. There he fulfilled to the utmost the expectation of his superiors, by devoting himself with increasing fervour to every religious exercise, and growing daily in the practice of prayer, and mortification. He made his religious profession in the year 1519. It was at that time the practice of the Order for the religious on making their vows to exchange *their family name for that of their birthplace.* When the

Provincial asked the young novice what he was to be called, Ghislieri replied : " Michele del Bosco." " No one knows that place," replied the Provincial, " you must be called henceforth *B. Michele Alessandrino* as you came from the neighbourhood of Alessandria."

So faithful was the young religious in the fulfilment of his sacred engagements, that the fathers who had been his teachers began to look upon him as their model. He now gave all the powers of his intellect to the study of philosophy, never failing to unite study with prayer, which he was accustomed to say, is the first and readiest means of acquiring science, inasmuch as the more closely the mind is united to God, the more capable does it become of every kind of illumination. He had hardly finished his course of philosophy when he was judged capable of teaching what he had so diligently learned. At the end of another year he was made Professor of Theology. " He treated divinely," says one of his biographers, " of that divine science, and entwined the thorns of Calvary amidst those of scholasticism."

Students crowded from all parts to receive the lessons of a teacher who had hardly completed his twentieth year. At the end of his twenty-fourth, he was sent to Genoa to receive the priesthood. The Father Provincial was obliged to use his authority to overcome the terror with which his humility shrank from that sacred office. After a long retreat B. Michele received the priestly character, and with it that interior disposition which rendered him throughout his after life its type and model.

By the command of his superior he made a short visit to Bosco, to console his pious parents, whom he had not seen since he had left them twelve years before to enter religion. But he found nothing but desolation and ruin in the home of his childhood, which had been laid waste by the troops of Francis I. on their way to Pavia. The church in which he had prayed at his mother's side, and where he had longed to celebrate the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, was a heap of ruins, and he had to seek his parents at Sesadia, a place far distant from his native village.

On his return to the convent, B. Michele was sent to the provincial chapter at Parma in 1543, where he refuted in thirty propositions the rising Lutheran heresy. Fearing lest the atmosphere of controversy should dry up the springs of the interior life, he steadily refused to avail himself of any of the dispensations usually granted to professors, assisted punctually at every community exercise, practised the most rigorous mortifications and sought the most humiliating offices, such as

sweeping the corridors and serving in the kitchen; he moreover made it a rule to read daily some passage in the life of S. Dominic, or of some other Saint of the Order, that so he might form and perfect himself in the spirit of his holy institute.

His perfection in all the virtues of the religious life led to his election to be Prior successively of the convents of Vigevane, Soncino, and Alba, but he was not suffered to devote himself to the exclusive care of his own soul, or that of his subjects. Many a long and toilsome journey was imposed upon him by the calls which continually obliged him to labour for the world without, by preaching and hearing confessions, sometimes at a great distance from the convent. In these long and solitary journeys, which he invariably made on foot with his bag on his shoulders, he nourished that spirit of silence which is the mother of holy thoughts and the nurse of spiritual strength. Who shall say how much the calm inflexibility, which was one day to enable Michele Ghislieri to fight single-handed against the enemies of God, was fostered, under divine grace, by his long communing with Him under the free sky and over the wide breezy plains of Lombardy, in a silence, broken only by the low murmured recitation of the rosary with some humble and devout wayfarer, who might chance to cross his path.

Nor were occasions wanted in those evil times for the exercise even of the natural courage which underlay the supernatural heroism of the victor of Lepanto. A band of three hundred stragglers from the French army threatened to lay their sacrilegious hands upon a convent of Dominicanesses at Alba when F. Michele met them on the threshold, and by the majesty of his presence and the might of the Word of God on his lips, drove them back in shame and confusion from their impious enterprise.

But other evils than those of military licence then threatened the fair plains of Lombardy. Under cover of the active commercial relations of that country with every part of Europe, the heresies of Geneva and Germany were preparing to cross the Alps, to make their way through the Milanese to the hitherto unperturbed regions of the South. Prompt measures of defence became necessary, and the Cardinals of the Holy Office at Rome, relying upon the character of F. Alessandrino for calmness, firmness, and even-handed equity, sent him to Como in the quality of Inquisitor, an office in which perhaps *more than in any other in the Church a combination of all those gifts was needed.* Next after, or perhaps before, the *hatred borne by Protestants and liberals to the name of Pope,*

ranks the odium which cleaves to that of Inquisitor; and yet, shall we say it? that charge was accepted, nay welcomed, by him who had shrunk in his humility from every other; welcomed as a call to stand between the dead and the living, perchance, by his own toil and jeopardy, the plague might be stayed from spreading amongst the people of God.

Pius V. (says M. de Falloux) was not only a great Pope—he was an Inquisitor. Now amongst those who give him the tribute of their admiration for the noble exercise of his pontifical power, there are not a few who will accuse him of intolerance and fanaticism in his use of the functions of the Holy Office. This is a point in his history, as in that of the Church, for which it is impossible to render a reason in the terms, and taking the point of view, of our present century. Those who cannot look beyond it had better close the book at this page; but to those readers who will be pleased to travel with us three centuries back, we would address a few observations.

Toleration was a thing unknown in the ages of faith, and the idea which that new word represents, could only have found a place among the virtues in a century of doubt. When the notions of truth and falsehood have become confused, and the most opposite opinions find almost equal upholders in a nation, then assuredly toleration becomes a part of Christian prudence. It then becomes right and praiseworthy to use no other means of proselytism than that afforded by the excellence of the doctrine which we would uphold.

But it was not thus in former days. In our time, [such] intolerance [as then existed] would be senseless and fruitless; in the times of which we write, it had a legitimate end—an end, moreover, which it commonly attained.

Formerly there was every probability in the punishment of a hardened heretic that his heresy would perish with him, and that his fellow citizens would be left in the possession of peace and truth. The history of many nations is a proof of this assertion. Such punishments in our day would be acts of inexcusable severity, because they would be of no benefit to society. Who in our days could hope to extinguish an error by the death of its professor? Who does not see that in our days this would be the vengeance of the strongest and not the precaution of the wisest? Who does not see also that the degree of culpability is no longer the same? In our days, the man who errs is, in a simply human point of view, he who is unable in the midst of many apparent truths, to grasp that which alone is true. In former days, every deviation from the truth was marked, even socially, as an error and a crime. The first step over the line of unity involved a manifest rebellion. Formerly the whole fabric of society was religious, and founded on religion. It believed that by snatching a man from heresy, it delivered him from eternal punishment; and all the zeal of charity was employed to fill up the abyss into which nations and races were in danger of falling headlong. If blood was shed, it was with the most vigilant solicitude for the soul of the criminal, which the Church endeavoured to the end to enlighten and reclaim. In our days, society is [in most parts of Europe] placed upon quite another basis; it reserves to itself now only the direction and protection of physical

and material life ; its toleration would be better named indifference. But in its own domain it acts precisely upon the same principle as society of old ; the present justifies the past. For instance, the governments of our day still recognize the duty of preserving their subjects from physical evils, such as infectious diseases ; and the admission of the principle that the community is not at liberty voluntarily to incur certain dangers, is held to be a sufficient justification of the use of the severest measures of precaution. The application of these measures is different, but the principle is the same. If hereafter this system should be abandoned and future legislators should inscribe on their code, "All pestilences are to be admitted to circulate freely among the people," every one would then be free to live or die at his own peril ; but who would have a right to find fault with those who in past times had carried out those measures of severity which the community itself had enacted for the general good ?

To return to F. Alessandrino. He set off at once upon the visitation of the district committed to him, travelling as usual on foot, crossing alone and at night the lonely paths over plains and mountains which led from one village to another. He never trusted to an agent any work which he could do himself, and fearlessly entered the houses of the heretics at his own personal risk, rather than encourage the base trade of the informer. One of the most mischievous works of the sectaries had been sent to a merchant of the party at Como for distribution. Ghislieri seized the books. The see of Como was vacant, and the merchant, who had friends in the Chapter, appealed to the Vicar-Capitular for redress ; his appeal was successful, and the Inquisitor, to prove that he was invested with no mere empty show of authority, at once excommunicated all the parties concerned. He was assailed by the mob with stones, and threatened by one of the proud nobles of the neighbourhood, who swore that he would cast him into a well. "That will be," answered the friar calmly, "as God wills."

The governor of Milan summoned him to answer for his conduct, and threatened him with imprisonment. The servant of God would have desired no better requital for his labours, but he had to maintain the dignity of the office entrusted to him ; and before the governor had found means to put his menace into execution, F. Alessandrino was far on his solitary way to Rome, to give an account of himself to the cardinals of the Holy Office. Weary and travel-stained, he at last knocked at the door of the convent of S. Sabina, the chief house of his order, which had been given to S. Dominic, together with a portion of the Aventine palace, by *Honorius III.*, when he confirmed his rule in 1216. There the

first fathers of the order had assumed the habit, and amongst its guests in times past had been numbered S. Francis of Assisi and S. Catherine of Sienna. The cell occupied by F. Alessandrino during his visit to Rome, like that of the holy founder which adjoins it, now forms a sanctuary, where he receives the devout homage of the faithful. Little did the Prior of S. Sabina dream of these coming glories, when the wayworn traveller stood before him at nightfall, to ask hospitality of the brethren of his order! "What brings you to Rome, brother?" was his sarcastic reply; "is it perchance to ask their Eminences the Cardinals to elect you Pope?" "I have come to Rome," quietly answered Ghislieri, "on the business of the Church. When that is finished, I shall leave it again. Meanwhile, I crave of your reverence a brief hospitality and some hay for this mule."

Ghislieri entered Rome in 1550.

Just a century before, on the fall of Constantinople, the arts and sciences had fled before the sword of Mahomet to seek protection from the Vicar of Christ. A passion for classical literature and Grecian art took possession of the fervid Italian spirit, which acted unfavourably even upon the ecclesiastical order. The *renaissance*, as it is called—the new birth of classical art and learning—fascinated the gaze of Catholics, when the discordant challenge of Luther broke upon their ear. It roused Leo X. to the assertion of his sublime prerogatives. "Arise, O Lord," are the words of the Bull then published, "judge thine own cause. Arise, Peter, and undertake the cause of the holy Roman Church, the mother of all Churches, which was entrusted to thee by God, and which by His command thou hast consecrated with thine own blood." As he was preparing to act in accordance with this pontifical language, he was carried off by a sudden death.

Adrian VI., his successor, the beloved and revered preceptor of the Emperor Charles V., brought to the Chair of S. Peter the heart of a true bishop, and the character and training of a plain straightforward German. When he was applied to for payment of a pension assigned by his predecessor to the discoverer of the famous Laocoön, he replied sadly, "These are idols. I know gods whom I love far better, my brothers in Jesus Christ, the beggars." Adrian lived but a year and a half after his election to carry on the reforms which he meditated, but his spirit lived still in his successors. Paul III. assembled the great Council of Trent, which was to accomplish the gigantic work of practical reformation, the need of which had formed the pretext for the attacks of the innovators on the Church, and to promulgate at the same time those

doctrinal decrees which confronted their falsehoods by the calm utterances of her infallible truth.

Paul III. died in 1549, and had just been replaced by Julius III., when F. Michele presented himself before the Cardinals of the Holy Office. Amongst them was one better skilled in physiognomy than the Prior of S. Sabina.

Cardinal Caraffa, the founder of the Theatins, had received the purple at the same time with the English martyr, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Pole. Age had neither bent the form nor weakened the intellectual powers of the austere and venerable old man, whose whole life and strength had been devoted to the work of religious restoration. His keen and practised eye at once recognized a kindred spirit in the obscure Dominican, who was henceforth to be associated with him in the enterprise, and hereafter to succeed him on S. Peter's chair.

F. Michele was sent back with the full confidence and approbation of his superiors to his difficult and perilous charge. He was advised on one occasion, when he had to pass through the heretical country of the Grisons, to travel in a secular disguise. "I accepted death," said he, "with my commission. I can never die in a holier cause." So in the Dominican habit, in the full light of day, he fearlessly and safely pursued his way. But Caraffa was watching his opportunity to fix his new colleague in Rome, and, on the first vacancy, F. Michele was appointed Commissary General of the Holy Office, and lodged by the Cardinal in his own palace. Day by day did he visit the prisons, seeking by every means of argument and persuasion to win the accused from their errors to the obedience of Christ. His charitable endeavours were not unfrequently rewarded with success, and all the revenues of his office, which his austere and mortified life left wholly at his disposal for such purposes, were devoted to the support and relief of those whose necessities would otherwise have exposed them to the danger of a relapse.

In 1555, at the age of 80, Cardinal Caraffa ascended the Papal Chair under the name of Paul IV. The aim of his life had been the restoration of the Church's discipline, and the vindication of her doctrine; and beside this holy purpose lurked a passionate desire for the deliverance of Italy from the Spanish yoke. "Italy," he was wont to say, "is an instrument of four strings—Rome, Naples, Milan, and Venice, which were framed to be in unison;" adding, "if in this *sacred cause* I should be neither helped nor heeded, posterity *shall know* that there was at least one aged Italian who, when

at the very gates of the grave, instead of resting and preparing his soul for death, conceived a design for the restoration of his religion and his country to their ancient glory."

To aid him in this work, the new Pontiff invested F. Michele with additional powers and responsibilities, by conferring upon him the united bishoprics of Nepi and Sutri, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. His diocese soon felt the effects of the vigilant pastor's care; every place under his jurisdiction was visited—even the remotest hamlets, which had never seen a bishop's face before. But the Dominican could not forget the convent cell, which was never more to be his home, and on his knees besought the Holy Father to release him from his charge. To cut off all hope of deliverance, Paul at last made answer: "I will bind you with so strong a chain, that even after my death you shall think no more of the cloister." Ghislieri learned but too soon the meaning of these words, when he was created Cardinal in 1557.

The members of the Sacred College, with one consent, returned their thanks to the Holy Father for an appointment for which the new cardinal could not find it in his heart to express a gratitude which he did not feel. He showed his unchanging love for his order by retaining the name of Alessandrino instead of resuming, as is usual, that of his family, and by choosing for his title the Dominican church of S. Sabina, which was then admitted by the Pope to rank among the titular churches of Rome. The Holy Father soon showed that the cardinalate was, in his person, to prove no empty dignity by investing him with the office of Supreme Inquisitor, with powers which had been hitherto shared by the four Cardinals of the Holy Office.

Cardinal Alessandrino laid aside none of the habits of his former life on the assumption of his high dignities. He still wore the Dominican habit, observed the fasts and other austerities of the rule, and lived in all the simplicity of the cloister. The unworldliness which he preached himself he desired to impress upon all belonging to him, as appears from the following letter to his niece, who had written to ask some favour:—

My dear Niece,—I have learnt with joy from your letter of the 26th February, the happy union which subsists between you and your husband, who is a very honest man, and that you live together in the fear and love of God like true Christians. Beware of taking credit to yourself that you are the niece of a cardinal. The rank which I hold in the Church ought to be to you a subject of thanksgiving to God, and a new motive for advancing in virtue. *Ask for me the grace to lead a life corresponding in sanctity with*

the position to which I have been raised by the Vicar of Jesus Christ. You ought not to wish that God should raise me higher in this world. You see only the splendour of my new dignity, and know not the cares, the anxieties, and the sorrows which it brings upon me, and from which in the cloister I was happily free. . . . As touching the affair of your brother-in-law, know, my dear niece, that benefices are not given to flesh and blood, but to virtue and merit. God has hitherto given me grace to keep myself free from these infamous and criminal intrigues; and think not that in my old age I shall consent to lay such a burden on my conscience.

Rome, 26th March, 1558.

His household was limited to the smallest number consistent with the dignity of his position. He took care to instruct all its members himself in their duties, having warned them before they entered his service that they were to enter a convent and not a palace. There was no limit to his kindness to those who discharged their duty faithfully. He never disturbed them at their meals or during the time of their repose. Rather than do so, he would open the door of his antechamber himself. The most spacious hall in his palace was turned into an infirmary for the sick. Nor was his charity confined to those of his household; he received all who came to him, with or without a reason, with the same gracious and unwearied courtesy, and sent them away with the conviction that God had raised him to so high a dignity only to afford him a larger field in which to serve, instruct, and edify his brethren.

The Pope continued to use his counsels for the government of the Church, but unfortunately he had other helpers and counsellors in his darling scheme for the liberation of Italy. His nephews keenly participated his feelings on this subject, and unhappily he looked for no other qualifications on their part to entrust the principal administration of temporal affairs to hands certain to wield it against the ascendancy of Spain. His eyes were soon opened by the indignant murmurs provoked by their misgovernment. One day when he uttered his habitual exclamation, "Reformation, reformation!" the Cardinal whom he addressed replied: "Yes, most Holy Father, reformation; but we must begin with ourselves." The spirit of Paul IV. was one which knew not weakness, nor brooked delay; with an inflexible will, but a broken heart, he rested not till he had redressed the evils committed under his name. He imprisoned the most guilty members of his family, repealed the taxes imposed by his nephews, and displaced every official who had been appointed by them.

He summoned an extraordinary Consistory, in which he

himself pronounced the decree of banishment against his kinsmen, and unfolded without disguise the history of their misdeeds, whilst shame and indignation strove for the mastery in his broken voice and venerable countenance.

The aged Pontiff did not long survive this last heroic effort. In a parting interview with Cardinal Alessandrino, he commended to him the defence of the faith which he was so gloriously to maintain, and went to receive his reward from the hand of that Good Master who discerns the purity of His servants' intention under the dross which, through their own imperfections or the sins of others, conceals it from the eyes of men.

Not so the fierce and fickle populace of Rome. The Pontiff's statue was defaced and dragged in the mire, and his nephews perished in prison or on the scaffold.

Paul IV. died in August, 1559. John Angelo de Medici was elected to succeed him in the following December, and took the name of Pius IV. His pontificate was signalized by the completion of the labours of the great Council of Trent, the last general Council of the Church, and illustrated by the sanctity of his nephew, S. Charles Borromeo, one of the principal instruments, under God, of carrying out its decrees for the restoration of discipline and the promotion of ecclesiastical perfection.

It was expected by many that the accession of the new Pope would be followed by the disgrace of Cardinal Alessandrino; but, though the temporal policy of Pius IV. was entirely opposed to that of his predecessor, he was no less devoted than he to the work of ecclesiastical restoration; and he soon showed his confidence in the trusted associate of Paul IV., by confirming him in his office of Supreme Inquisitor, and appointing him to the important see of Mondovi in Piedmont.

Ghislieri set forth at once to undertake the charge of his new flock, visiting the baths of Lucca on his way, to obtain relief from a painful disease under which he had long been labouring. On his arrival at Mondovi, his first care was the restoration of the offices of the cathedral church to their fitting solemnity; he then proceeded to the visitation of his diocese, administering the sacrament of confirmation to whole districts, remedying existing abuses, and making provision against their recurrence. Bosco, his old home, lay almost within his jurisdiction; and though his parents were no more, he wished to extend to his native place the benefits which his more extended power of doing good enabled him now to confer. As the best gift he could bestow, he founded a convent of his order in the place where his childish steps had first

followed the habit of S. Dominic. This house still remains to hallow the neighbourhood by the prayers of its inmates and the memory of its founder. He next visited the convent of Vigevane, where many, who had loved him as a father and a brother, now received his blessing with joy and thankfulness as from a Bishop and Prince of the Church.

Cardinal Alessandrino, like all other faithful sons of holy Church, had welcomed with deep thankfulness the decrees which, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, had been enacted by the Council of Trent for the healing of all the evils of Christendom affecting faith, morals, or discipline. It was to be the work of his future life to carry them into effect. The character of Pius IV. was free from the fervid vehemence of Paul, but it lacked its invincible constancy. He restored peace to Italy, but at the cost of many a concession to his powerful neighbours. On such occasions Ghislieri hesitated not to use a tone of firm though respectful remonstrance. The Grand Dukes of Tuscany and Parma eagerly sought the cardinalate for two young princes of their respective families, Ferdinand de Medici, and Frederic Gonzaga—a boy of thirteen and a youth of twenty-one. The Pope feared to refuse them, and certain politic or timid members of the Sacred College advised him to grant the request. When Cardinal Alessandrino was consulted in his turn, "Your Holiness," he replied, "will permit me to observe that the Council of Trent, having laboured with great diligence in the reformation of morals and the re-establishment of discipline, miserably relaxed by the evils of these times, all the Bishops will be greatly scandalized at the infringement of one of their most holy decrees. The Church wants not children, but grown men capable of maintaining the dignity and the sanctity of such a sacred office."

The evil was delayed, but *only* delayed by his faithful remonstrance; the Pope yielded at last. When the ambassadors came, according to custom, to thank the members of the Sacred College for the appointment, "You owe me no thanks," said Cardinal Alessandrino, "for I have done all in my power to oppose this promotion." The Cardinal's unflinching opposition to every measure which he conceived likely to compromise the independence, or weaken the discipline of the Church, was represented to the Pope as stiffness and bigotry. His powers as Supreme Inquisitor were therefore restricted, and he was deprived of the apartments which he occupied in the Quirinal.

In the undisturbed peace of a quiet conscience Ghislieri prepared to return to his diocese, and devote the remainder of *his days* to the care of his flock, when he was attacked in 1564

by a violent illness, which gave him a hope that his work was accomplished. In perfect resignation to the will of God, he prepared with equal indifference for his death or for his recovery, giving all necessary directions for his journey to Mondovì, and for his burial among his Dominican brethren, and writing the following words to be inscribed on a simple tomb in the Church of the Minerva:—

To the praise of the One good and great God—Michael Ghislieri of Bosco, in the district of Alessandria, of the Order of Friars Preachers, and by the Divine mercy, Cardinal Priest of the title of S. Sabina, knowing that, being dust, he must return to dust, in the certain hope of the resurrection, and desiring to be assisted by the prayers of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Saints in heaven, and the faithful on earth, has chosen, whilst still living, this temple of the Mother of God, that after his death his body may be laid there in the LXth year of his age and the MDLXIVth year of our salvation.

But there was more work to do on earth for that great heart and saintly soul. He rose from the gates of death, and when he would have returned to his diocese, the Pope, who had felt the imminent danger of his loss, forbade him to leave Rome. A few months afterwards, Pius IV., whose health had long been failing, died with the words of the *Nunc Dimittis* on his lips, in the arms of S. Charles Borromeo and S. Philip Neri, leaving the tiara which had been adorned by his mild and gentle spirit, and by the austere virtues of his predecessor, to be next encircled by the aureola of a Saint.

Never was the choice of a sovereign Pontiff of more critical importance than that of the successor of Pius IV. No ordinary measure of wisdom and sanctity was needed for the work which would fall to him—that of carrying out with firmness and discretion the disciplinary regulations of the Council of Trent. Happily the most influential voice in the Conclave was that of the great Archbishop of Milan, S. Charles Borromeo, who had been raised to the purple by his late uncle at the age of twenty-three, and who now, at twenty-eight, by the power of his personal sanctity, even more than by the influence of his position as the leader of the Cardinals of the creation of Pius IV., was held to have the first claim to occupy the vacant chair of S. Peter himself, or to direct the choice of another worthy to fill it. After long prayer and anxious consideration, the illuminated eye of the holy man fell upon Cardinal Alessandrino. In vain was he warned of the imprudence of placing the supreme power in the hands of a devoted friend of Paul IV., who might be disposed to retaliate the hard measure dealt under the reign of his uncle to the house of Caraffa. Such considerations were

thrown away upon one whose only aim was the glory of God and the good of the Church, and who knew by the experience acquired by working together in the same holy cause, that such was also the sole aim of Cardinal Alessandrino.

Having gained the suffrages of his colleagues, Borromeo, with two other Cardinals, went to inform Ghislieri of the choice of the Conclave. They were prepared for a vehement opposition on his part; and they actually dragged him by force from his cell, and bore him in their arms to the chapel where he was to receive the first homage of the Cardinals. As soon as he appeared, all the members of the Sacred College knelt before him, and revered, as the successor of S. Peter, the poorest and the humblest of their Order. The expression of his own free consent was, however, necessary to the validity of the election. It was at last given, with many tears and protestations of his own unworthiness.

When the acclamations had subsided, which greeted his acceptance of the supreme dignity, he took the name of Pius, as a token of affection for Cardinal Borromeo and of respect for the memory of his uncle.

Heralds were despatched at once by the Sacred College, according to custom, to make known the elevation of Cardinal Alessandrino to all the princes of Christendom; but it was announced, in several instances, in a miraculous manner which stamped it in visible characters with the approbation of Heaven. Cardinal Gonzaga, who had been seized with a severe attack of illness, which prevented his taking part in the election, on the night which preceded it, and a few hours before he breathed his last, suddenly awoke, and reproached his attendants for not having informed him of the elevation of Cardinal Alessandrino to the Papal Chair.

A courier sent by the French Ambassador, as he was passing near Bosco, was carried away by his horse towards that village, where it suddenly stopped. On being asked by the inhabitants whither he was going, he replied that he had been sent to inform the King of France of the election of Cardinal Alessandrino. He had hardly time to notice the joy with which his words were received, when his horse dashed off again at full gallop towards the high road. When an express arrived on the following day from the Pope to his dear fellow villagers, he was told that they had been miraculously informed of his election on the preceding day.

But "a more astonishing miracle was wrought," says M. de Falloux, "in the heart of Pius V. No sooner were the ceremonies of his exaltation over, than he recovered a perfect tranquillity of mind, and slept without interruption through

the whole of the following night. The austere religious, whose whole delight had been in silence and retreat, who had shunned every favour, and shrunk from every dignity, suddenly resigned himself to bear the supreme command of the Christian world. He had probed his own heart, and found it free from ambition or avarice; and as he retraced all the paths which had led to his elevation he saw and recognized the hand of Divine Providence which had guided him to his appointed place upon the throne of Christendom. The first time that he looked down from that height upon the Christian world kneeling submissively at his feet, he trembled and wept; but soon reassured by that ineffable consciousness of his own nothingness, which beheld in his whole history the work of God alone, he cast upon Him with adoring confidence the responsibility of His own decrees, and having vanquished humility by the arms which are ordinarily used against pride, he turned his eyes from himself to fix them upon the world now entrusted to his care."

The gifts and graces of the new Pontiff were so well known that the only fear entertained upon his accession, was that the inflexibility of his sanctity might deal over rigorously with the evils of the time. This apprehension was expressed to the Holy Father himself, who contented himself with the reply: "Let us so act that they may grieve more at my death, than they do at my elevation."

"I do not deny," says Dr. Newman, in his Lectures on the history of the Turks, "that S. Pius was stern and severe, as far as a heart burning within and melted with the fulness of Divine love could be so; but such energy was necessary for his times. He was emphatically called to be a soldier of Christ in a time of insurrection and rebellion, when, in a spiritual sense, martial law was proclaimed."

It was, indeed, a wild and woeful scene on which the Chief Shepherd's eye looked down from his watch-tower on the seven hills. The holy city lay desolate under the curse of her children's sins. Usury, assassination, and immorality of every kind disgraced the Papal dominions and desecrated the very streets of Rome. The sceptre of what still bore the name of the holy Roman Empire was feebly grasped by Maximilian II., whose natural irresolution had been rendered still more vacillating in matters of faith by his semi-Lutheran training. In France, the wily and unprincipled Catharine de Medici was playing fast and loose with Catholics and Huguenots, to the peril of the conscience of her son and the faith of his subjects. The throne of Spain, indeed, was filled by one deserving the title of the Catholic King. Philip II. unquestionably had the

welfare of religion deeply at heart, but he had inherited a selfish system of secular policy, and was swayed by an ambition of personal and national aggrandisement, which too often injured its sacred interests.

Sebastian, the heroic King of Portugal, had not yet completed his fourteenth year. England, severed from the unity of Christendom, was purchasing worldly power and prosperity by the apostacy or martyrdom of her children. At the other extremity of Europe, the Mussulman hordes were pressing upon the confines of Christendom, and held at bay by the good swords of the Knights of S. John, who had found a last resting place on the rock of Malta for the banner of Christian Chivalry.

Such was the state of the wide family of which Pius V. had now become the father. Let us look forth on it once more, and see with what fellow workers Divine Providence had provided him. Never was century richer in saints than that which gave birth to the great Protestant apostacy. In the centre of Christendom, S. Philip Neri was recalling the faithful to the life of the primitive Christians, by the same means which had sanctified them—frequent communion and continual prayer. S. Charles Borromeo, the model of Christian pastors, co-operated in the most intimate and direct manner with the Pontiff in whose elevation he had been the principal instrument. The princely penitent, S. Francis Borgia, was the leader of the great company of Jesus, for which he had abandoned the ducal coronet of Gandia. S. Stanislaus Kotska, now on the threshold of his early beatitude, was soon to be succeeded by S. Aloysius. In Spain, S. John of God and S. John of the Cross still hallowed the soil which had been consecrated by the footsteps of S. Ignatius Loyola and S. Francis Xavier, and where S. Teresa had just laid the foundation of that marvellous reform in which she had been helped and guided by the dying hand of S. Peter of Alcantara.

The first public measure of the new Pope manifested what was to be the spirit of his reign. The money which on these occasions it had been the custom to scatter lavishly, and to the peril of life and limb, amid the populace in the public streets, was carefully distributed amongst those in greatest need, whose weakness, or whose modesty, would have had no chance of gaining anything in a general scramble. The thousand crowns usually spent on a banquet for the foreign ambassadors present at the coronation, was sent as an alms to the poorest convents in the city. To some who remonstrated with him on *this innovation*, Pius made the following reply: "God will *not punish me* for having deprived the envoys of princes of a

feast, but He will call me to account for the necessities of His own members."

The new Pontiff hastened to pay due respect to the memory of both his predecessors. The body of Paul IV. was interred with more than usual pomp in a chapel of the Minerva. The family of Caraffa was freed from the degradation under which it had laboured during the past reign; whilst equal kindness and favour were shown to the kindred of Pius IV.

It was soon manifest that the general reform contemplated by Pius V. was to begin by the reformation of his own court and capital. He began his reign by extraordinary fasts and prayers, by commending himself to the suffrages of the various religious communities, and by publishing a jubilee to draw down upon himself and the Church all the graces so urgently needed at that critical time.

He then assembled all the members of his household, made known to them what he expected of each in his degree, and laid down rules for their conduct which he warned them he should expect to see punctually observed. A spiritual lecture was made aloud three times a week in the palace, and books of devotion were provided for hours of leisure. A fixed time was appointed for evening prayers, at which the Pope never failed to be present, and when he retired to rest the gates of the palace were closed. In his own rule of life he relaxed nothing of the severity of his Order. He wore his woollen tunic under his pontifical vestments, and slept upon the same hard pallet which he had used in his cell. From that miserable couch he arose nightly to visit the seven altars in S. Peter's church; and often, at some important crisis, he would pass whole nights in prayer, pleading with God rather by tears than words.

Not only were the ordinary fasts of the Church strictly observed in his household, but such was the frugality of his table that its daily cost did not exceed a *testone*, or 8½d. of our money. Instead of armorial bearings, the following verse was engraved on his seal: "O that my ways were directed to keep Thy statutes." A Crucifix stood always before him on his table, at the foot of which were inscribed these words of S. Paul: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In a Consistory held expressly for that purpose, he addressed a fatherly exhortation to the Cardinals and Prelates, in which he represented to them that the surest way to appease the wrath of God, and to stay the progress of heretics and infidels, was that each should set in order his own conscience and his own house. "It is to you," cried he, "that Jesus Christ addresses these words: *You are the light of the world. You are the salt of the earth.*"

A fruitful source of evil in the days of Pius V. was the intercourse of Christian families with the Jews, who practised upon their credulity by the pretended science of astrology, under cover of which they introduced every kind of immorality to the destruction of their souls, whilst they ruined their fortunes by usury. The new Pope banished all Jews from every part of the territories of the Church, except Rome and Ancona, where their presence was necessary for keeping up the commerce of the Levant; but here, as a security against their evil influence, they were confined to a separate quarter of the city, and compelled to wear a distinctive dress, by which, should they leave it, they would be immediately recognized. Whilst thus vigilant for the safety of his flock, the heart of Pius was however full of charity for these misguided men, many of whom, in the exercise of his functions as Inquisitor, he had been the means of bringing into the Church. A Rabbi, named Elias Carcossi, distinguished among his brethren for his learning and ability, to put a stop to his urgent solicitations, one day answered him lightly: "You shall make me a Christian when you are made Pope." The jest had wholly escaped his memory when he was sent for by the Sovereign Pontiff who claimed the fulfilment of his promise. Elias could not deny that he had made it, and returned home sad and irresolute. The Pope spent the night in recommending him to the Blessed Virgin, and in the morning the Rabbi and his three children came to him to implore the grace of Baptism, which Pius joyfully conferred upon them himself in the presence of a great multitude of spectators, giving to Elias his own name of Michele. This conversion was followed by so many others that the Holy Father shortly afterwards founded a house for the reception and instruction of catechumens.

Being fully convinced that the want of instruction was the principal cause of the disorders which afflicted the Church, he instituted the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, whose members bind themselves to explain the catechism to children on Sundays and festivals in certain appointed churches. The great benefit derived from these instructions, both by teachers and scholars, induced him to issue a bull exhorting all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops to establish the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in all churches subject to their authority.

The assassinations and robberies daily committed in his dominions did not escape the vigilance of the new sovereign. By a convention concluded with the viceroys of Naples and *Tuscany*, it was enacted that bandits should be seized and executed wherever they should be found, without distinction of territory, and by these prompt measures, the Ecclesiastical

States were soon freed from this scourge. Mariano D'Ascoli, the most formidable of the robber chiefs, had long kept all pursuers at bay, when a countryman came one day to ask an audience of the Holy Father, and promised, for a stipulated reward, to deliver the fugitive into his hands. "How will you do it?" asked the Pope. "He is accustomed to trust to me," replied the mountaineer; "and I shall have no difficulty in drawing him to my house." "Never," exclaimed Pius V., "will we sanction such treachery. God will afford us some opportunity of punishing this robber, without such an abuse of friendship and good faith." Mariano D'Ascoli, having been informed of the Pope's reply, withdrew from his dominions, and never appeared there again.

Pius V., as Supreme Pontiff, religiously kept the resolution he had made when Cardinal, never to make his own exaltation a means of advancing his family. He refused to give his nieces in marriage to any of the great nobles who eagerly sought his alliance; and when one of his nephews married the daughter of his secretary, he sent her a mule laden with a pack-saddle and two panniers, telling her to take heed not to arrive at Rome with any other equipage. Another of his nephews, after having distinguished himself in a campaign against the Turks, was taken prisoner and reduced to slavery. Pius V. lost no time in ransoming him, furnished him with fresh arms and a horse, and gave him the rank of captain in his troops. But the young man, having lost his favour by some fault, he sent for him, and pointing to a lighted taper on his table, commanded him to leave Rome before it should have ceased to burn.

The representations of the Sacred College at last prevailed upon the Holy Father to entrust the chief administration of temporal affairs to his great nephew Michele Bonelli, who was chosen for the office not on account of his relationship, but for his admirable fitness to fulfil it. He was made steward of the ecclesiastical domains, and at the same time Pius V. made a solemn decree, forbidding all alienation of those domains. The Cardinals were bound by an oath, of which they never were to seek absolution nor accept a dispensation, to resist with all their power all infringements of this decree by any future Pope. Bonelli, who, like his holy uncle, had been trained in the order of S. Dominic, faithfully followed his footsteps, and as he had taken the name of Brother Michele at his profession, so, when he was admitted to the Cardinalate, he received by public acclamation the title of Cardinal Alessandrino.

The Marquis of Maine, the feudal lord of Bosco, came to congratulate Pius on his exaltation in the name of his native

place, and thought to please him by offering him the lordship of Bosco. "What would you have me do with it, my lord Marquis?" inquired the Pope. "Your Holiness," replied he, "has relations on whom you may bestow it." "It is true," replied Pius V., "that I have a great number of nieces and nephews; but never as long as I live shall they bear titles more exalted than those they have received from their fathers. Moreover, if I were to accept this favour from you, I should be obliged to return it by one still greater, and this is no longer in my power, since, by a recent decree, I have tied my own hands as well as those of my successors."

Another offering from Bosco was more graciously received. In the days of his childhood, Michele Ghislieri had helped one of his friends to plant a vine. "Our labour is thrown away," he said, as they finished their work, "for nobody will ever drink of the fruit of this vine." The memory of the young Michele had been faithfully cherished by his fellow villagers, who received from time to time proofs of the affection which he bore to them at every stage of his career. His special message on his exaltation to the Pontificate showed them that they were still remembered. On the strength of it, his old companion set out to visit him, and appeared at the Pontifical Palace in his peasant's costume, with a little barrel on his head. "Ah! most Holy Father," he said, as Pius cordially welcomed him; "acknowledge, that in those days, at least, you were not infallible, and be pleased to accept this wine from your old playfellow."

A poor lad, in the service of a Milanese gentleman, once met F. Michele on one of his long journeys toiling along in the excessive heat with a bag on his shoulders. The youth courteously offered him a seat on his horse. The friar would only allow him to carry his bag; but touched by the kindness of the *poor to the poor*, so precious in the sight of God, Ghislieri asked his name. No sooner was he seated on the Pontifical throne than he sent for the poor serving-man to fill a place in his household. Nor was he less punctual in returning good for evil. The Count della Trinita, the choleric nobleman who had threatened to throw the troublesome Inquisitor into a well, arrived at Rome as Envoy from the Duke of Savoy at the Court of Rome. "See, my Lord Ambassador," said the Pope, "how God protects the weak;" and then, seeing the poor man's confusion, he cordially embraced him, and, from that day forward, showed him particular kindness and favour.

The change effected in the whole aspect of Roman society soon gave evidence of the vigilant eye of the sovereign, but its gaze was bounded by no horizon short of the limits of

Christendom. The next care of Pius was to procure the recognition of the Tridentine disciplinary decrees by all Catholic States. A few of them, amongst which Portugal, the Republic of Venice, and the Cantons of Switzerland, were honourably distinguished, yielded instant obedience; but France and Germany temporized and hesitated; and even Philip II. imposed certain restrictions upon the publication of the decrees in Spain, Flanders, and the Italian States. "It is one of the most remarkable proofs," says M. de Falloux, "of the wisdom of that divinely guided assembly, that its decrees, even where not authentically published or received, were universally obeyed, being enforced by their own manifest sanctity and utility alone."

The Catechism of the Council of Trent had been finished before the accession of Pius V., one of whose first measures was to give it his approbation, and to cause it to be translated into the languages of France, Germany, and Poland.

The residence of Bishops, and the establishment of diocesan seminaries, were two of the points most strictly enjoined by the Council, and most urgently enforced by the new Pontiff.

"Is it too much," says he, in one of his letters to the Bishops, "to ask you to guide with your own hands the Church which Jesus Christ purchased with His own blood?" And, again, "The decree by which the holy Council of Trent has directed the foundation of a Seminary in each Church, is of such manifest importance and utility, that, if the Bishops had themselves effected of their own accord what the Council has now decreed, they would have deserved great commendation on the part of men, and, on the part of God, an eternal reward; but now that this decree has been enacted, and has been received with such unanimous approbation, the Bishops are bound to carry it out with so much the greater diligence; as the difference is great between neglecting a formal command and omitting a thing (however excellent in itself) which has not yet been prescribed."

Amongst the manifold labours of Pius V. for the Church, are to be numbered the revision of the Missal and the Breviary, and the reformation of ecclesiastical music. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a florid style of music was widely prevalent, of so secular a character that Pope Marcellus II. had been on the point of prohibiting altogether the use of music, except plain chant, in the offices of the Church. The execution of this rigorous decree was finally averted by the patient forbearance of S. Charles and the genius of Palestrina. This great musician, once a poor chorister-boy, by name Pierluigi, in an obscure church at

Palestrina, his native place, had risen to be the master of the choir of S. John Lateran. S. Charles, acting as one of a commission appointed by Pius IV. to decide the question of ecclesiastical music, sent for Palestrina, and giving him plainly to understand that its fate was in his hands, bade him write a Mass according to the rigorous rules laid down by the Council. In three months' time, Palestrina presented three Masses to Cardinal Borromeo. On the manuscript of one of them, which commonly bears the name of the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, the words: "O Lord, help me!" traced by the trembling hand of the composer, are still legible. It was a complete success for the cause of sacred music; and Pius V., whose accession almost immediately followed it, appointed Palestrina master of his own choir, thus sanctioning the use of his music in all the churches in Christendom.

From the internal wounds of Christendom the watchful eye of its good Father was next turned upon its external foes. The May of 1565, the year preceding the accession of Pius V., had been signalized by the glorious defence of Malta, under its heroic Grand Master, Lavalette, against an overwhelming armament directed against it by Solyman the Magnificent. The politic Sultan, who carefully watched every movement amongst his Christian neighbours, had hailed with exceeding satisfaction the appearance of Luther, whom he took to be a new prophet, sent at the prayer of Mahomet, to serve as a stepping-stone for the subjugation of Christendom by the Mussulman armies. He made many inquiries concerning him, and being informed of the great divisions which he had introduced amongst the Christian nations, "This is a great man," said Solyman, "who will soon be the ruin of Christianity. I believe that God has sent him for this purpose. I am only sorry that he is not younger; if he should ever have need of me, he will find me a good and liberal lord."

Happily the rock of Malta stood between the two intended confederates. The Sultan equipped 160 galleys, bearing the flower of his troops, under the command of Mustaffa, his most distinguished captain. The fleet was led by a pirate and a renegade. At its approach the Knights, preceded by the Grand Master, assembled in their church, where the blessed Sacrament was exposed; and having received Holy Communion, they embraced each other, and hastened each to his post of duty. A prolonged and desperate defence was followed at last by the flight of the panic-stricken barbarians. But of all the inhabitants of the island, whether knights, *men-at-arms*, or citizens, there remained scarcely one *unwounded*, and not more than six hundred capable of bearing

arms. Wearied out by the unequal struggle, and disgusted by the coldness and slackness of his Christian allies, Lavalette began to consider whether it would not be necessary to forsake a post which he had no longer forces to defend.

He resolved first, however, to make one more appeal to the different courts of Europe and to the Holy See. Two months after his accession, Pius V. replied to the Grand Master by a brief, expressing such deep sympathy, and conveying such fatherly encouragement, as fixed the hero immovably at his post. "Remain, dear son," said Pius, "at your post; decline not from that renown which has made you glorious before all nations. The Catholic king, the dignity and safety of whose kingdoms depends upon the issue of this war, will not fail you; neither will we fail you, who are ready to shed our blood for the honour of God, the Redeemer and the Saviour of the Christian commonwealth. Above all, and before all, my dear son, God will come to your aid, who has but lately so manifestly assisted you. He will not refuse to send His help from on high to His own soldiers."

Pius V. kept his word. Never to the last hour of his life did he neglect to further the great cause of the defence of Christendom against the Turks, until his efforts were crowned at last by the decisive victory of Lepanto.

To console and encourage the sinking heart of the noble Grand Master was a work more congenial with that of Pius V. than the weary endeavour to straighten the crooked policy of Catherine di Medici. By his earnest appeals to the other Catholic powers of Europe, the Holy Father had succeeded in forming a league to defend the King of France against the Huguenot rebels, who were defeated in the decisive battles of Jarnac and Moncontour; but the fruit to be gathered from these triumphs was very differently estimated by Catherine and S. Pius. Her aim was to patch up a hollow semblance of reconciliation between parties whose principles were irreconcilable; his to make Charles IX., not in name only, but in deed, the most Christian king of a Catholic and united people, and then to call upon him, as the heir of S. Louis and *the eldest son of the Church*, once more to lead the chivalry of Christendom against its common enemy the Turk. He aimed at nothing more, he would be content with nothing less.

Catherine's policy, the policy of the world, triumphed for the time, and issued, after S. Pius had entered into his rest, in the massacre of S. Bartholomew.

A more faithful leader was found to confront the hosts of Islam; and the wounds of France bled on till they were stanchd by the hand of God himself, when the white plume

of Henry of Navarre passed from the Huguenot ranks to surmount the helmet of her Catholic King.

Meanwhile the crimes and treachery of Catherine and her associates have been freely imputed by Protestant historians to the only influence that was exerted to prevent them, to the only voice in Christendom which was invariably raised to proclaim the truth of God, to point out the will of God as the only end of man, and sanctity and integrity as the only means of fulfilling it.

Among other accusations made against the Holy See is that of having forwarded the marriage of Margaret of France with the young King of Navarre, in order to attract the Huguenot chiefs to the Court and thus to place them in the power of their enemies. In our number for last October we exposed the utter falsehood of this allegation. In fact, it appears by letters from the various parties concerned, given at length by M. de Falloux, that Pius V. sent an embassy to Don Sebastian, the young King of Portugal, to exhort him to join the Christian league against the Turks, and to advise him to ask the hand of this very Margaret of Valois, as a means of inducing her brother to join it. It appears also that, finding Charles IX. obstinately bent upon giving his sister to the Huguenot prince, Pius V. was greatly afflicted, and said that no more sorrowful news could have been brought to him than this; and that the marriage was not only displeasing to him, but even unlawful. It is said that raising his left hand, which he used habitually instead of the right, to his head, he solemnly declared that he would rather die than grant the dispensation asked by the Queen-mother for this marriage. The Pope's firmness was proof against all importunities, and notwithstanding the magnificent preparations made for the ceremony, it did not take place until after his death.

The following letter was written by Pius V. to Mary Queen of Scots, in answer to her congratulations on his accession. The unbending firmness of the attitude which we have seen him assume towards Catherine di Medici contrasts strongly with the fatherly tenderness, mingled with a kind of compassionate respect, which marks his correspondence with this persecuted and calumniated woman. At the date of this letter, Mary was enjoying the brief period of reconciliation with her wayward and unfortunate husband, which intervened between the murder of Rizzio and the birth of her son.

Ever since we have heard (writes the Holy Father) of the troubles excited against you by your rebellious subjects, who are at the same time enemies of the true and Catholic faith, we have never failed to have recourse to the Lord our God with the heartfelt and fatherly affection which we justly bear to you; and fearing lest our sins should render us unworthy to be heard, we

have commended you to the intercession and prayers of a number of holy priests and religious. Gladly would we have exposed our own life for you, and we have not failed to intercede for you with our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the Catholic princes, that they would afford you assistance. Thanks to the Divine mercy and clemency, our sorrow has in some measure been assuaged by the tidings that you have been lately delivered from a pressing danger. For this mercy we have returned thanks to God, not such as we should offer, but such as the weakness of our piety permitted. And now that the weight of years and the pressing occupations imposed upon us by the interest of Christendom, hinder us from travelling to Scotland, we have thought well to send to you, as our nuncio, our dear and venerable brother the Bishop of Montreal, a man of rare virtue, wisdom, probity, and prudence, in whom you may repose full confidence, and who will render you every service in his power. Be well assured that in nothing within the limits of our power is it our will to be wanting to you in any respect; and we beseech Him, Who of His own good Providence alone, and for no merit of ours, has made us His Vicar, to add to all your royal qualities the gift of invincible courage and perseverance.

Given at Rome, 6th June, 1566.

In her answer to this letter, Mary thanks him for it in the fulness of her heart, and implores his blessing for her newborn child, whose baptism in the Catholic Church she joyfully announces, expressing a hope (alas, not destined to be realized) that *God would give him grace to persevere in the Catholic and orthodox use of the Sacraments, and to bring back all her subjects to the same.* A few months afterwards followed the murder of Darnley, and then the long series of misfortunes which clouded her remaining years; her captivity and forced marriage with Bothwell; her imprisonment at Lochleven, and compulsory abdication; her deliverance by the chivalrous daring of her loyal adherents; the lost field of Langside; and the fatal act of rash confidence which delivered her into the hands of a rival, destitute alike of pity and of honour. Then came the long, weary captivity, by which the royal victim, forsaken of all but God, was gradually prepared and ripened for the martyr's crown.

The Holy Father failed not to address letters of consolation to the forlorn captive, while he vainly endeavoured to induce the kings of France and Spain to unite their efforts for her deliverance. The failure of the Catholic rising in the north against the intolerable tyranny of Elizabeth, served but to rivet her chains. The best blood of England flowed on the field and on the scaffold, until the measure of the usurper's crimes was full, and the judicial sentence of the Vicar of Christ formally cut her off from the communion of Christendom, and released her subjects from their oath of allegiance. We here, of course, merely mention the fact; and do not profess to enter

on the theological questions suggested by it. The Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth was signed February 25th, 1570, and on the 15th of the following May, a copy of it was fixed on the door of the Bishop of London's palace by the daring hand of John Felton, a gallant Catholic gentleman and student of Lincoln's Inn, who expiated his act by a traitor's death. With the chivalrous courtesy which marked the bearing of so many of Elizabeth's victims towards her, as a woman and a queen, he sent her from the scaffold a ring of considerable value.

When S. Pius went to his reward, Mary was still languishing in her prison-house, Elizabeth still basking in the full glare of worldly dominion and prosperity. Was Elizabeth, then, whom he had excommunicated, really happier than Mary, whom he had blessed? The last moments of the two queens will answer the question. The meek and majestic martyrdom at Fotheringay, and the ghastly death-chamber at Richmond, where the heiress of the reformation, the offspring of the mock marriage for which Henry had bartered his own and his people's heritage of faith, lay crouched upon the floor, gazing in sullen despair at the spectre-haunted bed, to which her servants vainly besought her to return, and muttering mournfully: "I am bound with an iron collar round my neck." Alas! the priestly hands which should have loosed it, were fettered in her dungeons or withering on her city gates, and the blood-stained soul, despairing and unshriven, passed to its account.

Our space has only permitted us to take a few examples here and there from M. de Falloux's narrative of the ceaseless vigilance of S. Pius over all the nations of his fold. We come now to his last glorious conflict with the false prophet of Mecca. It is difficult in these days, when the Mussulman Empire lies an inert mass at the threshold of Christendom, to realize what was the terror of its name in the days of Pius V. Dr. Newman has drawn with a master's hand, in his *Lectures on the Turks*, the rise of the Mahometan power and the five hundred years of its ascendancy.

Even the taking of Constantinople (says he) was not the limit of the Ottoman successes. Mahomet the Conqueror, as he is called, was but the seventh of the great Sultans who carried on the fortunes of the barbarian empire. An eighth, a ninth followed . . .

Then came a tenth, the greatest perhaps of all. Solymán the Magnificent, the contemporary of the Emperor Charles V., Francis the First of France, and Henry the Eighth of England. And an eleventh might have been expected, and a twelfth, and the power of the enemy would have become *greater and greater*, and would have afflicted the Church more and more *heavily*, and what was to be the end of these things! What was to be the

end! why, not a Christian alone, but any philosopher of this world, would have known what was to be the end in spite of existing appearances.

All earthly power has an end: it rises to fall, it grows to die, and the depth of its humiliation issues out of the pride of its lifting up. This is what even a philosopher would say, he would not know whether Solymán the tenth conqueror, was also to be the last; but if not the tenth, he would be bold in saying it would be the twelfth, who would close their victories, or the fifteenth, or the twentieth. But what a philosopher could not say, what a Christian knows and enjoys, is this, that one earthly power there is which is something more than earthly, and which, while it dies in the individual, for he is human, is immortal in its succession, for it is divine. It was a remarkable question of the savage Tartars of Zingis, to the missionaries whom the Pope sent them in the thirteenth century: Who was the Pope? they asked; was he not now an old man, 500 years of age? It was their one instinctive notion of the religion of the West; and the Turks in their own history have often had cause to lament over its truth . . .

Then followed Sultan after Sultan, each greater than his predecessor, while the line of Popes had indeed many bright names to show, Pontiffs of learning, and of piety, and of genius, and of zeal and energy; but still where was the destined champion of Christendom, the holy, the inflexible, the lion-hearted, the successor of S. Gregory, who in a luxurious and a self-willed age, among his high duties and achievements, had the mission, by his prayers and his efforts, of stopping the enemy in his full career, and of rescuing Catholicism from the pollution of the blasphemer? The 500 years were not yet completed. But the 500 years at length were run; the long-expected champion was at hand.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Selim the Sot came to the throne of Othman, and S. Pius V. to the throne of the Apostle. Oh what a strange contrast did Rome and Constantinople present at that era! Neither was what it had been, but they had changed in opposite directions. Both had been the seat of Imperial Power; Rome, where heresy never throve, had changed its Emperors for the succession of S. Peter; Constantinople had passed from temporal power into schism, and thence into blasphemous apostacy. The unhappy city and its subject provinces, which had been successively the seat of Arianism, of Nestorianism, of Photianism, now had become the metropolis of the false Prophet; and, while in the West the great edifice of the Vatican Basilica was rising anew in its wonderful proportions and its costly materials, the Temple of S. Sophia in the East was degraded into a Mosque. Oh! the strange contrast in the state of the inhabitants of each place! Here in the city of Constantine a God-denying misbelief was accompanied by an impure, man-degrading rule of life, by the slavery of woman, and the corruption of youth. But there, in the city which the Apostles had consecrated with their blood, the great and true reformation of the age was in full progress. There the determinations in doctrine and discipline of the great Council of Trent had just been completed. There for twenty years past had laboured our beautiful and dear S. Philip, till he earned the title of Apostle of Rome, and yet had thirty years more of life and work in him. There, too, the romantic royal Saint, Ignatius of Loyola, had

but lately died. And there, when the Holy See fell vacant, and a Pope had to be appointed in the great need of the Church, a Saint was present in the conclave to find in it a brother Saint, and to recommend him for the Chair of S. Peter, to the suffrages of the Fathers and Princes of the Church . . .

It is not to be supposed that a Saint on whom lay the solicitude of all the Churches, should neglect the tradition, which his predecessors of so many centuries had bequeathed to him, of zeal and hostility against the Turkish power. He was only six years on the Pontifical throne; and the achievement of which we are going to speak was among his last; he died the following year. At this time the Ottoman armies were continuing their course of victory; they had just taken Cyprus, with the active co-operation of the Greek population of the island, and were massacring the Latin nobility and clergy, and mutilating and flaying alive the Venetian governor. Yet the Saint found it impossible to move Christendom to its own defence. How indeed was that to be done, when half Christendom had become Protestant; and secretly perhaps felt as the Greeks felt, that the Turk was its friend and ally? In such a quarrel England, France, and Germany were out of the question. At length, however, with great effort he succeeded in forming a holy league between himself, King Philip of Spain, and the Venetians. Don John of Austria, King Philip's half-brother, was appointed Commander-in-chief of the forces, and Colonna Admiral. The treaty was signed on the 24th of May, but such was the cowardice of the parties concerned, that the autumn had arrived, and nothing of importance was accomplished. With difficulty were the armies united; with difficulty were the dissensions of the commanders brought to a settlement. Meanwhile the Ottomans were scouring the gulf of Venice, blockading the ports, and terrifying the city itself. But the holy Pope was securing the success of his cause by arms of his own, which the Turks understood not. He had been appointing a Triduo of supplication at Rome, and had taken part in the procession himself. He had proclaimed a jubilee to the whole Christian world, for the happy issue of the war. He had been interesting the Holy Virgin in his cause. He presented to his admiral, after High Mass in his chapel, a standard of red damask, embroidered with a crucifix, and with the figures of S. Peter and Paul, and the legend, *In hoc signo vinces*. Next, sending to Messina, where the allied fleet lay, he assured the General-in-chief and the armament, that, "if relying on Divine grace, rather than on human help, they attacked the enemy, God would not be wanting to His own cause." He augured a prosperous and happy issue; not on any light or random hope, but on a Divine guidance, and by the anticipation of many holy men. Moreover he enjoined the officers to look to the good conduct of their troops; to repress swearing, gaming, riot, and plunder, and thereby to render them more deserving of victory. Accordingly a fast of three days was proclaimed for the fleet, beginning with the Nativity of our Lady; all the men went to confession and communion, and appropriated to themselves the plentiful indulgences which the Pope attached to the expedition. Then they moved across the foot of Italy to Corfu, with the intention of presenting themselves at once to the enemy. Being disappointed in their expectation, they turned back to the Gulf of Corinth, and there at length on the 7th October, they found the Turkish

fleet, half-way between Lepanto and the Echinades on the north, and Patras, in the Morea, on the south; and, though it was towards evening, strong in faith and zeal, they at once commenced the engagement. The night before the battle, and the day itself, aged as he was, and broken with disease, the Saint had passed in the Vatican in fasting and prayer. All through the Holy City the monasteries and the colleges were in prayer too. As the evening advanced, the Pontifical treasurer asked an audience of the Sovereign Pontiff on an important matter. Pius was in his bedroom, and began to converse with him, when suddenly he stopped the conversation, left him, threw open the window, and gazed up to heaven. Then closing it again, he looked gravely at his official and said, "This is no time for business; go, return thanks to the Lord God. In this very hour our fleet has engaged the Turkish, and is victorious." As the treasurer went out, he saw him fall on his knees before the altar in thankfulness and joy. And a most remarkable victory it was; upwards of 30,000 Turks are said to have lost their lives in the engagement, and 3,500 were made prisoners. Almost their whole fleet was taken. We quote from Protestant authorities, when we say that the Sultan, on the news of the calamity, neither ate, nor drank, nor showed himself, nor saw any one for three days; that it was the greatest blow which the Ottoman had had since Timour's victory over Bajazet, a century and a half before; nay, that it was the turning point in the Turkish history, and that, though the Sultans have had isolated successes since, yet from that day they undeniably and constantly declined, that they have lost their prestige and their self-confidence, and that the victories gained over them since are but the complements and reverberations of the overthrow of Lepanto.

Such was the catastrophe of this long and anxious drama. The host of Turkistan and Tartary had poured down from their wildernesses through ages, to be withstood and foiled and reversed by an old man.

In the contrast between the combatants we see the contrast of the histories of good and evil. The enemy, as the Turks in this battle, rushing forward with the terrible fury of wild beasts, and the Churchmen combating with the energetic perseverance and the heroic obstinacy of S. Pius.

In memory of the victory of Lepanto, and in gratitude to our Blessed Lady for her powerful intercession in behalf of the Christian forces, S. Pius inserted the words, "*Auxilium Christianorum*," in her Litanies.

Six months after the battle of Lepanto Pius V. lay on his dying bed. The anguish of his cruel malady increased from day to day, yet no word passed his lips but the often repeated prayer, as he fixed his eyes on the crucifix, "O Lord, increase my pain, but withal increase my patience." When his physicians urged him to depart in some degree from the rules of the Lenten abstinence, he answered reproachfully:—"My friends, would you have me, then, in the few days I have to live, transgress the rule which God has given me grace to observe inviolate for fifty-three years?" On Holy Thursday he

wished his nephew, who had been called in haste from his legation, to give him Holy Communion, and when it came to the words, *the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul to eternal life*, "I pray you," said Pius, "to apply to me the words which the Church uses for the dying—the *Body of our Lord Jesus Christ conduct thy soul to eternal life*." On the following day (Good Friday) he caused a large cross to be brought into his oratory, and arose to adore with many tears the five wounds of his Saviour.

The public audiences having been suspended, the report of his death was spread throughout Rome. And now was seen the fulfilment of his desire, that men "should grieve more for his death than they had done for his accession." Now, too, was seen the depth and the reality of the work which he had done for Rome. Instead of the scandals which too often marked the period of a Pontiff's approaching decease, there was but one wide sorrow as at the death of a father whose six years' sway had worked such a wonderful renovation on the state of Roman society.

The Pope was so deeply moved by the attachment of his children, that he desired once more to give them his blessing; and the strength of his soul overcoming his bodily weakness, on Easter Day he assumed his pontifical vestments, and having been carried to the loggia above the portico of S. Peter's, he gave his solemn benediction to the people, who had assembled from all parts of the city and surrounding country to receive it for the last time. For one moment his pale face was flushed and his dim eyes brightened with the charity that burnt within his heart, and the accents of his dying voice were distinctly heard by the most distant of the kneeling multitude. A vain hope arose of his recovery, and deputations from the clergy and nobility came to congratulate him and to consult him upon the various matters regarding their several offices. "My children," he replied, "I have no business now to transact but with God, and the account which I have to render to Him of all the words and actions of my life requires the full application of my mind."

He had just entered the seventh year of his pontificate, and he therefore wished to bless the *Agnus Dei*s which were brought to him for that purpose; he also wished to bid farewell to the relics of the saints, whom he hoped soon to contemplate in heaven; and, notwithstanding the anxious remonstrances of his physicians and friends, he determined to make the Stations of the Seven Churches. As he slowly moved along, leaning on the arm of an attendant, his death-like paleness led those who met him to expect that he would die in the effort. More

Antony Colonna, the Admiral of his victorious fleet at Lepanto, fell on his knees before him, and besought him to return to his palace. The Holy Father gently pushed him aside, and went on his way to S. John Lateran. There his strength nearly gave way; but, after a moment's hesitation, he said, "He who has done all things by His grace will finish His own work;" and then, as if endued with sudden strength, he mounted the *Scala Santa* on his knees, and thrice kissed the last step, as if he could scarcely tear himself from the holy place. He came back to the Vatican to die.

No subject of this world was suffered to disturb his intercourse with God. One only exception was made in favour of England. The dying shepherd could not forget those few sheep far off in the wilderness, over whom his heart had ever yearned with a father's love. He was told that a number of English Catholics had come to seek shelter at Rome from the persecution of Elizabeth. Pius V. desired that they should be at once brought into his presence, made anxious and affectionate inquiries concerning the state of Catholics in England, and charged Cardinal Alessandrino to see all their wants supplied; for these confessors for the faith had arrived in a state of absolute destitution. As they left the room he was heard to exclaim, raising his clasped hands to heaven: "My God, Thou knowest that I have been even ready to shed my blood for the salvation of that nation."

The Saint had been too long familiar with sickness, and too much accustomed to the thought of death to be troubled at its approach. His day's work was done, and he lay calmly waiting for his summons home. The prayers in which he best loved to join with the weeping attendants around his bed were the seven penitential psalms; and he would have the reader pause after every verse to give him time for the acts of fervent contrition, which he intermingled with the supplications of the royal penitent. The Passion of our Lord was frequently read to him, and at each mention of the Holy Name he uncovered his head till his fingers grew rigid with the chill of death, when he signed to his attendants to remove his cap for him.

Early in the morning of the 30th of April he declared that his end was approaching, and sent for the prefect of his chapel to give him extreme unction. Once more on his bended knees he poured forth his supplications to God for the welfare of the Church, his one care in life, his one thought in death. For her sake he desired to give his last instructions to Cardinal Alessandrino and to those other members of the Sacred College who most fully possessed his confidence. "If you have loved my mortal life," said he, with an energy full

of his old invincible courage ;—" if you have loved my mortal life, so full of misery and imperfection, far more deeply ought you to love that unchangeable and most blessed life which by the mercy of my God I hope soon to enjoy in heaven. You know well that the most intense desire of my heart was to see the empire of the infidel overthrown, but since my sins have rendered me unworthy of so great a blessing, I adore the inscrutable judgments of God. May His will be done ! Nothing now remains for me but to commend to you with all my soul the Church which God has committed to my care. Do all in your power to elect a successor full of zeal for the glory of God, who shall be attached to no other interest in the world, and shall seek the good of Christendom alone."

As he uttered these words with such vehemence as his failing strength permitted, he raised his arm, which the sleeve of his woollen tunic falling back left uncovered. With his habitual instinctive modesty he hastily pulled down his long sleeve ; this movement was his last.

From that moment, with his eyes fixed on a cross, he breathed forth, in scarcely articulate accents, short passages from Holy Scripture ; and his freed soul at last departed to God as he finished the last line from the Paschal vesper hymn as it then stood :

Quæsumus, Auctor omnium
In hoc paschali gaudio,
Ab omni mortis impetu
Tuum defende populum.

Pius V. died on 1st May, 1572, at the age of sixty-eight, after a reign of little more than six years.

The examination of his body after death proved by the testimony of his physicians how heroic and supernatural had been the patience which had lived and laboured without a murmur under the pressure of such excruciating bodily pain. He was mourned not only in Rome, but throughout the whole extent of Christendom, as in very deed a father. He appeared at the moment of his death to S. Teresa, promising her his continued assistance in the work of her reform. When her sisters asked the reason of her tears, she replied : " Wonder not, but rather weep with me, for the Church is widowed of her holy pastor."

S. Pius V. was numbered among the blessed in 1672 ; his feast is celebrated on the fifth of May. Let every reader of these pages say one Gloria in his honour and one aspiration for our dear country to him who would fain have shed his blood for her on earth—for charity waxes not cold in heaven.

ART. II.—PROTESTANT PROSELYTISM IN EASTERN LANDS.

1. *The Gospel in Turkey*, being "the Tenth and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Turkish Missions-Aid Society." Published at the Society's Office, 7, Adam Street, W.C.; at Nisbet's; and Hatchard's, London. 1864-5.
2. *The Lebanon: a History and a Diary*. By DAVID URQUHART. London: Newby. 1860.
3. *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Greece*. By JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON, M.A. London: Dolman. 1852.
4. *Prospectus of "the Syrian Protestant College"*. Issued by "The Turkish Missions-Aid Society." London. 1865.

THERE are few impartial and well-informed Protestants who will not confess that their missions throughout the world have invariably proved to be utter failures. No matter to what sect or denomination they belong, or from what country or association their funds are derived, Protestant missionaries, as preachers of that Gospel about which they speak so much, never have converted, and we believe never will, convert the heathen save by units and dribblets, hardly worthy of mention. In India, in Turkey, in Africa, amongst the South-Sea Islanders, and the Red Indians of America, the result of Protestant missionary labour is the same wherever it has been tried. The people to whom their missionaries are sent may, and often do, become more or less civilized from intercourse with educated men, and often learn from those who wish to teach them higher matters, some of the arts and appliances of European life. Some few certainly embrace what their preachers deem to be Christianity; and occasionally, but very seldom, small communities of nominal Christians are formed by them. But to bring whole regions of the inhabitants to the foot of the Cross,—to convert whole nations to Christianity,—to prove that their converts have embraced a system in which a man must do what is right as well as believe what is true,—are triumphs which have hitherto been reserved for the Catholic Church, and for her alone.

But, even humanly speaking,—and quite apart from all considerations of the truth as existing only in the Ark which our Lord Himself built,—can we wonder at these results? Are there any who have sojourned in, or even passed through, lands where missionaries of both religions work, and have not compared the Catholic priest with the Protestant minister who has come out to preach the Gospel in those countries?

Take, for instance, an up-country station in British India. Is there a Protestant missionary in the place? If so, he is a man with considerably more than the mere scrip and staff of apostolic days in his possession. As wealth goes amongst Englishmen in the East, he is perhaps not rich; but he is nevertheless quite at his ease, and certainly wanting for nothing. He has his comfortable bungalow; his wife and children are with him; the modest one-horse carriage is not wanting for the evening drive of himself and family; nor is the furniture of his house such as any man of moderate means need despise. He has a regular income from the society he represents; and his allowances are generally such as, with a little care, will allow of his living in great comfort. And, finally, if he falls sick, too sick to remain in the country, the means of taking him home again to England or America are forthcoming at a moment's notice. He is generally a good linguist; for having nothing else to do during six days of the week, he devotes much of his time to the study of the vernacular. He is respected by the European officers of the station; for he is often the only person they ever see in the shape of a clergyman. He is almost always an honest upright man, with little or no knowledge of the world, and, if possible, less of the natives to whom he is sent to preach. This, however, does not matter; for, except amongst his own personal servants, he makes no converts, and has but few hearers. There is no positive harm in him, but as little active good. He is a fair sample of a pious-minded Calvinist, but is certainly no Missionary, as Catholics understand the word. So far from having given up anything to come out to India, both he, his wife, and his—generally very numerous—offspring are much better off than if he had remained in his native Lanarkshire or Pennsylvania. If he belongs to the Church of England, he is very often a German by birth, and appears to have “taken orders” in the Establishment without having for a moment abandoned his own peculiar theological views. Some few Englishmen—literates, hardly ever University men—are to be found here and there, as English Church Missionaries; but these are few and far between, nor do their labours often show greater results than those of their Presbyterian fellow-labourers. Even Dr. Littledale* speaks of “*the pitiful history of Anglican missions to the heathen*,” and he might with great truth have extended his verdict to the missions of every other denomination of Protestantism.

* See “The Missionary Aspect of Ritualism,” in *The Church and the World*. (London; Longmans.)

In contrast to the Protestant, take the European Catholic Missionary in the East, as apart from the native-born priest. He is invariably a volunteer for the work, either a monk or a secular priest, who, aspiring to more severe labour in his Master's vineyard, has chosen the hard and rugged path of a preacher of the Gospel in Pagan lands. As a general rule, you will probably find him living in a humble room in the native bazaar, and depending for his daily bread upon the charity of his flock, or the contributions of any English Catholic officer or civilian who may happen to be in the neighbourhood. He is Catholic in his nation as in his creed; for you may find him French, Belgian, Italian, Spanish, Irish, or English. The present writer has met a French nobleman and the son of a wealthy Yorkshire squire labouring and preaching as Jesuit Missionaries to the natives of India and the poor Irish soldiers who form so large a portion of every garrison in that country. Is it, then, to be wondered at if, notwithstanding their superior means and far greater worldly "respectability," the Protestant Missionaries do not succeed as ours do; or rather, that whereas our Missions are never without fruit, theirs seldom show forth even a few sickly leaves? But the simple fact is, the missionary spirit—or rather the spirit which leads a man, if he believes that duty to God calls him to abandon family, wealth, comfort, health, nay, life itself—never has, and never can be, understood by Protestants, whether climbing the heights of ritualism, or sunk in the depths of Socinianism. Catholics are often angry with Protestants, because the latter are uncharitable respecting monks, priests, and nuns. Catholics are wrong in being angry. Hardly any person who is not a Catholic can understand the spirit which moves men and women to make such sacrifices for the love of God, and counts the loss as so much gain. The very idea of these acts is to him as colour to one who has been blind from his birth: *he* not only cannot understand it, but *you* cannot explain it to him. This is a truth to which every convert will bear testimony, after his eyes have been opened to the truths of God's One and only Church, and which even few of those who have been Catholic from their youth upwards can realize.

But notwithstanding "the pitiful history" of Protestant missions to the heathen, the work of these gentlemen in that direction is not deserving of other sentiment than that of pity. If men will labour in fields where they can bring forth no harvest, and if others will pay them for doing no good, the affair is theirs, not ours. They never can do harm to the Church in those regions, for they achieve neither good nor evil to any one, further than by giving the natives in places where there are no Catholic Missionaries, a very

erroneous idea as to what the duties of a Christian teacher ought to be. Not so, however, in those countries where Protestantism has sent its emissaries to undermine the faith which flourished amongst the inhabitants centuries before the very name of Protestant was known or heard of. To help such undertakings, "*The Turkish Missions-Aid Society*" was established and is kept up, and it is to the two reports of that society at the head of the list of works under notice, that we would call the especial attention of Protestants, even more than Catholics, throughout England.

The "*Laws and Regulations*" of "*The Turkish Missions-Aid Society*" are divided into nine clauses, and in the second of these we are told that—

The object of this society is not to originate a new mission, but to aid existing evangelical missions in the Turkish empire, especially the American.

What these "evangelical" missions are, and to whom the "American" missionaries are sent, we shall see presently. As a matter of course, the society is supported by the very cream of "Evangelical" Protestantism, having Lord Shaftesbury for its President, Lord Ebury as Vice-President, and Mr. Kinnaird as Treasurer. The subscriptions are very large indeed, and from the "statement" furnished by the Report for 1864-65, we find that no less a sum than £24,672. 5s. has been sent out to the East for "Native Agencies" alone, since the commencement of the society, now about eleven years ago; this, of course, being all in addition to the very heavy sums and comfortable salaries furnished by the American Society, called the Board of Foreign Missions, by which these missions and missionaries are maintained.

It would appear that the "fields" occupied by these American Missions are five in number, and the present condition of them is thus summarized in the Eleventh, the latest, Annual Report, now before us:—

Fields.	Missionaries.	Native Assistants.	Stations and Out-Stations.	Churches.	Church Members.	Schools.	Average Sabbath Attendance.	Day Scholars, Male and Female.
Western Turkey	45	73	45	19	512	37	1,569	1,015
Central Turkey	19	54	27	14	998	26	3,125	1,717
Eastern Turkey	21	74	50	14	403	51	2,201	1,889
Syrian . . .	24	37	22	8	200	25	650	548
Nestorian . .	16	82	36	—	529	—	3,000	
<i>Total . .</i>	125	320	180	55	2,642	139	10,545	5,169

These "missions" have been at work, some more, some less time; but a fair average for the whole would be about twenty-five years. It will be observed that in the five "fields" there are but 2,642 "Church Members," or what, amongst Catholics, would be termed communicants. The individuals who come under the head of "Average Sabbath Attendance," can no more be termed Protestant, than His Grace the Duke of Sutherland can be called a Catholic, because he was present at the funeral of Cardinal Wiseman. But we will grant, for the sake of argument, that the 2,642 "Church Members" are earnest consistent Protestants. If so, and taking into calculation only the funds furnished by the Turkish Missions-Aid Society, as quoted above, these converts are not very valuable, for they have only cost something less than ten pounds each. But if to the £24,672. 5s., we add all that the American Board of Missions has paid in the same period as salaries for missionaries, for "Native Assistants," for schoolmasters, rents, building of churches, printing, books, and the passage-money of missionaries and their families to and from the East, we shall find that there is not one of these individuals whose conversion has not one way and another cost a round three thousand pounds. At this price they ought to be stanch anti-papists, for their religion has been a very high-priced article.

Let us turn for a moment to the second book on the list at the head of this article. No one who has read a line of the well-known Mr. Urquhart's many writings on political questions, will ever accuse him of Catholic tendencies on any subject. He is not a bigot, indeed; nor, again, does he ever defend the past history of Protestantism, for he is too well read to uphold what every honest man, with the knowledge of an ordinary school-boy, must condemn. In Oriental matters, moreover, Mr. Urquhart has his peculiar views; but as these have nothing whatever to do with the questions of Protestant and Catholic, Missionary or non-missionary, we may fairly accept what he says on the subject as the testimony of an impartial witness. Here, then, is what he writes respecting the Catholic clergy and the sectarian Missionaries in Syria and Mount Lebanon.

The Roman Catholic regular and secular clergy are established here as in any other Roman Catholic country; that is to say, they are pastors of flocks, and not missionaries. The Protestants have no flocks, and *they are sent with a view to creating them.* TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS are yearly subscribed in the United States for that object, and the missionaries come here having to justify the salaries they receive."—(*The Lebanon*, vol. ii. p. 78.)

The italics in the above quotation are our own, and we have thus marked the words in order to draw attention to what every traveller in the East, not bitten with the "pure gospel" mania, has borne testimony. But let us return once more to the "statement" of the five missionary "fields" occupied by the Americans in the East. Mr. Urquhart would never make an assertion like the above without chapter and verse for what he says; and when he writes that TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS are yearly subscribed in the United States to support their missionaries in the East, we may very safely consider the statement to be true. We cannot, however, suppose that for this enormous sum the missions in Syria only are meant, for then each one of the two hundred "Church members" with which that land is blessed would cost a small fortune in himself. But at the same time it is impossible not to allow that he must mean the American missionary establishments in the East generally,—the five "fields," of which a "statement" has been copied above, and the total of whose "Church members" amounts to 2,642. And even with this calculation it will be seen that every Protestant communicant costs the pretty little *annual* sum of about £9. 10s. for his conversion and subsequent religious instruction. We are given to finding fault, and not unnaturally so, with the cost of the Established Church in Ireland; but what is this when compared with the price of the "Gospel in Turkey"? It is doubtful whether—apart, perhaps, from some other Protestant Missionary "field" of which we are yet ignorant—the religious instruction of any people in the known world costs as much. It is as if each ten individuals had a curate entirely to themselves, and each hundred "Church members" a very well paid private Anglican rector of their own. No wonder that we are told the Syrian Protestant converts think highly of their new creed, "the Gospel of Christ," as it is modestly called. In a country where everything is more or less measured by a monetary standard, a convert for whose spiritual well-being £9. 10s. per annum is paid must believe himself to be in a state of exaltation, considering that had he remained in his own church, his Maronite, Greek, Greek Catholic, or Armenian priest—having to say mass every day, to attend to some one or two thousand parishioners probably scattered over a large district—would consider himself very fortunate indeed if he had a stipend of two thousand piasters a year, or about £20, of which more than half would be paid in corn, oil, or fruits. The fathers of the Jesuit Mission in Syria are allowed a thousand francs, £40, for the travelling expenses, clothing, table, &c., of each priest when engaged on missionary work away from the house

of his community ; how, then, is it that the American missionaries cost so very much more ? We will take up our quotation from Mr. Urquhart again, at the point where we left off :—

They (the American missionaries) have town house and country house, horses to ride, and an establishment and a table which speaks well for the taste of the citizens of the United States. These are results obtained by exertion and combination, and which, affording enjoyment in their possession, prompt to efforts for their retention. The persons thus raised to affluence and consideration in a fine and luxurious climate would have to sink back to hard conditions of life, if not to want and destitution. This relapse presents itself as the consequence of failing in the creating of congregations, or at least of supplying to those who subscribe the funds plausible grounds for expecting that the consummation was near. Looking at the country, nothing can be more painful and more hopeless than the contest : nowhere is an ear open. As to converting the Turks, they might just as well try to convert the Archbishop of Canterbury.

* * * * *

“As to converting the Jews, it would be much better for the United States to send missionaries to Monmouth-street. There remain, then, but the Maronite, the Greek, the Greek Catholic, Armenian, and Nestorian churches, that is to say Christians, to convert. From the pre-existing animosities amongst the Christians, the missionaries could not so much as open their mouths to any of the members of these communities on the subject of religion, and therefore it is a totally different course that they have adopted. They have offered themselves as schoolmasters ; not as persons depending for remuneration on their claims to the confidence of parents, and on their proficiency ; but supplying instruction gratuitously, and adding thereto remuneration to the scholars in various shapes. Their admission in this form has been forced upon the people by the Turkish government. The condition, however, has been appended to it, that they should not attempt to interfere with the religious belief of the pupils. This has been going on for years ; the money continuing to be supplied on the grounds that Protestant congregations are being created, and the proceeds enjoyed by the missionaries on their undertaking that they shall not create them.

“The statistical under-current is, however, veiled or disguised from the men (the missionaries) themselves. The one generation has, so to say, succeeded the other. The new men come out occupied with their own zeal, not caring critically to examine the position in which they stand, and entering at once on a contest already engaged. They are filled with contempt for everything around them ; and to religious zeal, itself a sufficiently active impulse, is superadded the necessity of furnishing reports for public meetings and periodicals in America,—reports which, failing to contain statements of proselytes secured, have at last to supply narratives of contests undertaken and martyrdom endured.—*The Lebanon*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

Our author has, in the foregoing paragraph, certainly touched most of the weak points of Protestant missionary

working. Even a cursory analysis of the Reports before us confirms every word of this quotation from his book. Like every Protestant account of missionary work, the Turkish Missions-Aid Society's Reports are interlarded with scriptural quotations, having always the same significance—that the time for seeing the result of the labour has not yet come, but soon will be; or, as Mr. Urquhart puts it, they supply to those who subscribe the funds, plausible grounds for expecting that the consummation is near.

Some years ago, a grand case of *quasi* martyrdom was reported at Exeter Hall, and must have been worth much money to the societies who furnish missionary funds for the East, both in England and America. It was the cause of many questions being asked, and much correspondence being furnished, in both Houses of Parliament. Despatches were written, the Turkish Government threatened, and the life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who was then our representative at the Porte, made a burden to him for a time with extra work. The story was that some American Protestant missionaries, when "preaching the Gospel" on Mount Lebanon, were stoned and otherwise illtreated, being finally turned out of the village in which they resided; some of them being badly wounded. The tale was well told, but, like other histories of the kind, was allowed to be forgotten as soon as it had served its purpose. Here is Mr. Urquhart's version of the affair, and, gathered as it was in the country itself, is not unlikely to prove the true version of the story:—

The missionaries arriving at Eden (a village not far from the celebrated Cedars of Lebanon, the inhabitants consisting entirely of Maronite Catholics), entered a house, and disposed themselves to occupy it. The master of the house told them that he would not and could not receive them. They persisted, threatening him in the name of the Turkish authorities. A great commotion ensued, and the people, with the fear of the Turkish authorities before their eyes, devised a plan for dislodging the missionaries by unroofing the house. A roof in the Lebanon is not composed of tiles and rafters; to touch a roof is a very serious affair, not to be undertaken in wantonness. The people had the satisfaction of seeing the missionaries mount and depart, without any act on their part which would expose them to after-retribution.—*The Lebanon*, vol. ii. p. 82.

As we said before, Mr. Urquhart is one of the very last men who could be accused of any leanings towards Catholicism, still less of any affection towards the native Christian population of Syria and Lebanon. Of this his volumes bear witness in every chapter. But in a dozen instances he proves what we have so often heard asserted by travellers returned from these

regions, that the people do not want, and do not wish for, the American missionaries, and would far rather be without them. Also that wherever these Protestant apostles are located, their presence is a continual source of trouble and annoyance, by causing quarrels amongst the people, and that their sojourn in the land is most certainly not conducive either to the Glory of God on high, or of Peace on earth to men of good will. That their so-called mission has been a most complete religious *fiasco*, is pretty well proved by the returns which at page 308 we copy from these Reports. If the reader will but turn back to it, he will find that with twenty-four missionaries and thirty-seven native assistants, the number of "Church members" in the Syrian "field" amounts to no more than two hundred, and this after the Americans have worked as missionaries in this "field," for the last quarter of a century or more. Surely no clearer proof than this is wanting for endorsing what Mr. Urquhart has said above respecting the way and the reason why these religious undertakings are puffed up, and "plausible grounds" given for expecting that the consummation of "gospel" triumph is at hand.

There is, perhaps, no Christian population in the world more united as a body, more attached to their clergy, more faithful in their holding to the See of Peter, or more orthodox in every particle of their faith, than the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. To illustrate, even in the most superficial manner, the history and ritual of this singular people would extend this paper far beyond our limits. Suffice it to say that upwards of ONE THOUSAND years before the discovery of America, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up in their churches, and matins, lauds, vespers and complins, sung every morning and evening in their sanctuaries, just as at the present day. Their name is derived from that of S. Maroun, a holy hermit, who, in the fourth century, when the heresies of Eutyches and the errors of Monothelism were so common throughout the East, preserved the inhabitants of Lebanon and the adjacent parts from those influences. "The Maronites," says Mgr. Paterson, in his work, which is the third on our list at the head of this paper—

The Maronites maintain that they have never swerved from the Catholic faith, and love to assert that their Patriarch is the only one whose spiritual lineage from S. Peter, in the see of Antioch, has been unbroken by the taint of heresy or schism (p. 389).

Their secular clergy number about 1,200, and the regulars, inhabiting sixty-seven monasteries, comprise some 1,400

monks, priests, and lay brothers. They have besides fifteen convents, in which there are about 300 nuns.

The blessings of education (continues the same author) are widely diffused amongst the Maronites. Almost all are able to read and write; and though few even of the clergy can be called learned, they are all sufficiently instructed in the most necessary things, and especially in the practical knowledge of their faith. Offences are rare amongst them, crimes almost unknown. The number of the Maronites of Lebanon appears to be about 250,000. In 1180, William of Tyre estimated them at more than 40,000; in 1784 Volnay placed them at 115,000; and Perrier, in 1840, at 220,000. Elsewhere they are hardly to be found; the largest number I know of is at Cyprus, where there are about 1,500. A few also are found at Aleppo and Damascus, and some at Cyprus.

There are (amongst the Maronites of Lebanon) four principal colleges for the education of the clergy. The most ancient is that of Ain Warka, in which between thirty and forty pupils are educated. They are taught Arabic (their vernacular), Syriac, which is the liturgical language of this rite; logic, moral theology, Italian, and Latin. Six exhibitions for the maintenance of as many scholars at the college of Propaganda were attached to this college. At the time of the first French occupation of Rome, the funds which provided for them were seized, and have never been restored; but the pupils still go to Rome, and many of them are to be met with in the higher ranks of the Maronite clergy (p. 388).

It is then to turn this people, and these priests, from the faith which they have so long and so honestly held, and from the spiritual paths in which they have walked for at least fifteen hundred years, that respectable black-coated American gentlemen, whose experience of life has been confined to Boston or New York, are sent over, and maintained by the funds furnished by the zealous Evangelicals of England and the United States. No wonder if those to whom they come would rather be without them. With the people whom they are sent to "convert" they have not a single idea in common. The very vernacular of the country has to be studied and learnt by them (an undertaking of at least two or three years, as Arabic is perhaps the most difficult language in the world for an adult to acquire a proficiency in) before they can preach or even converse with those whom they wish to teach, what they themselves deem, the truths of eternal life. Without the most remote approach to anything like a ritual, and without even the barest liturgy to recommend them, they come amongst a people who from their very infancy are perhaps more familiar with the meaning and teaching of earnest ritualism than any nation on earth. Mr. Urquhart, in the quotation we have given at page 311, says of the Ame-

rican missionaries, that "as to converting the Turks, they might just as well try to convert the Archbishop of Canterbury;" might he not have said the same as to the converting of the Maronites? From the 200 "Church members," which the returns of the Turkish Missions-Aid Society state as the result of the "missionary" labour on the Syrian "field" during the quarter of a century and more which the work has been going on, if we deduct the personal servants of the twenty-four missionaries, and of the thirty-seven native assistants, how many will then be left as real, true, and earnest converts from their own faith to that which the American missionaries would teach them? "It has to be observed," says Mr. Urquhart, "that the proselytism carried on is not, as is supposed in Europe, against unbelievers, but between Christians;"* and surely here is proselytism of the very worst kind forced upon a people against their will, by the inhabitants of another far-off country, who would do very much better if they spent their yearly £25,000 amongst themselves, in "converting" the thousands of worse than pagans to be seen daily in the streets of every great town of England and America, and whose "faith" is from time to time shown in their "works."

We have no desire to hold up to the ridicule they deserve the absurd canting sentences and so-called Scriptural ejaculations with which the Report of the Turkish Missions-Aid Society is interlarded. All who have perused similar documents must be well acquainted with the way in which verses from Holy Writ are made to serve *£. s. d.* by the writer. Nor do we wish to make our readers laugh by reproducing some of the "pious" anecdotes which are to be met with in these pages. Thus it may, or may not, be true that at Nicomedia "a few years ago all was darkness and bigotry;" but it can hardly be taken what the French would call "*au sérieux*" that two Armenian priests in this locality were "awakened" by reading an Armeno-Turkish translation of "The Dairyman's Daughter," and that, since the conversion of these gentlemen, a flourishing church, with a large congregation, has been gathered together, and a Home Mission formed to carry the Gospel to the towns and villages around.† Also, from a personal knowledge of the facts, we permit ourselves to doubt whether the so-called "Missionary" work in Constantinople has been, to say the least of it, judiciously carried on; and whether, about two years ago, the zeal without knowledge

* *The Lebanon*, vol. ii. p. 78.

† See *Tenth Annual Report of the Turkish Missions-Aid-Society*, p. 10.

on the part of the missionaries did not very nearly cause a rising of the whole Mahometan population, and a general massacre of all the Christian population in that city. Nor—on the testimony of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and other Protestants—can we subscribe to the eulogium sung in praise of “the excellent Bishop Gobat.” We have far more serious matter to deal with as regards the American Missions in Syria and the East, and of which, if they are in the least degree consistent, Protestants more than Catholics, whom it really does not concern, would do well to take heed.

In the Appendix to his “Tour,” Mgr. Patterson has, with a fairness and impartiality of judgment which cannot be too highly praised, investigated the question as to what it is that the native Protestants in the East really believe when the process of their so-called “conversion” is complete. And it may not be out of place here to mention that the present writer, who has lately returned from a residence of nearly ten years in those countries, entirely and to the letter agrees with what this author has stated. Were it allowable to mention names, he could also adduce the authority of many Englishmen who have resided in Smyrna, Constantinople, Beyrout, Damascus, the Lebanon, and other parts of the East, all of them Protestants, most of them attending every Sunday the English ministrations of the American Missionaries, and some of them even communicants in their churches. The evidence of these is varied in different points, but, as a whole, certain pages of Dr. Patterson’s Appendix might serve as a *précis* of the various opinions which these gentlemen have spoken, and which the writer himself has formed during his prolonged residence in the East. Be it however noted, that the objections here raised are not against the American Missionaries themselves, but against the *result of their labours*, as well as against those of other Protestant Missionaries—wherever throughout these lands their labours have produced any fruit whatever in the shape of “converts.”

Most true it is (says Mgr. Patterson) that though large sums are expended yearly by Protestants for their missions, the result is nevertheless small indeed: but yet a great work is being done (I sincerely think unintentionally) by those establishments. *The faith of hundreds and thousands in their own religion is being shaken, without any other faith being substituted for it.** The missionaries’ reports are full of expressions to the effect that many

* The italics are our own, and we give them to mark the pith of the whole question, with which nearly all Protestants as well as every Catholic we have met, that have inhabited Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land for any time, most fully concur.

persons come to them, declaring their readiness to hear what they had to say, and their disbelief of their own national or common faith; and yet the "converts" registered by themselves may be told in units, or at most by tens. Accordingly, I never came in contact with "liberals" in politics or religion, whether Jew, Christian, or Gentile, who did not commence the conversation (on the supposition that I was a Protestant) by declaring their disbelief of this or that current dogma of their faith; and in all such cases I found I was expected, as a *Protestant*, to applaud and admire their lamentable condition of mind. I repeat, most emphatically, that I never saw a single person of this description who had one doctrine to *affirm*. The work of the Protestant missions is simply destructive. In Turkey it is detaching Mohammedan subjects from their allegiance to their spiritual and temporal head; in Greece it is introducing the mind of youth to the conceit of private judgment; in Egypt it does the same for the Copts; and in Mesopotamia for the Nestorians. The missionaries report that, among the Jews, they prefer to have to do with the rationalists rather than with the Talmudists; and acting on that principle everywhere, they first make a *tabula rasa* of minds, on which they never afterwards succeed in inscribing the laws of sincere faith or consistent practice (p. 455).

Here, then, we have, in a few words, an account of what the teachings of the Protestant Missionaries in the East result in. They take away the faith that is in these people, and give them nothing in return.* In other and plainer words, the end of all this teaching and preaching and denouncing of "popish" doctrines, is simple unbelief or infidelity, embellished with Scriptural verses and the current cant of the Evangelical school. Do the subscribers to the Turkish Missions-Aid Society contemplate this as one of the results of their liberal donations? Is *this* what the Society put forth so boldly as the "Gospel in Turkey"? Is it for such a change that the traditions mounting to within less than four hundred years of our Lord's sojourn on earth, preserved as they are by a people living in the land which he inhabited, are to be cast off? Surely, even from the most enthusiastic of the Evangelical school, these questions can have but one answer.†

* An English official who had resided upwards of twenty-five years in Syria, and who is a very earnest Protestant, told the present writer exactly the same. "The American missionaries," he said, "destroy the faith these native Christians had, but give them no other in return. The consequence is, that they invariably become mere rationalists."

† About four years ago, a party of English travellers were journeying over Mount Lebanon. Whilst halting at a roadside "khan," they were accosted by a native who spoke English very well. They asked him who he was, and where he had learnt their language. He said he was, or had been, servant to one of the American missionaries, naming the gentleman, and that he was "a good Protestant." One of the ladies present put a few questions to him, and amongst others, asked him what he now believed of the Virgin Mary? "That

And let not the subject be either misunderstood or blinked. Take any dozen Englishmen really conversant with the ways of the country and the ideas of the inhabitants; let them all be Protestants, and even be of those who, finding no other Protestant ministration, attend the chapels of the American Missionaries. Of the twelve, certainly nine will tell you that, although well-meaning and honest men in their way, the preaching of the Protestant Missionaries in the East pulls down, but never builds up belief, and that in sober truth the native Protestant "converts" are but so many freethinkers—theoretical Christians, but practical infidels. There is, with respect to this part of our subject, one more extract from Mgr. Patterson's book,* which, although somewhat lengthy, we find so much to the purpose, with respect to some of the questions of the day, that we copy it entire:—

The Protestant sects of the West (says our author) are represented in the East by missions of several denominations; but since they all represent but one principle, namely the denegation of spiritual authority as the basis of belief, it is unnecessary to distinguish them here. At first sight it might appear that the Episcopalians, or representatives of the Anglican Establishment, should command a distinct notice, since they have one point (that of episcopal superintendence) in common with the Eastern sects; but when it is considered, not merely that the fact of their having real bishops is denied by all the sects of the East,† as well as by the Catholic Church, but that they

for the Virgin Mary," said the miscreant, spitting at the same time, and using an Arabic gesture indicating the utmost contempt. The lady—an Anglican, not a Catholic—of course dropped the conversation, feeling too disgusted to continue it. Some days afterwards she related the anecdote to the wife of an American missionary; but the latter was not at all shocked, merely making the remark, "*I guess the man had got rid of his old superstitions.*" Is this what they would call evangelizing the native Christians?

* No one interested in the present spiritual state of the East should be without this volume, and every traveller to Palestine—Catholic or Protestant—should take it with him.

† This, be it remembered, was written in 1852, ten years before the recent attempt at union on the part of certain Anglicans with the Greek Church. What Mgr. Patterson says is the simple truth, and is confirmed by numerous conversations which the present writer had, during a ten years' residence in the East, with several patriarchs and numerous bishops, priests, and deacons of the Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, Copt, and Jacobite sects. All these clergy hate the very name of Rome, but they acknowledge she has real bishops and a real priesthood; whilst one and all deny that the Anglican Church has either. The English Book of Common Prayer, translated into Arabic, is very often met with throughout the East, but it does not appear to have impressed the Oriental Churches, whether in communion with the see of Peter or not, very favourably respecting the Established Church of this country. The Thirty-nine Articles they regard with especial horror, as showing the Church to be heretical at core. Nor have the samples of the *Anglican Church* and Anglican bishop of Jerusalem done much to remove *this impression*, but rather the contrary.

themselves entirely repudiate any claims which might be founded on their supposed possession of an apostolic commission and authority through the episcopate ; and when, moreover, it is remembered that the few persons who think differently on these points are wholly unrepresented in the East, it seems evident that the distinction would be unreal. Further, the Protestant missions in the East are mainly supplied by ministers in the communion of the Establishment in England, but often not episcopally appointed or ordained, and in all cases a perfect equality is admitted between such as are so appointed and those who are not. Hence the Anglo-Lutheran "Episcopalians," the Independents, the American Congregationalists, &c., act in unison, and on one principle. They teach that the belief they advocate in certain doctrines is to be acquired by each individual through a perusal of certain writings, and must be held by him as the result of convictions proceeding from his own investigation of those writings, which they assert to be the inspired word of God. This procedure they call "the right of private judgment."

But the very terms of the Protestant principle, thus represented, involve, not merely a disregard of existing authorities, but also of that which presents that system for the acceptance of Eastern Christians. Those, however, who advocate its claims are not usually to be bound by the laws of consistency in logic. Though they will have every man to read the sacred Scriptures (that is, *their* version of them) and to judge for himself, they have also a few doctrines, built on them as they suppose, to which they attach an importance equal to that ascribed by Catholics to the dogmas of faith. Of these, the chief is what they term "justification by faith only"—a doctrine which teaches that man is accounted (but not made) fit for eternal life in the Divine Presence, by a *subjective* act or sentiment of the mind, called by them "faith." This "faith" is not the "faith" of theological writers, but a persuasion, or enthusiastic feeling, on the part of the individual, that he is saved from eternal death by the sacrifice of the Cross. Laying such stress as this view does on a persuasion, or feeling of the mind, it might be expected that other acts of the mind would be regarded by those teachers as of cognate importance. With singular inconsistency, however, they regard all such acts, whether of love, hope, or fear, or the like, as not only unimportant or indifferent, but even sinful in fact or tendency. The one operation of the soul to which they attach salvation is that of persuasion that itself is saved. To account for so arbitrary a distinction, they allege that this persuasion is not a natural gift but a divine grace—or, rather, *the* divine grace ; for in it are contained, and from it flow, all those good results which Catholic writers call "graces ;" such as humility, charity, hope, &c. This extraordinary and almost inexplicable doctrine, they consider not only conveyed in Holy Scripture, but the whole sum and substance of its teaching ; and they allege portions of the epistles of St. Paul, in which he declares that man is not justified by works, done irrespectively of the divine sacrifice of the Cross, to prove that all works or acts of the mind (saving always the one act of persuasion, which they call "faith") are valueless and ineffectual to work out salvation. The teachers of this view among us are often pious persons, who act morally from natural good feelings ; but the Eastern mind is too consistent and too voluptuous to imitate them. If it is possible, they

say, to attain salvation by means of a sentiment so pleasant, we regard it as quite unnecessary to add to it supererogatory performances disagreeable to our inclinations (p. 453).

Here, in sober fact, and if we will only give things their right names, is one of the chief reasons of such "conversions" as take place in the East to Protestantism. An Oriental mind is difficult to fathom at once; but take any of the professed Protestants in Syria or other parts of Turkey, clear away all the rubbish they have learnt to talk in imitation of their new teachers—separate if you can (and it is merely a matter of time and patience) all the prating about "the Lord Jesus," and "the blessed Scriptures," the "teaching of the Spirit," and such-like spiritual mouthings, from what are the actual thoughts of the individual and the real reasons for his change, and you will invariably find at the bottom of his mind the all-prevailing idea, that of what use are confession, penance, private prayer, fasting, giving alms, and other good works, when salvation can be accomplished by the far more easy and pleasant process of a mere sentiment of the mind, which any man can train his understanding into believing when he wishes to do so. And these, be it understood, are the best of the converts. As Mgr. Patterson says of them:—

Such persons as I am alluding to have really embraced the principle on which Protestantism rests. They have thrown off the authority of their own belief, not to accept the formula of another, but to reject all authority. They are like the German "philosophic" Protestants, or the French universities of the West—their conduct is often irreproachable, but their belief is a blank, and their principles distinctly Antinomian, even when they themselves do not put them in practice. I maintain that to one class or other of these all the proselytes made to Protestantism in the East belong. They are either worthless persons, who are happy to substitute an easy-simulated sentiment for whatever amount of discipline their communion imposed, or they are "philosophers," sceptics, and infidels. The reports of these allegations, and the existing state of religious and political parties in the East, gives scope for these results (p. 453).

There are, however, two other reasons, which also act powerfully upon such natives of the East as come under the influence of Protestant missionary teaching, and of which when they have abandoned their own creed, they take especial pride in the possession. The one is the notion which they imbibe from certain misquotations of Holy Writ, as well as from ill-judged (even looking at it from a Protestant point of view) teaching on the part of their new pastors; viz., that every man is "a priest unto God," and that once a Protestant and a "Church member," they are as high in spiritual rank, and

far superior in "saving faith" to those whom they formerly regarded and respected as their clergy. The idea is of course utterly false, and childish in the extreme to our views. But the native mind can only be judged by its own standards of worth, and the fact remains as we have said. That the Protestant missionaries would knowingly foster such notions, it would be uncharitable to believe; but that such is another result of their teaching, there can be no doubt whatever. The missionaries themselves, however, see very little indeed of their congregations, small as they are, save at prayer-meetings and preachings once or twice in the week. It is a curious fact, but one which has struck many even of those who have not yet found courage to knock and ask for admittance into the Catholic Church, that in proportion as a sect, or people, or nation, stray far from the unity of the one true fold, so do their pastors and teachers neglect and despise that visiting and looking after their flocks, which forms with us such a prominent part of every parish priest's or missionary's duty. The High-Church Anglican Protestant clergymen—although still very far short of what is done by our clergy—come next to the Catholic priest in this work; and as we descend the scale of Protestantism, we find the practice more and more rare, until by the Socinians such acts of supererogation on the part of their preachers are never heard of. With Protestant missionaries in the East the practice is exceedingly rare: perhaps it is regarded as an infringement upon true religious liberty?

The third reason which has often—very generally, if not always—influence in making the native of Syria, Palestine, or other Eastern lands embrace Protestantism, is that when he has done so, the fact of his being a proselyte, puts him indirectly under the "protection" of the English or American consul, if such an official there is—and there generally is one—within even a couple of days' journey from the convert's place of abode. Not that the individual is at once put on the rolls of the English or American subjects. Such was some years ago the practice; but now for very shame's sake this has been altered. But, as the English consuls-general, consuls, and vice-consuls have a sort of standing order to "protect" all Protestants against the tyranny or ill-usage of the local authorities; and, as every native Protestant has nearly always some grievance which he makes out to be an injustice committed on him *because he is a Protestant*, so his complaint invariably finds its way to the English Consulate, and either the chief of the office or one of his native dragomen deems it imperative upon him to interfere, if not officially, at

any rate officiously, with the pasha or other authority of the place. As a matter of course the complaint is listened to, and—justice or not justice—the “protected” of the consul gets what he calls justice, but which his opponent often deems the very reverse. For, be it remarked, that, as a general rule in the East, “justice” means obtaining what you want, not what is yours by law or equity. Your complaint, and what in Europe we call justice, *may* be on the same side. If so, all the better; but if not, you will term your view of the affair “justice” all the same; and, if you don’t get what you want, you are *unjustly* treated. This sort of administration is but too often ruled by the consuls, and the “converts” know full well how to make use of it. No one who has not lived in the Turkish dominions can imagine the power which a European consul or vice-consul has in those countries. Mr. Urquhart has done good service in exposing this evil, which is, in point of fact, one of the chief reasons why the Ottoman Empire has been gradually but surely verging towards ruin since the foreign consular power became virtually far greater than that of the local authority. Of this interference of one country in the affairs of another, Mr. Urquhart says, it presents “a terrible prospect for the human race; for it involves the extinction of each people, and the absorption ultimately of the whole in some one government more dexterous than the rest.” All the chief governments of Europe have been more or less guilty of this meddling with the Executive of Turkey, but notably England, France, and Russia, in whose hands every local pasha is a plaything, to be tossed here and there at will. England says—or, rather, each English consul says for her—that he must interfere, else French influence would be too powerful in the province or district. France returns the compliment, and declares that England—that is, the English consul—is such a deep diplomat that, unless she uses her influence, England would be paramount in the place. Russia, on the other hand, declares that she must maintain her *prestige*, else the Turks would say of their old enemy that she had fallen in the scale of nations. This interference in the administration of the Ottoman Empire is thus described by Mr. Urquhart:—

In other countries it has been known as diplomatic representations made in regard to principles; here [that is, in Turkey] it is administrative. It bears upon the taxes, the customs, the limitation of districts, the administrative functions, the parish business, the selection and displacement of functionaries, the operations of the courts of law,—whatever is included under the word “government” belongs here to “interference.” This operation is exercised with authority, without control, without responsibility. The discussions

in reference thereto are carried on between the functionaries of a foreign government; and as that foreign government can enter upon the field only by an act of usurpation, its position is that of an enemy. Every act is directed to subvert and to disturb; the object of each individual is of necessity to supersede the legitimate authority of the native functionary with whom he is in contact.

Thus it is that the administrative interference, which has in Syria replaced the diplomatic, is carried on through consuls (vol. ii. pp. 349, 350).

Hitherto this work of "interference" has been carried on by our English consuls in Syria in very much the same way as it has by their Russian and French colleagues—no better, but no worse. At any rate, in all matters of influencing religious affairs, directly or indirectly, they have held perfectly aloof. But, if we are to judge from a document lately put forth by the Turkish Missions Aid Society, the title of which stands at the end of the list of books and pamphlets that head this paper, either an entire change has in this respect come over our policy, or else several of our Anglo-Syrian officials must be acting in direct disobedience of the wishes of the Foreign Office. We allude to an appeal for the building of "A SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE," together with a prospectus of the same, and a list of the "*Local Board of Managers*," amongst which, to their shame be it said, appear the names of Mr. Geo. J. Eldridge, her Majesty's Consul-General in Syria; Mr. W. H. Wrench, her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Beyrout; Mr. Noel Temple Moore, her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem; and Mr. E. T. Rogers, her Majesty's Consul at Damascus. That there can be no real desire or want for such an institution in the country, and that the very appeal for help to found it is about the most outrageous piece of pious impudence that has ever been published, even in the name of sectarian so-called religion, will appear upon a further examination of this document. We will do the American missionaries the justice of saying that no Englishman would, or could, ever have had the *toupe* to ask for money for such a purpose; the whole document bears the unmistakable impress of "smart" New England. As we have shown before, from the "summary" of American Missions' Statement at page 308, copied from the report of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, the number of Protestant "Church members" on the Syrian field is two hundred; this, too, after nearly thirty years of missionary "labour" in the country. And now these same missionaries come forward and modestly tell us that "more than £20,000 have already been secured and invested in the United States" for the building of this proposed "institution," and that "*it is proposed to raise an equal amount in England*,"

the income annually going to the support of the College." The President of the proposed College, and *ex-officio* President of the Board of Managers, is an American missionary, the Reverend Dr. Bliss, and amongst the members of the Board are the names of some thirteen or fourteen other missionaries of sorts. The trustees, who "are to have the general supervision of the Institution," reside in New York, where we should imagine they will be able, from their proximity to the College in Syria, to supervise the whole affairs exceedingly well. With these, or with such persons as have parted with their money for such a pious folly, we have nothing to do. But as regards the English officials, it is another matter, and Protestants, as well as Catholics, must agree that men holding the positions they do in a country where religious discord is the bane and curse of the land, have no business to mix themselves up with an undertaking which is purely and wholly got up for the purpose of proselytism. Had the subscription been to build a Protestant chapel or church, or to endow any such establishment for the use of the English residents in Syria, it would have been a very different matter. To lend their names to any such undertaking, these gentlemen would have a perfect right; but to give their official sanction to a scheme which is but a renewed campaign upon the religion of the country, and as English government officers to say that they—and consequently the government they represent—approve as consul-general and consuls of a wholesale sectarian converting shop, is nothing less than a prostitution of the name of this country in Syria. The "dodge" is a good one; the American missionaries, notwithstanding their "tall" pious talk in missionary newspapers, have actually done nothing towards perverting the native Christians of Syria. Two hundred "Church members" in nearly thirty years is at the rate of seven converts a year, or less than the third of a convert every twelve months for each of the twenty-four missionaries. This would never pay. Even American subscribing "Christians" will, after a time, cease to contribute for what brings forth so little fruit. Something must be done; and therefore they have started the idea of this "Syrian Protestant College," having got the promises of these consular gentlemen to countenance it as they have done.

Did these proselytising consuls, before they allowed their names to be made use of in this prospectus, read the third paragraph of the document, in which we are coolly told that "THE ENEMIES OF CHRISTIANITY, PROFESSED INFIDELS AS WELL AS PAPISTS, FULLY ALIVE TO THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED FROM THE PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY, ARE ADOPTING BO

AND ENERGETIC MEASURES TO FORESTALL PROTESTANTISM IN BECOMING THE EDUCATORS OF THIS VAST POPULATION"?

Or, if they *did* read it, did it not strike them that there was an insolence, as well as an amount of sickening cant and implied falsehood, throughout these words which ought to have prevented them, as *English gentlemen*, to say nothing of their official characters, from countenancing such a concern? Have English consuls in Eastern lands so far lost whatever teaching they may have had as to forget that, taking all her Majesty's subjects throughout the world, the "Papists" are very nearly as numerous as the Protestants; and that to class them with "infidels," and call them "the enemies of Christianity," is an insult,—to say nothing of the loud vulgarity, and the utter untruth of the assertion,—which may be pardonable in an ignorant Yankee tub-preacher to pen, but which there can be no excuse for any English gentleman, far less any English official, to lend his name to? In this, every person with the slightest pretension to the name of gentleman or an educated man, no matter what may be his religious persuasion, must agree with us. And to talk of "Syrian Protestantism," with its two hundred "Church members" amidst a population of half a million native Christians, and three times that number of Moslems, being "forestalled" in "becoming the educators of this vast population," is much as if the Mormons in London were to complain that the English Church was "forestalling" them in being the educators of the capital of England. The Latter-Day Saints of the metropolis bear a much larger and not at all less respectable proportion to the rest of the population of London, than the Protestant "converts" of Syria do to the rest of their fellow-countrymen.

Three excuses may be put forth in defence of these consular gentlemen who have thus disgraced the country they serve. It may be asserted,—1st, That if French, Russian, and Austrian consuls give official protection to Catholic and Greek religious establishments, it is quite lawful for English authorities to do the same to Protestant undertakings. 2ndly, That "the Syrian Protestant College" is to be got up for literature, the sciences, jurisprudence, and medicine, and not for religious purposes. And, 3rdly, that they have allowed their names to be made use of without reading over the prospectus. Of these, the third and last excuse is the only one that will hold water for an instant; and for their sakes we hope it may be true, poor and lame as such a plea would be for official men. As regards the first of these pleas, which we have put into the mouths of the defendants, it is quite true that the French, Russian, and Austrian consuls have and do afford official pro-

tection to Catholic and Greek religious establishments, but the cases are by no means parallel.

To quote again the words of Mr. Urquhart:—"The Roman Catholic regular and secular clergy are established here (in Syria) as in any other Roman Catholic countries;* that is to say, they are pastors of flocks, and not missionaries. The Protestants have no flocks, and they are sent with a view of creating them."

We wonder what this writer would have said could he have seen a "Syrian Protestant College" proposed as a means towards this much-desired end, or could he have foreseen that four English consuls could ever have lent their names—officially, too—to such a combination of Little Bethel and "smart" American doings. Nor will it suffice to say that this institution is not being got on foot for the express purpose of proselytism, more or less direct. In paragraph number eight we are told that—

The College will be conducted on strictly Protestant and evangelical principles.

What *that* means, we all know; also—

It will be open for students from any of the Oriental sects or nationalities who will conform to its laws and regulations.

That is to say, any student belonging to the Latin,† Maronite, Greek Schismatical, Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Armenian Schismatical, or other Eastern Church, will be admitted to this college, provided he attends "Protestant" and "Evangelical" preachings and prayers, and is humble-minded enough to hear the faith of his fathers denounced every day as one of "the enemies of Christianity," and "Papists" lovingly classed with "professed infidels." And in the very next sentence we are further informed that—

It is hoped that a strong Christian influence will always centre in and go forth from this institution; and that it will be instrumental in raising up a

* The same may be said of the Greek clergy, who have many and very large congregations in the country—in some parts much more numerous than the Maronites or other Catholic churches.

† In the East, European Catholics, and all others who use the European or Roman Ritual, are called "Latins;" whilst the other Oriental Churches in communion with the See of Peter are distinguished by their respective names—Maronites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Chaldeans, and others. The whole are termed "Catholics," and there is nothing of which they are so proud as their intercourse with Rome and the centre of unity. Of the various schismatical and heretical sects, there is not one that assumes the name of "Catholic," except certain of the "advanced" school in the English Established Church.

body of men who will fill the ranks of a well-trained and vigorous "Native Ministry;" become the authors of a Native Christian Literature; supply the educational wants of the land; encourage its industrial interests; develop its resources; occupy stations of authority, and in a large degree aid in carrying the Gospel and its attendant blessings wherever the Arabic language is spoken.

With the help of one English consul-general, two English consuls, and one English vice-consul, this may in a certain measure be done: yes, and *will* be done; for consular influence in those lands is all-powerful. But without it, no: without this English State-help the "Syrian Protestant College" will wither, and only bear fruit in such proportion as have done the "Protestant Churches" in Syria, with their 24 missionaries, their 37 native assistants, and their 200 communicants, after nearly thirty years' labour in the Syrian "field."

After the extracts we have given from the prospectus, can there be any doubt as to the proselytising intentions of this American-Syrian-Protestant-Evangelical Institution? or can there be two opinions as to the propriety of English gentlemen and English officials degrading themselves and their office by becoming connected with such an undertaking? We observe, by the way, as a curious coincidence in the prospectus, that the name of the New York Treasurer to the Board of Trustees of this proposed college is William E. Dodge; and that the Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, of New York, has been appointed one of the Professors. Would it not have been better and more appropriate if her Majesty's Consuls at Beyrout, Damascus, and Jerusalem had left all this evangelical speculation to men of like name and calling? It is true that when the prospectus was drawn out, and these English officials allowed their name to be made use of, Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister, and Lord Russell ruled over the Foreign Office. That the Shaftesbury power with the first, and the well-known tendencies of the author of the Durham Letter, may have had some influence with these individuals in their official character is possible, nay, probable; but should gentlemen, English gentlemen, ever have allowed their names to go forth as patrons and directors of this unholy humbug? A private individual may lend his influence to whatever scheme he likes to patronize; but a public servant—and above all an English public servant in Turkey—has no right whatever to be so liberal with his patronage.

One word more ere we have done with the "Syrian Protestant College."

At the head of the list of subscribers to this proposed institution is £1,000 from "The late Syrian Asylums' Committee." If we are rightly informed, that money was subscribed from the residue of a fund which was instituted in 1860 to afford assistance to the sufferers from the Syrian massacres. To this fund Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, and Jews subscribed, with the express stipulation and understanding that no part or portion of it was to be used for any religious purpose whatever. The fact was, that the chief managers of the fund in Syria were American missionaries, and subscribers to it were afraid that the money would be used for proselytising purposes. After a time the great misery of the Syrian Christians came to an end, and no further relief was required; but there still remained an unused balance of about £1,200 of this fund in the banker's hands. If what is reported in London be correct—and we have very good reason for believing it to be so—who was it that gave authority for this £1,000 to be given as a donation to the Syrian Protestant College? The question regards not only the Catholics, Greeks, and Jews of London, Manchester, Liverpool, and other towns in England that subscribed to this fund, but also those belonging to a large—and we are thankful to say a very large—class of our Protestant fellow-countrymen, who, however much they may differ with us in matters of faith, are enemies to religion being made a cloak for fraud, and are honest and honourable in their dealings between man and man. If this £1,000 which heads the list of subscriptions to the Syrian Protestant College was really given from the money which in 1860-61 was gathered together as "the Syrian Relief Fund," a gross and most infamous breach of trust has been committed, and all men should beware how they in future contribute to anything in which the American Oriental missionaries have any influence.

But where have the projectors of this college learned geography? They tell us that the establishment will be "LOCATED IN BEYROUT, the seaport of Syria, a city rapidly growing in size and importance, and OCCUPYING A CENTRAL POSITION IN RESPECT TO ALL THE ARABIC-SPEAKING RACES."

The capitals are our own, for we would note these words as bringing a new light in geographical discovery. That Beyrout is by far the most pleasant, nay the only pleasant, town in Syria to reside in,—that there is more society, and particularly what the promoters of this undertaking would call more "Christian" society, we fully admit. That, on account of its proximity to the sea, it is far more healthy than most towns in Syria, and that from the number of its European and native *Christian* inhabitants it is far safer to reside in, and much

more exempt from the chance of any Moslem outbreak taking place, cannot be denied. But that it occupies "a central position in respect to all the Arabic-speaking races," is simply, and very grossly untrue, as a glance at any schoolboy's atlas would show. It would be about as correct to assert that Plymouth or Falmouth held "a central position in respect to" the rest of England. If the promoters of "The Syrian Protestant College" are so very anxious to diffuse the great blessings of their faith and literature "wherever the Arabic language is spoken," would not Damascus, Mosul, Aleppo, Antioch, or even Bagdad, be more central than Beyrout? To reside in any of these places would not be so pleasant, but it would be more missionary-like, and would certainly save the money of the subscribers, Beyrout being by far the most expensive town in all Syria to live in.

But men of American sectarian-preacher stamp never knew and never will know, what a missionary spirit is. It is foreign to their habits as well as to their creed. When we hear of American Protestant Missionaries going forth with barely a change of clothes; when we learn that they abandon father, mother, family, house, and home to preach the Gospel; when we read of half a score of them undergoing martyrdom, as did two Catholic bishops and eight priests, in Corea, an account of which was published in the *Times* of the 27th August last—when, in fine, we hear of their taking lessons in their work from the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Capuchins, the Dominicans, or any other of those religious orders which have shed such lustre upon the Church in all ages—it may, then, become a matter of discussion whether, notwithstanding their gross errors in faith, they have not something of the missionary spirit amongst them. At present we can only look upon them as do all the Moslems, the native Christians, the Jews, and nineteen-twentieths of the European population in the East, viz., that they drive a very flourishing trade, and enjoy very comfortable incomes; but that the work they are paid for doing has neither the self-denial of man nor the blessing of God to make it prosper. Protestant missions throughout the world have ever been, are, and ever will be, most miserable failures. Dr. Littledale was, at any rate, candid when he spoke of "the pitiful history of Anglican missions to the heathen;" but he might with equal truth make mention of the wretched results of Protestant missions throughout the world. That unison of mawkish sentiment and Biblical phrases selected at random, which commonly goes by the name of "cant," may certainly influence weak-minded persons to subscribe to visionary schemes of a

Protestant conversion of Oriental Christians. But exposure must come sooner or later, and with it the beginning of the end of subscriptions. Some years ago the American missionaries gave up the "field" they occupied at Jerusalem; would it not be as well if they conferred a similar boon on the Syrian and Lebanon districts? The Churches against which they are chiefly engaged in preaching have their own bishops, their own clergy, and their own missionary preachers from Europe. These latter are not engaged in perverting men from another quarter, but—at the request, and with the full concurrence, of the native bishops and clergy—they build up and repair the breaches in the sheep-fold, and help in driving away the wolves that would enter. There may be—there are—sheep that go astray from time to time, but considering all things—and particularly now that the sectarian influence of English consuls in Syria has been brought to bear on the "work"—these are few indeed. The Maronites and other sects in communion with S. Peter's successor, form part and parcel of God's one only true and holy Catholic Church, against which, we have His word, the gates of hell shall never prevail.*

In his work upon "Mount Lebanon," from which we have already quoted, Mr. Urquhart relates a conversation which he had with a certain Maronite bishop, which seems so *apropos* that we give it entire:—

I wish you to know [said the Bishop] that we are not attached to France. France is to us an oppression from which we would be most happy to escape; we have proved this by acts, but no account is taken of them. How France came to be considered our protector is an old story, into which it is needless to enter. The connection awakened against us the hatred of the Turks and of the Greeks, and to it may be attributed the past suffering of our people from both. Here and in the other parts of Syria, in Egypt and in Cyprus, from the middle of the last century to the close of the campaign of Napoleon, we reckon that the blood of 40,000 Maronites has been shed by the Turks or the Greeks. This is the debt we owe to French protection. When, in 1840, the French Government sent to us to require us to support Ibrahim Pasha and Emir Beshir, we gave a flat refusal. M. — came to Saida, and sent a message to the Patriarch (of the house of Habesh), who sent his own secretary to give him the answer, which had been decided on by the bishops and chiefs, which was, "The Maronites have heard much of,

* The fact of four English consuls allowing their names to go forth as patrons of a Protestant College, which is to be got up for the perversion of native Christians, is so utterly at variance with the general practice of our government, that we must express our surprise it has been overlooked at the Foreign Office. We cannot imagine Lord Stanley lending even a tacit sanction to such an outrage on the feelings of the native Syrian Christians.

but have never seen, the fruit of the protection of France, and could not, in the hope of it, expose themselves to the risks they were now required to run." Then the English Government sent to us an agent (Mr. Wood), accompanied by M. Stendel, on the part of the Austrian Government, proposing to us to accept the protection of Austria in lieu of that of France. We declined to make any application for such protection; and we complained to Mr. Wood of the interference in our religion of the Protestant missionaries, which made us look with suspicion on the intentions towards us of the English Government. He assured us that the English Government was opposed to all missionary schemes, and suggested that we should draw up a petition to the Turkish Government, requesting the missionaries to be prohibited from entering the country, promising that the English Ambassador would obtain from the Porte an order to that effect. Satisfied with these assurances, we aided in the expulsion of Mehemet Ali, although he had every way favoured the Maronites.

The promised order respecting the missionaries never came. England set up a Protestant Bishop (in Jerusalem), and obtained from the Porte the formal recognition of the Protestants as a body (vol. ii. pp. 261, 262).

The italics in this quotation are our own. They show pretty plainly whether or not the missionaries are welcome to the natives of Syria. But what will these same natives say now, when they see our consuls-general and consuls coming forth as the official patrons and promoters of Protestant missionary proselytism? If it be true—and we have certainly always looked upon it as one of the rules of our Government—that the English Government "*is opposed to all missionary schemes,*" how is it that the consul-general in Syria, the consul at Jerusalem, and the consul at Damascus, are allowed to take upon themselves the office of "Managers" or "Local Directors" of the Protestant Syrian College?

ART. III.—ORIGEN AT CÆSAREA.

Origenis Libri contra Celsum (inter Opera omnia). Ed. Migne, 1857.

IN concluding our survey of the character and work of Origen, it will be useful to recall the leading dates in the chronology of his life to the date of his exodus from Alexandria. Born in or about 186, he became the head of the Catechetical school at the age of eighteen. About 211 he visited Rome. From that year till 231, he laboured at Alexandria, with no other interruptions than short journeys into Arabia, to Cæsarea, and into Greece. In 231 he left Alexandria never to return, and thenceforward the chief place of his residence was Cæsarea of Palestine. In the fourth or fifth year of his sojourn there (235), Maximin's persecution compelled him to flee to Cæsarea of Cappadocia. Returning to the other Cæsarea in 238, he remained there for about eleven years, that is, until the commencement of the Decian persecution. During these years, however, he made another journey into Greece, and two more into Arabia. After the cessation of the persecution he lived a short time in Jerusalem, and thence removed to Tyre, where he died in 253, or 254, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The chief divisions of his life after attaining manhood are therefore the following:—

1. The twenty years (211—231) of his Alexandrian teaching.
2. The twenty years (231—251) of his life at Cæsarea.
3. The three or four years from the end of the Decian persecution (251) till his death (254).

In our present essay we shall be concerned chiefly with the second of these periods. It was the time of Origen's most active and dignified labour. He was now not so much the teacher of disciples as the teacher of teachers and the doctor of the whole East. The Church was, on the whole, at peace, her numbers were increasing, her organization developing, and her doctrines becoming daily more and more a subject of inquiry to intellects, friendly and hostile. We have before taken notice (DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1866, p. 401) how Cæsarea was an important centre, political, literary, and religious; and here Origen spent the twenty years of which we now speak, in intercourse with such bishops as S. Alexander, S. Theoc-

tistus, and Firmilian, in training such pupils as Gregory Thaumaturgus, in preaching such homilies as those on Isaiah, Ezechiel, and the Canticles, in writing such apologies as the *Contra Celsum*, and in carrying through such an enterprise as the Hexapla. It is to this period that we must refer the emphatic testimony of S. Vincent of Lerins. "It is impossible," says he, "to tell how Origen was loved, esteemed, and admired by every one. All that made any profession of piety hastened to him from the ends of the world. There was no Christian who did not respect him as a prophet, no philosopher who did not honour him as a master." The word piety (εὐσέβεια) is worth noticing, because something much more wide and broad was meant by it then than now; indeed, the original word would be better translated religion or religiousness. The term, prophet, is also worthy of being remarked; a prophet means one who is at once a teacher of the most exalted class and an ascetic who has perfectly trampled this world under his feet. Finally, the philosophers looked to him as their master, though he professed to teach no philosophy but Christianity, and quoted the Hebrew Scriptures instead of Plato and Aristotle when men came to him with difficulties about the Soul, the Logos, and the Creator.

In the present article, therefore, we shall be concerned with his Cæsarean life; and as it is impossible to compress within moderate limits all that might be said of the literary productions of this exceedingly rich period of his labours, we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the consideration of the great work *Contra Celsum*. First, however, let us take a glance at the events of the twenty years, for they are not void of events which give us a notion of the man.

Since his principal charge at Cæsarea was to preach the Word of God to the people, perhaps the largest part of his extant writings has come to consist of the homilies that he delivered in the discharge of this honourable duty. It was the bishop himself who, as a rule, preached in the church, and no priest was substituted whose learning and piety were not beyond all question. We have before quoted the strong words in which Eusebius has handed down the opinion of Origen held by S. Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea. On the Sunday, therefore, as we learn from himself, on festivals, and sometimes, it would seem, on Fridays or other week-days, he stood forth from among the clergy with all the weight of his bishop's mandate and of his own character, to interpret and comment on the Holy Scriptures. It would be interesting to be able to picture to ourselves that church at Cæsarea in which the great light of the East spoke, Sunday after Sunday,

to the mingled Greek and barbarian Christians of the capital of Palestine. It would probably be a building designed and founded for the purpose. Yet it cannot have been grand or sumptuous, or in any way resembling a heathen temple, for Origen himself allows that the Christians had no "temples." What it was inside we can better guess. We know from Origen's own hints that there existed in it the usual distinctions of position for the various ranks of faithful and of clergy that are so well known from writers of a century later. We may, therefore, conclude that the chancel or altar part was clearly separated from the rest of the interior, and perhaps elevated above it; that the altar itself stood at some distance from the eastern wall, and that round the apsis behind it ran the *βῆμα*, or presbyters' bench. Here, in the centre, stood the chair of the bishop, and here he sat during the sacred liturgy in the midst of his priests, all in a semi-circle of lofty seats. The deacons and inferior clergy occupied the rest of the sanctuary, which was separated by a railing from the nave. In the nave, immediately outside the rails, stood the *ambo* or reading-desk, sometimes called the choir, for here clustered the singers and readers whose place it was to intone the less solemn parts of the liturgy. Hangings, more or less magnificent, according to circumstances, suspended above the rails, were closed during the canon of the Mass, and shut out the *Holies* from the sight of the people. Over the altar was the canopy, on four pillars, and upon the altar a linen cloth; and the chair of the bishop was usually covered with suitable drapery. When the bishop preached, he stood or sat forward, probably in front of the altar, but within the chancel-rails; it was a very unusual thing to preach from the *ambo*, though S. John Chrysostom is recorded to have done so in Sancta Sophia, in order to be better heard by the people. Origen, therefore, would preach from the Sanctuary on the Lord's-day; bishop, priests, clergy, and people, in their places to hear him; the pontiff in his flat mitre with the *infulæ* of the high priesthood; the priests in the linen chasubles that came down and covered them on every side; the deacons and others in their various tunics and albs; the singers and readers with the diptychs and books of chant laid ready open on the desk of the *ambo*; the faithful in the nave, men on one side and women on the other; the virgins and the widows in their seats apart; the various orders of penitents in the nave or in the narthex, and the band of listening catechumens in front of the "royal gates" (of the nave) that they hoped soon to be allowed to enter. His hearers would be of all degrees of *fervour*, and of many different ranks; they might include

Greek philosophers and poor *vernæ* or house slaves, patricians of Roman burghs, and Syrian porters; doubtless the bulk of them were the poor and the lowly of Cæsarea. He had to say a word to all, and he found means to say it, in the word of Holy Scripture. He had, by this time, dispensed himself from previously writing his discourses; and hence many of those that have come down to us are the shorthand reports that were taken down as he spoke, and afterwards corrected by himself. The text or subject of the discourse was that portion of Scripture which had just been recited by the reader, or part of it; though sometimes we find that he had a text given him by the bishop or by the presbytery, and that occasionally he selected a particular subject at the desire of "some of the brethren." He held his own copy of the Scripture in his hand; for we find him comparing it with the version just used by the reader. His discourses were not set pieces of eloquence; they were true homilies, that is, familiar and easy addresses, almost seeming to have developed themselves out of an earlier style of dialogue between priest and people. They have all the abruptness, all the questionings and answerings, all the explanations of terms and sentences, and all the appreciation of difficulties that suggest rather the catechist with his class than the preacher with his auditory. We miss the poetry and fine fancy of Clement, but we gain in orderly and connected development. One is certainly tempted to think that more artistic and ornamental treatment might have been expected from the son of Leonides and the teacher of rhetoric. But Origen tells us more than once that he studiously avoids worldly and profane eloquence. His reason seems not far to seek. Rhetoric was the main profession of the Pagan teachers that abounded in every town of the empire; and S. Augustin's expression, that rhetoric meant the art of telling lies, was not exaggerated. Rhetoric in those days did not mean the sound and immortal precepts of Aristotle, but the vain heaping together of empty words. It was the necessity of protesting against this that has undoubtedly given much of their ruggedness to the homilies of Origen. His watchword was, edification; his rule and law, as he expressly says, was, not completeness of exposition, not parade of words, but the benefit of those who listened. Because he was a speaker, he rejected tedious and minute disquisitions, which were more suitable for "the leisure of a writer." Because he was a speaker of the truth, he avoided, even to austerity, the imitation of profane and perverted art. He was rich in matter, and poured forth a stream of doctrine, of exhortation, of reproof. His name and character did the

rest. A word from Origen had more weight than a treatise from an unknown mouth. We have no record of how his audience took his discourses, save what is implied in the general testimony to his prodigious reputation. But, on the other hand, he presents us with a few facts about his audience. We learn that some were readier to look after the adorning of the Church than the beautifying of their own souls. It appears that it was difficult to get an audience together on common week-days, and that they were somewhat remiss in assembling even on festivals, though he speaks of a few as "constant attendants" on the preaching. Those who did come to church, too often came not so much to hear God's Word, as because it was a festival, and because it was pleasant to have a holiday. And some escaped the sermon altogether by going out immediately after the reading. "Why do you complain of not knowing this and not knowing that," he says, "when you never wait for the conference, and never interrogate your priests?" Moreover, many who were present at the discourse in body, were far away in spirit, for "they sat apart in the corners of the Lord's house and occupied themselves with profane confabulation." He did not preach to an immaculate audience: there were many who were Christians in name, Pagans in life; many who turned the House of Prayer into a den of thieves; many who preferred the agora, the law courts, the farm, before the Church; and many who could provide pedagogues, masters, books, money, and time, that their children might learn the liberal arts, but who failed to see that something of the same diligence and sacrifice was necessary on their own parts if they wished to become true disciples of the Word of God. But from all this it would be wrong to infer that Origen's hearers were worse than others in their circumstances. Doubtless they listened with reverence both to his teaching and to his rebukes. Perhaps even they applauded him by acclamation; such a thing was not unknown a century or so later. It would be little to Origen's taste to have his audience waving their garments and rocking their bodies in ecstasy or calling out "orthodox!" as they did to S. Cyril, of Alexandria, or "Thou art the thirteenth Apostle!" as the excitable Constantinopolitans did to S. Chrysostom; like S. Jerome, he preferred "to excite the grief of the people rather than their applause, and his commendation was their tears." S. Vincent, of Lerins, two centuries after Origen's preaching at Cæsarea, speaks of the way in which his "eloquence" affected himself. If his audience were as well satisfied, they *must* have listened to him with great pleasure and profit.

"His discourse," says S. Vincent, in the *Commonitorium*, "was pleasant to the fancy, sweet as milk to the taste; it seems to me that there issued from his mouth honey rather than words. Nothing so hard to believe, but his powers of controversy made it plain; nothing so difficult to practise, but his persuasiveness rendered it easy. Tell me not that he did nothing but argue. There has never been a teacher who has used so many examples out of Holy Writ." The homilies of Origen did not pass away with the voice that delivered them. Till he was sixty years old he had generally written them out beforehand. After that time the shorthand writers beside him caught every word as it fell, and so the discourses became a treasure for ever. Fortune and time have indeed destroyed far the greater part of the "thousand and more tractates" which S. Jerome says he delivered in the Church, and of what remain some only exist in abbreviated Latin translations. But though their letter is diminished, their spirit pervades the whole field of patristic exposition, and many of the greatest of the Greek and Latin fathers have not hesitated over and over again to use at length the exact words of Origen. And so the sentences first uttered in the church of Cæsarea have become the public property of the Church universal, and while Cæsarea is a ruin and its library scattered to dust, the living word and spirit of him who spoke there, speak still in cities far greater, and to auditories far more wide; for every pulpit utters his thoughts, and Christian people, though they may not know it, are everywhere "edified" by that which was first the offspring of his intellect.

Origen had been labouring at Cæsarea for barely four years when one of those interruptions occurred that he had already become familiar with at Alexandria. The Emperor Maximin (235), a barbarian giant, whose unchecked propensities for cruelty and blood seem to have driven him absolutely mad before the end of his three years' reign, followed up the murder of his benefactor Alexander Severus by a series of horrors, in which were involved both Pagans and Christians alike. Any man of name, character or wealth, in any part of the world that could be reached by a Roman cohort, was liable to confiscation, torture, and death in order to appease his frantic suspicions. Cæsarea was an important Roman post, and as no one in Cæsarea was better known than the head of the Christian school, we soon find that Origen is marked out for a victim. He escaped, however, by a prompt flight, and reached the other Cæsarea, of Cappadocia, the see of his friend Firmilian. He had no sooner arrived there than the capricious per-

secution fell upon the city of his refuge, under the auspices of Serenianus the governor, "a dire and bitter persecutor," as he is called by Firmilian. In these straits he managed to lie hid for two years in the house of a lady called Juliana—a house, indeed, to which he was attracted by other considerations beside that of safety; for this lady was the heiress of the whole library of Symmachus the Ebionite, one of those learned translators of the Hebrew Scriptures whom Origen incorporated in the Hexapla. He himself mentions with great satisfaction the advantages which his biblical labours derived from the opportunities he enjoyed in his Cappadocian retirement. We are also indebted to this period for two, not the least interesting, of his works. Maximin's informers seem to have contrived to implicate the good Christian Ambrose in some trouble. That Ambrose was a man of wealth, we have seen, and he was undoubtedly, also, in some considerable charge or employment which necessitated his journeying frequently from one Roman city to another. Whether this persecution caught him at Alexandria or Cæsarea, or elsewhere, is uncertain; but he had received notice of his danger and was preparing to place himself in security when the insurrection of the Gordians broke out in Syria and Asia, and in the confusion and trouble that ensued he became the prisoner of Maximin's troops, and was immediately sent, or destined to be sent, to Germany, where the emperor had just concluded a triumphant campaign. The news of the danger of his zealous friend and patron drew from Origen the letter that we know now as the *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*. It was accompanied by another, the *De Oratione*, which he had perhaps already composed. These two works, into an examination of which we cannot enter, show more of the interior spirit of their writer than anything else that has reached us. When a history of the early methods of Prayer comes to be written, the treatise On Prayer will have to be thoroughly examined. The Exhortation to Martyrdom is full of the true Adamantine vehemence and piety. Though addressed to Ambrose, it is really, and would be accepted as a general call to the Church of Palestine to stand fast and do manfully in the dangerous times on which they had fallen. The name of Protectetus, a priest of Cæsarea, which is associated with that of Ambrose in the dedication, as he was also in danger of death, felicitously localizes it, and we may look upon it as a homily, delivered in writing and from a distance, and on a new and stirring subject, to that Church which he had been accustomed to edify with his words during the three or four years preceding. We unwillingly omit to enter upon it at large. At Maximin's death (238) he

returned to his own Cæsarea. After this, his literary enterprises, completed and undertaken, come thick and frequent. Among other works we meet with the commentaries on Ezechiel and on Isaiah, on S. Matthew and S. Luke, on Daniel and the twelve Minor Prophets, and on several of the Epistles of S. Paul. It is to this time also that belongs the celebrated exposition of the Cantic of Canticles, of which S. Jerome has said that whereas in his other works he surpassed all other men, so in this he surpassed himself. But little of the original has come down to us, and the translation of Rufinus is too free and abridged to enable us to understand how this high praise was deserved.

About the same period he made a second journey into Greece. What occasion brought him to Athens we are not informed. We find, however, that he thought very highly of the Athenian Church. In his reply to Celsus, speaking of the influence and weight that Christians were everywhere acquiring, he instances the Church at Athens, and boasts that the assembly of the Athenian people was only a tumultuous mob in comparison with the congregation of the Athenian Christians. Since Athens was even then the central light of the whole world, we may perhaps conclude that Origen's journey thither was caused by some phase of the conflict between Philosophy and the Gospel with which he had been all his life so familiar. On his return to Cæsarea he wrote the answer to Celsus, with which we shall concern ourselves presently. It was written during the reign of Philip the Arabian. We are told by Eusebius that Origen wrote a letter to this emperor. What this letter can have been about is somewhat of a puzzle in history. Eusebius, to be sure, a couple of chapters before he mentions the letter, relates a story, rather coldly, about Philip's coming to the Church (at Antioch) one Easter time as a Christian, and his seating himself among the penitents when the Bishop (S. Babylas) refused to admit him on any other terms. S. Babylas might well reject him and place him among the penitents, for his career, which commenced, as that of most of the Roman emperors, with the murder of his predecessor, the young Gordian, had been anything but innocent. Certain it is, however, that the story was current of Philip's being a Christian. Even if he were not, which seems the more probable, there is no improbability that he may have questioned such a man as Origen about Christianity. It must be recollected, moreover, that this Emperor Philip was by birth an Arabian, being a native of Bostra. He was the son of a robber-chief, and we are first introduced to him as taking an important part in the campaign of Gordian in which the

Persians were driven out of Mesopotamia. The important Roman city of Bostra, though not within the boundaries of Arabia, was sufficiently near them to be considered the metropolis of the upper part of Arabia, as Petra was of the middle. Philip, therefore, was evidently nothing more than a powerful Bedouin Sheik, such as may be seen at this very day in the countries of which he was a native, and had succeeded his father in the possession of wide influence over the predatory tribes that ranged over all Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, except the actual spots occupied by a Roman military force. His character is significantly illustrated by the incident that raised him to the purple. When Gordian's army was in Mesopotamia, his dangerous captain of Free Lances took care to have the whole of the commissariat supplies intercepted, and thus caused the mutiny which terminated in Gordian's death. Such a feat was easy and natural to a chief whose wild horsemen commanded every part of the great Syrian desert that lay between Mesopotamia and the Roman stations off the Mediterranean coast. But what is more to our purpose is, that Origen was frequently at Bostra, and was there at the very time of Gordian's campaign and Philip's accession. Bearing in mind the extent to which the name of Origen was known among the Pagan men of letters, as well as among the Christian churches, it seems impossible but that Philip must have heard him mentioned. Only let us grant that the Emperor had a leaning to Christianity, even though in no better spirit than that of an eclectic, and the occasion of Origen's letter becomes clear. The mention of the Syrian desert reminds us of another celebrated name. Palmyra, or Tadmor of the Wilderness, was, at the time of which we write, almost in the zenith of her beauty, though it was not till twenty years afterwards that her splendour culminated and collapsed under Zenobia and Longinus. Origen knew the great philosopher, who had been his auditor at Alexandria, and whom he had most probably met again at Athens. It is quite possible that Longinus may have become the guest of Zenobia before Origen left Cæsarea for the last time, and, therefore, during the time he was so familiar with the Arabian Church. We know that he had more than a mere acquaintance with the author of the *Treatise on the Sublime*, and, perhaps, there were no two minds of the age more fitted to grapple with each other. Of their mutual influence we have no certain traces, but it may be noted that amongst the lost works of Longinus there is a treatise *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*. Can it have had any relation to that of Origen under the same name?

It was at Cæsarea, between the years 243 and the breaking

out of the Decian persecution in 249, that was written the famous *Contra Celsum*. It is justly considered the masterpiece of its author. Ostensibly an answer to the gainsayings of a heathen philosopher, it really takes up, with the calmest scientific precision, the position that Christianity is so true and hangs together with such completeness of moral beauty, that the barkings of Gentile learning cannot confute it, nor the violence of Gentile hatred stop its inevitable march. With no rhetorical passion, with profound learning, with a knowledge of Holy Scripture truly worthy of Adamantius, with frequent passages of noble and profound eloquence, the Christian doctor builds up the monument of the faith he loved and taught; and the work that has come down to us through all those ages since it was written, has been recognized for fifteen hundred years as one of those great, complete, finished productions that are only given to the world by the pen of a genius. Eusebius, his biographer, speaks of it as containing the refutation of all that has been asserted, and, "by pre-occupation," of all that could ever be asserted on certain vital matters of controversy. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen strung together a series of favourite passages mainly from it, and called their work *Philocalia*, "love for the beautiful." S. Jerome, whose praise cannot be suspected of partiality, puts him by the side of two other great apologists his successors, and exclaims that to read them makes him think himself the merest tyro, and shrivels up all his learning to a sort of dreamy remembrance of what he was taught as a boy. Bishop Bull takes the *Contra Celsum* as the touchstone of Origen's dogmatic teaching; "he meant it for the public," he says, "he wrote it thoughtfully and of set purpose, and he wrote it when he was more than sixty years of age, full of knowledge and experience."

It must have been about the time when Marcus Aurelius was engaged in persecuting the Church (160—180) that a certain eclectic Platonist philosopher called Celsus, in order to contribute his share to the good work, wrote an uncompromising attack on Christianity, and called it by the title of "The True Word;" or, "the Word of Truth." We have called him an eclectic Platonist; but, in fact, it is very much disputed among the learned what sect of philosophers he honoured with his allegiance. Some call him a Stoic, others an Epicurean, and this latter opinion is the common traditional one; and what would seem to settle the question, Epicurean is the epithet given to him by Origen himself. That Origen, when he took up the "Word of Truth" to refute it, thought he was going to refute an Epicurean, is quite evident; but it

is no less evident that he had not read many sentences of the work itself before he began to doubt and more than doubt whether the name of Epicurean was a true description of its author. In one place he is amazed to hear "an Epicurean say such things," in another he charges him with artfully concealing his Epicurism for a purpose, and in a third he supposes that if he ever was an Epicurean he has renounced its tenets and betaken himself to something more sound and sensible. What made Origen hesitate to state plainly that he was no follower of Epicurus seems to have been the broad tradition that had attached the epithet to the name of Celsus, thereby identifying the writer of the "Word of Truth" with the writer of a certain work against magic, well known to literary men, which was beyond all doubt from the pen of an Epicurean Celsus. This latter was also probably the same as the Celsus to whom the scoffer Lucian dedicated his "*Alexander*," in which he shows up that impostor's tricks and sham magic; and Lucian, in his dedication, alludes to the works against magic, just as Origen does. As Lucian died some years before Origen was born, the works against magic must have been very widely known, and their author must have been accepted as *the* Celsus, and, as he was certainly an Epicurean, that designation fastened itself also upon the other Celsus, the author of the "Word of Truth," who had not had the advantage of an admiring Lucian to fix his proper title in the memory of the literary world. But an Epicurean he certainly was not. One proof is quite sufficient. The subject of magic was a decisive test of a true Epicurean. Not believing in Providence and professing, in fact, a sort of philosophic Atheism, he considered that gods and demons never interfered in the concerns of the earth and the human race. Human and mundane atoms, as they got created by a species of accident and came together fortuitously, so they continued to blunder against each other in various ways, and thus caused what men foolishly called the *cosmos*, or order of the universe; whilst the divine nature of the immortals, serene on Olympus

Semota a nostris rebus, sejunctaque longè,
Jam privata dolore omni, privata periculis,
Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur nec tangitur iri.

Lucretius, de Rerum Naturâ, I. 59.

The Epicurean, therefore, laughed alike at the notion of *benevolent* god and *malignant* demon, at providence and at magic, and crowned himself with flowers and drank and

sinned, if his means allowed it, under the soothing persuasion that "to-morrow" he was "to die." When, therefore, we find that the author of the "Word of Truth" not only attributes miracles to Æsculapius, Aristæas, and others, and magic to Christ, but also considers that this world and its various parts are committed to the custody of demons, whom it is, therefore, proper to propitiate by worship and sacrifice, we need no other evidence that he was no follower of Epicurus.

On the other hand, a prominent belief in the agencies of unseen powers was a mark of the Platonist of the day. Whatever Plato may have thought of the inferior gods and demons (and on some occasions, as in the "*Timæus*," he speaks of them with considerable levity), the followers, who revived his doctrine in the first centuries after Christ, give them a very large share of their attention. A creator or first father of all things was a Platonic dogma, and man and matter must have in some way come from him; but in order to bridge over the interval between two such extremes as God and matter, recourse was had to an immense army of intermediate beings, of which the highest was so dignified as to be little more than an abstraction, and the lowest shaded off into a species of superior animal. It is this multitude of good and bad demons that makes its appearance in modified shape and number in Platonist and Gnostic cosmogonies, and which is so puzzling to follow through all its fantastic intermarriages and combinations. When Celsus must have been writing, that is, about the time S. Clement of Alexandria began to teach, the spirit of Plato was abroad, not only at Alexandria but at Athens and in Rome. Theurgy was openly professed by the most reputable teachers; their enemies called it sorcery; but whatever it was, it meant some intimate communion with the invisible world. A writer, therefore, who puts the moon and stars under the guardianship of heavenly powers, who pathetically defends the case of the demons and deprecates their being deprived of the gratification they derive from the "smell" of a sacrifice, and who attributes supernatural powers to friends and enemies—calling them in the one case miracles, in the latter, magic—is evidently closer to Saccas and Porphyry than to Epicurus and Democritus. Celsus, however, though he says all this, cannot be called a real Platonist or Neo-Platonist. He came in the early days of a revival, and his philosophic pallium hung rather loosely about him; he was not above following a new leader on an occasion, provided he saw his way to a new stroke against the Christians. It must be admitted that he shows a fair share of

learning, some acuteness and some acquaintance with a variety of different peoples and customs. On the other hand, he is occasionally guilty of the most absurd and transparent sophisms, his conceit is unbounded, and his tone generally sneering and often very offensive.

It was this philosopher then, Eclectic, Platonist, and man of the world, whose "Word of Truth" seemed to the "pious and indefatigable Ambrose" to be so dangerous and damaging that no time ought to be lost in answering it. With this view, he attacked Origen on the subject, and by dint of prayers and representations made him take in hand its refutation. Origen was by no means eager to undertake the work; and we can partly enter into his objections. The book of Celsus was not a new one: it had been in the hands of the reading world and in centres of learning, such as Athens, Antioch, Caesarea, and Alexandria, for at least sixty years, and it is to be supposed that answers to its most important objections were common enough in the Christian schools, though perhaps it was itself ignored. Then, it was not the sort of book that could do the faithful any harm, for they could not read it, or, if they did, they distrusted it even where they could not refute it. It was too late in the day for an open-mouthed Pagan to have any chance against the Gospel of Christ. The dangerous people were those who, like the heretics, came with "the elements of this world" disguised under the sheep's clothing of Christianity; but an honest wolf only lost his trouble; and so Origen, whilst promising to comply with the wishes of his friend, plainly says that what he has undertaken to overthrow, he cannot conceive as having the least effect in shaking the orthodoxy of a single faithful man. "That man," he says, "would be little to my taste, whose faith would be in danger of shipwreck from the words of this Celsus, who has not now even the advantage of being alive; and I do not know what I should think of one who required a book to be written before he could meet his accusations. And, yet, because there might possibly be some professing believers who find Celsus' writings a stumbling-block, and would be proportionally comforted by anything in the shape of a writing that undertook to crush him, I have resolved to take in hand the refutation of the work you have sent me." The expressions, "a book to be written," "writings," and "hand-writing," are noticeable, for they show clearly enough, what has not been much observed, that Origen's chief objection to answering Celsus was that Celsus was already answered in the *oral* teaching of the Church. In this also we have the explanation of the contempt in which he seems to hold his antagonist—a

temper which is seldom advisable either in war or polemics. But Celsus had been, and was daily being answered, and the only question was, whether it was worth while to put formally on paper what every Christian catechist had by heart. Was it not better to imitate the majestic silence of Jesus Christ, who spoke no word, but let His life speak for Him? "I dare affirm," he says, "that the defence you ask me to write will be swamped and disappear before that other defence of facts and the power of Jesus, which none but the blind can fail to see." And he adds, that it is not for the faithful he writes, but for those who have not tasted the faith of Christ, or for those weak believers who, in the Apostle's phrase, must be "kindly taken up."

And yet Ambrose seems to have been quite right in insisting that Origen should answer the book of Celsus. Its arguments might be stale, and its influence small, but there it was, a formal written record of some of the ugliest things that could be said against Christianity and its Founder. What seemed more becoming, than that the foremost Christian Doctor of his day should take in hand, at a time when external peace and internal growth seemed to warrant it, to give a formal, written answer to an attack that was a standing piece of impertinence, even if it did no harm? Besides, some harm it must have done, at least, in the shape of keeping well-meaning Pagans from the truth; and though Origen is always more fond of working for the spiritual welfare of his own household than of direct proselytising, yet Ambrose, as a convert, knew what prejudice was, and what was the importance of a work from the pen of a Christian Doctor who had the ear of the Gentile world. And Ambrose, moreover, was perfectly aware, as was every one except the Adamantine himself, that even if the refutation embraced only the common topics that were handled daily in the Christian instructions, yet the result would be as far above the ordinary catechetical lesson as the master was above the ordinary catechist. Perhaps he hardly knew, as we know, that his instances would produce a masterpiece of polemical writing, from which all ages have borrowed, and in which the immense knowledge of Scripture, the beautiful and tender piety, and the sustained eloquence of expression, were unrivalled until, perhaps, Bossuet wrote his *Histoire Universelle*.

It is by no means our intention to give a detailed analysis of this wonderful work: it is described at great length in easily accessible authors. But it will be interesting to seize on some of its most salient characters, and thus to throw what light may be possible upon the subject of our discussion. And

the first remark that occurs seems to be a contradiction of Origen's own statement. The *Contra Celsum* was written more for the faithful than for the philosophers, and was less aimed at the dead and gone Celsus than at the living children of the Church. It may be true that it was not meant precisely to confirm tottering faith or to prop up consciences that the objections of Celsus had shaken; but its effect would naturally be to encourage the devout Christian by showing him how much could be said for his profession and exposing to scorn with irresistible logic the best that could be said by his gainsayers. If Origen had not had in view the same audience as that to which he preached on Sundays and Fridays, he would hardly have dealt so abundantly in the citations from Holy Scripture which are such a marked feature of the work, and he would not have cared to expand as he does the bare polemical branch into the flowers and fruit of homiletic exhortation. But the faithful were always his first thought, and the ground-colour of all he has written is warm and outspoken piety. He knew much about Pagan philosophy and worldly science, but when Porphyry (quoted by Eusebius) says that Plato was never out of his hands, we can only say that Plato is never mentioned in his writings save where an adversary or an error compels him. A far truer picture of himself is given in his own words to his favourite pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgus. "You have talents," he says, "that might make you a perfect Roman lawyer, or a leader of any of the fashionable sects of Greek philosophy; but the wish of my heart is, dear lord and my most honoured son Gregory, that you make Christianity your last end" (τελικῶς—alluding to the *summum bonum* of the Stoics), "and that you use Greek philosophy and all its attendant sciences as handmaids to the Holy Scriptures, and as the means (ποιητικῶς) towards Christianity." This was written, of course, long after Gregory had become a Christian, and, indeed, about the very time that the *Contra Celsum* would be in progress. Not a little, therefore, in the work which would seem to beg the question, as against an enemy, becomes an eloquent development, as towards those who already believed. And this remark will be found not unimportant in explaining more passages than one.

The attack of Celsus is that of a clever, well-informed, travelled man. It is to be feared that we cannot call him a well-meaning one. The extraordinary impudence of one or two of the leading sophisms and a general tone of rancour and rabidness, very different from the politeness of Numenius and Porphyry, seem to force the conclusion that we are dealing with a man who ought to have known better but whose heart had

been hardened by the world and the flesh. He goes over a large variety of topics, is not at all remarkable for order (as his opponent complains), and repeats himself more than once. Several German writers have published accurate accounts of his philosophic tenets, as far as they can be ascertained. For the present, in order to arrive at some definite knowledge of the sort of people who opposed Christianity from the time of S. Clement to the Decian persecution, we shall present Celsus in a few of the chief characters that he assumes in his onslaught on Christianity. For he is very many-sided in his anxiety to get at all the vulnerable points of his enemy, and perhaps it might be said that his memory is not so good as a polemic's memory ought to be, and that he contradicts himself once or twice. At any rate he acts with some success more parts than one.

The Scoffer was a character in which Celsus had the advantage of a few recent traditions. Perhaps the thorough Pagan scoffer, who really laughed at Christianity because he believed it deserved to be laughed at, was rather out of date. But Lucian (and he may have known Lucian) could have let him see how a man of genius may scoff impartially at religion in all its shapes. Celsus was not a scoffer of this latter sort. Either he was really too conscientious, or else he instinctively hated Christ more than Zeus, and therefore tried to ridicule and crush the former, while he waived hostilities against the latter. The scoffer, as impersonated by him, is a decent, law-fearing citizen, who is quietly engaged in doing his duty to society and making what he can out of the queer problem called Life, when suddenly a man that calls himself a Christian bursts in upon his calm existence with the intelligence that he must believe in a person, called Christ, or expect to burn everlastingly. Of course, the first thing the amazed Gentile does is to think the man mad. His second, and more charitable idea, which is the result of some little inquiry and of a comparison of notes with other amazed acquaintances at the bath and the theatre, is, that the obtrusive person is an adherent of a new and peculiar sect of philosophers. He, therefore, resolves to examine the tenets of these philosophers with the serene impartiality of one who sets small store by any tenets of philosophy. He finds that their doctrines are not new, but most of them quite old—the immortality of the soul and a future life, a rather strait-laced verbal morality, and so on; ideas which many respectable philosophers have held, and do hold. But is there any reason in the world for making such a parade and noise, merely because another philosopher, called Christ, has chosen to teach them also? How imperti-

ment, absurd and unpleasant it is for these people, instead of keeping their doctrines to the schools, to force them with threats upon practical men. Of course, practical men and good citizens do not regard them. If the gods do interfere in the concerns of the earth (a doctrine which Celsus, in his character of scoffer, is inclined to waive rather than to admit), why all this indispensable dogmatism about a Son of God? Let it be enough that we do admit that there is a God, who in some way is supreme; as sensible people you can demand nothing more. We call him Zeus; you call him the Most High, Sabaoth, Adonai, or what else you please, just as the Egyptians call him Ammon and the Scythians, Pappæus. Doubtless, you talk of miracles; so do all these new-fangled sects, but they mean in reality Egyptian magic. You appeal, moreover, to your intellectual teaching; we know about that also: no sect is good for much in these days which does not hang on to the skirts of Plato. Besides, what is this we hear about disputes among yourselves? This makes the absurdity of the thing better still! The Jews say the Messiah is to come; the Christians declare He has come. Pray, which are we to believe? On what side are we solemnly to arrange ourselves in this momentous dispute about a donkey's shadow? Why, here we have a squadron of bats—or an army of ants swarming from their nest—or a congress of frogs in solemn session on the banks of their ditch—or a knot of worms assembled in full ecclesia in a corner of their native mud, in hot controversy which of the lot are the wickedest. We are the ones, they keep saying, to whom God has foreshown and announced all things; He has left the whole universe, the broad heavens, and the earth, to look after themselves, and makes His laws for us alone; to us alone He sends His heralds, and us He will never cease to prompt and to provide for, that we may be united with Him for ever. He is God; and we are next to Him, as being His sons and like Him in all things. We are lords of all things, earth, water, air, and stars; on our account is everything, and all is ordained to minister to us. If some of us sin, God will come, or He will send the Son, to burn up the wicked, that the rest may live with Him eternally. One could listen to worms and frogs going on in this fashion with more composure than to you Jews and Christians.

It is not Origen's object to prove directly the importance of Christianity. He says that it was no barbarous system of doctrine, and challenges any philosopher, fresh from the teachings and the schools of Greece, to come and examine it. "He will not only pronounce it true," he says, "but he will

work it up into a logical system, and will be able to supply it with a complete demonstration, even to a Greek. But I must also add this; our doctrine has a certain method of demonstration peculiar to itself, and far more *divine* than any that the Greeks have in their schools. It is that which the Apostle calls the demonstration of spirit and of power; of spirit, that is, by prophecies, which abundantly prove our whole system, especially those parts of it which concern Christ; of power, by the miracles which can be shown to have taken place among us, and traces of which still remain among those who live according to the will of the Word." And as Christianity was now well known to the whole world, to scoff at it either for its insignificance or its absurdity seemed very foolish: it was a standing fact, and challenged examination. This is partly taken for granted, partly incidentally expressed throughout the reply. But the impudent scurrility of the passage about the bats, frogs and worms, rouses Origen's indignation. "The Jews and the Christians," he says, "because they hold dogmas which Celsus does not approve, and which he does not seem to be very well acquainted with, are worms and ants, are they? The peculiar opinions in which the Jews and Christians differ from other men, are not unknown to the world. If a man, therefore, feels inclined to call a part of his fellow men worms and ants, I will show him whom to call so. The men who have lost the true knowledge of God, whose religion is all a sham—the worshipping brute beasts and graven stocks, and lifeless matter—creatures whose beauty should have led them to glorify and adore their Creator—these are the worms and ants. But those who, led on by reason, have risen above stocks and stones, above silver and gold, and everything material; who have risen above this whole created universe unto Him that made all things; who have confided themselves wholly to Him; who recognize Him almighty over every creature, seeing every thought and hearing every prayer; who send up their prayers to Him only, doing all that they do as though He saw it, and speaking all their words that none may be displeasing to Him who heareth them all—these, surely, are *men*; nay, if it were possible, more than men. They may have been worms once, but shall not such religion (*εὐσέβεια*) as this, that no trials can shake, no danger, not even death itself, destroy, no persuasiveness of words overcome, be their shelter against such jibes for the future? What! shall they who restrain the appetites that make men soft and yielding as wax—and restrain them because they know that by continence alone they can obtain

familiarity with God*—shall they be called the brothers of worms and the kindred of ants, and the near neighbours of frogs? Forbid it Justice! glorious Justice, that gives social rights to fellow-men, that guards the equitable, the humane, and the kind—forbid that such men as these should be likened to birds of night! Call those worms of the slime, who wallow in lust—the common herd of men, who do evil and call it right,—but surely not those who have been taught that their bodies, inhabited by the light of reason and the grace of the omnipotent Lord, are the ‘temples of the God whom they adore.’” It is a subject that warms him, and he pursues it at some length. He does not imitate the scurrility and abusiveness of his adversary, though he must have been sorely tempted sometimes, to say some plain things about Paganism. Celsus shows all the liveliness of language of a man who carries on a personal quarrel. He is not above calling his enemies “drunken” and “blear-eyed;” he hardly takes the trouble to mention that they are irrational fools; and for a specimen of his more fanciful bad language the passage quoted above will suffice. Origen sometimes complains of this, as well he may. He says that Celsus “scolds like an old woman,” that he shouts calumny like the lowest of a street-mob, and, as a sort of climax, that he reminds him of a couple of “women slanging each other in the street.” But the scoffer and the reviler is after all not our philosopher’s favourite rôle. Perhaps he will show better as the man of intellect.

The man of intellect has a face of severely classic mould, whereon sits normally a thoughtful frown, as though he were ever asking himself the reason of things, varied by a pitying smile when he finds it necessary to recognize the existence of a non-intellectual being. His hands are very white, his pallium neat, his hair scented, and his whole appearance bespeaks him to be on the most distant terms with the profane multitude. When Christianity first had the bad taste to talk to him of penance and hell-fire, he did not deign to speak, but only scowled disgust; but in a century or two he began to see he must say something for his own credit. He therefore began to utter lofty sentences and to employ his smile of pity, though the early look of disgust was so very deeply printed on his countenance that it never afterwards left him. This is the sum of his case;—“This foolish system called Christianity makes some little noise, it is true. But a philosopher has only to glance at it, to despise it. I have read

* The expression of the contemporary Platonists.

and examined the books and writings of the sect; I have conversed with its learned men, and I find that it is essentially low, grovelling, and vulgar. It repudiates wisdom altogether; it formally forbids the educated, the learned, and the wise to be numbered among its members. On the other hand, it energetically recruits its ranks from among the uneducated, the weak-headed, and the imbecile. These are the sort of men the Christian teachers declare to be most acceptable to their God, thus showing clearly that they have neither the ability nor the wish to make converts of any but the feeble-minded, common people, and country boors, slaves, women, and children. They are wary; they are like the quacks and cheap-jacks of the agora, who take care not to obtrude themselves upon those who could find them out, but show off before the children in the streets and the loitering house-slaves and an admiring mob of any fools they can collect. They are mean and underhand. You shall see, in a private house, your slave, your weaver, your sandal-maker, or your cloth-carder—a fellow wholly without education or manners, and silent enough before his master and his betters—the moment he finds himself alone with the children and the women, beginning to hold forth in marvellous style. Parents and preceptors are no longer to be obeyed, but he is to be believed implicitly; they are mad and doting, immersed in fatuous trifles, and incapable of seeing or doing what is really good, he alone can impart the secret of virtue; let the children believe him, and they will be happy themselves and bring a blessing on the house. Meanwhile, let father or tutor make his appearance, he mostly gets frightened and stops; but if he be a determined one, he just whispers in parting, that children of spirit should not submit to parental tyranny; that he has much to explain which the presence of others will not allow him to utter; that he cannot bear the sight of the folly and ignorance of such corrupted and lost men, who moreover are seeking every pretext for punishing him: finally, that if the dear children want to hear more, they must come, with the women and as many of their companions as they know of, into the women's apartment, or into the carding-room or the leather-shop—and so he contrives to get hold of them."

Perhaps there was nothing in Christianity that disgusted the philosophers so much as the fact that it went out after the poor, the lowly, and the sinful, and offered them a share in all that it could teach or promise. That the common herd had no need and no right to philosophy was an accepted tenet with the new Platonists. The passage just quoted is interesting; through its transparent misrepresentation we can see the

poor man and the slave, in the second century, in the actual process not only of having the Gospel preached to them, but also actively preaching it as well as they could to others. The sophism of Celsus, that Christians prefer fools and sinners for converts, therefore they must be all a foolish and wicked set, must have been stale, we may hope, by the time Origen undertook to answer it. He enters into the whole accusation, however, and refutes, almost word for word, the whole of what we have just given and more to the same purpose.

But the intellectual objector has something positive to say, as well as something negative. He announces, therefore, with almost ridiculous solemnity, that he will have pity on these poor Christians, and tell them how they are to obtain union with God, what masters they are to follow, and what heroes they are to imitate; in short, he will provide them with a theology, a gospel, and an assemblage of saints. For the saints, they are our "grand Grecian heroes,"—Hercules, Orpheus, Æsculapius, and the rest, from Anaxarchus, who encouraged the tyrant who was having him bruised in a mortar to "pound away on the mortal coil of Anaxarchus," to Epictetus, who made a cheerful remark when his master broke his leg. For the gospel, it is the "most powerful teaching" of the divine and immortal Plato; and for the theology, it is the following sentence from the "Timæus": "To discover the maker and the father of the universe is a hard thing; to make them known to others, when discovered, is impossible." This last doctrine he is afraid the wretched Christians will not be able to take in. They are such a poor, frightened set that the sublimity of Platonic dictum scares them into their holes; they are such a "body-loving race" that they must have a God with a body, and be able to see Him with the eyes of their flesh, which all philosophers pronounce to be impossible. Origen, in his reply, first of all disposes of these two sneers: "The Christians a timid set! when, rather than renounce a syllable of their Christianity, they are prepared to suffer torture and death in its worst shapes! The Christians a body-loving race! when they are readier to lay down their bodies for piety's sake than a philosopher is to put off his pallium! and when the injunction to be dead to sense and living to soul lies upon the very surface of their teaching! But let it pass. We must speak to Plato's theology." Here is the answer, as terse as an epigram, as luminous as the sun-light. "Plato, when he said God was hard to find, impossible to impart, said a sublime and a wonderful thing; but *our* Scriptures give a message from God to man that changes all the facts, and it is this: *God the Word* was with God in the beginning, and the *Word*

was made Flesh. It is not only hard for man to find God; it is impossible for him to seek Him at all, or to find Him in an elevated order (*καθαρῶς*) unless He whom he seeks assist him. The knowledge of God is indeed far above man's nature; but God, out of His kindness and *philanthropy*" (Origen's usual expression when speaking of the Incarnation), "through His wonderful and godlike grace, has willed that His knowledge appear unto those whom He foresees will live worthily of it, and whose piety will be firm even against death itself, though they who know not what piety is may jeer and ridicule. God, I think, seeing the arrogance and the insolence of those who, with all their boasted philosophical knowledge of the Divine nature, are idol-ridden, and temple-ridden, and mystery-ridden as much as the most ignorant of the mob, has chosen the 'foolish things of this world,' the poor, simple Christians, whose life is purer than the lives of most philosophers, to put to the blush those wise men who can unblushingly treat a lifeless thing as a god or the likeness of a god. Surely the man of sense must laugh to see the philosopher, after all his sublime talk about God and things divine, go and ogle his idol and pray to it, or think there is some being behind it that requires prayer to be offered up with such a ritual as that. But the Christian knows that God is everywhere; no image limits His vision, no temple bounds His power, for the whole world is His temple; and His servant, therefore, shutting the eyes of his body, raising on high the eyes of his soul—transcending all this world, piercing the concave of heaven itself, out of the world and above the heavens—makes his prayer to God: no sordid or grovelling prayer, for he has learnt from Jesus to ask for nothing little or sensible, but he prays only for what is great and really divine—for such things as lead to that blessedness which is in Him, through His Son, the Word, who is God." He has no wish to disparage Plato; Plato has spoken very beautifully, but the Christian Scriptures have not only beauty, but they have, what is much more important, plain morality and the divine virtue of changing the heart. The "ambassadors of the truth" propose to themselves to convert the whole world, the clever and the dull, the Greek and the barbarian; not a rustic, not a poor unlettered simpleton will they consent to abandon. Of what use is Plato in such a work as this? His brilliant and polished periods may possibly be of use to the few literary men that can understand them; but in the art of attracting the attention of the rude populace he is outdone even by Epictetus. But the Scripture has something in it that not even Epictetus can show. Its doctrines may possibly in

certain cases seem to repeat the teachings of Grecian philosophy; but it has the power of making men act on those doctrines, which never a Greek philosopher yet could boast of. And now as to the heroes and philosophers, the Fathers and Saints of Paganism. "Let us see what leaders Celsus wishes us to follow, to the end that we may not be without ancient and reverend models of heroism. He sends us to God-imbued poets, as he calls them, the sages, and the philosophers, whom he indicates in a general way, without naming particular names. He sends us, also, to Hercules, Æsculapius, and the rest, to learn heroism from their brave contempt of death, not unfittingly rewarded by the myth that has deified them. Where he does not mention names it is hard to refute him. Had he named his divine poet or sage, I should have tried to show him to be a blind guide; but since he has not done so, I must content myself with appealing to what every one knows of the divine poets as a body, and asking whether they can be compared for a moment to Moses, for instance; to the prophets of the Creator of all things; above all, to Him who has shone forth on all the race of man, and announced to all the true way in which God would be served; who, as far as lay in Him, has willed that none should be ignorant of His secret teachings, but, in His super-abounding philanthropy, has both given to the learned a *theology* that can raise their souls above all things here below, and yet at the same time condescends to the weak intellect of the untaught man, of the simple woman, and the household slave—Himself assisting them to lead a better life, each in his degree, according to the teachings about God that *every one of them* has been enabled to share. He mentions Hercules. Has he forgotten the ugly story about that hero's base servitude to Omphale? It would take some persuading to make us pay divine honours to the ruffian that seized the poor farmer's ox by main force, and devoured it before his eyes, whilst the owner cursed him, and he seemed to enjoy the curses as much as the meal itself; whence is derived the edifying custom of accompanying his sacrifices by a rite of powerful execrations. He mentions Æsculapius. I have already dealt with Æsculapius: he was a clever doctor, but he did nothing very extraordinary. He puts up Orpheus. Of course, Celsus is aware that Orpheus wrote about the Gods far more impiously and fabulously than Homer ever did. Now, he considers, with Plato, that Homer's poems are unfit to be permitted in the model republic; so that it is perfectly evident that he introduces Orpheus here for the sole purpose of defaming us and disparaging Jesus. Poor *Anaxarchus* in his mortar undoubtedly affords a great exampl

of fortitude; but as this happens to be the solitary fact that is known about Anaxarchus, it would be difficult to make him a model hero and absurd to make him a god. Then, as to Epictetus: there is no need of depreciating him; it is enough to say, that his words and deeds are not worthy of the most distant comparison with the words and deeds of One whom Celsus despises; for the sayings of Jesus *convert* the wise and the simple. Celsus asks: 'What did your God say in his sufferings like to this?' I answer that His patience and bravery in His scourgings and His thousand ignominies were better shown by his *silence* than by any word ever uttered by suffering Greek. But He did speak." And then he touches on some of the words of Jesus in His agony. It is to us like a new revelation of the Gospel, like a new Epiphany, to read the comparison of the life of Jesus with the lives of the best and noblest of antiquity. It brings vividly to our imagination the brilliancy of the dawn of that day of Christ Jesus (into whose light we are baptized, and in which we live with little appreciation), when we can call back again the shades of Paganism, and watch the gross darkness as it lifts and moves slowly off before the sun of justice. We can realize something of the feelings of earnest hearts as they came within the reach of that light, and share a little in the excitement of a conflict wherein the victor overcome, not, like Perseus, by displaying the horrors of a Gorgon's head, but by unveiling, philosophically, artistically, enthusiastically, the charms of a "theology" upon whose beauty and truth there were no drawbacks, and in whose abysses of gladdening hope there were resting-places for every want and wish of a human heart. Origen lets the light in upon the poor heroes and purblind sages of a Cimmerian night, and he forgets the scoffings of wretched philosophy as he expatiates on the love, the kindness, the philanthropy, the condescending grace of the Word, who is God. We cannot follow him far. The intellectual objector has much to say about the unreasonableness of Faith; and the Christian doctor vindicates scientific theology, whilst he shows how the crowd of men must simply believe or be without any teaching whatever. He says deep and pregnant things about Faith, Science, and Wisdom, that would bear fruit if reproduced in an age like ours. Then he enters at great length into the critical objections of the man of intellect against the life and actions of Jesus, more especially against the great cornerstone of Faith, the Resurrection. And throughout the whole of his demonstrations on intellectual grounds, he is fond of calling attention to two grand arguments of fact, that no

amount of subtlety can explain away, and that the dullest wit cannot help seeing; first, that Christianity has changed and reformed men's morals in a way totally unexampled; secondly, that such a system of dogma and morality can never by any possibility have been the product of human thought, especially seeing what sort of men have propagated and professed it, "not many wise, not many noble;" therefore its origin is Divine, and its author is the great Creator of whom Plato spoke in stammering words, and whom all philosophy has sought.

Celsus, after having laughed at Christianity, and argued against it, and having sometimes laughed argumentatively, and at other times argued by a laugh, appears towards the end of his book in the entirely new character of the citizen, or patriotic opponent of impious innovations. He defends the old faith in the gods and the myths, the old sacrifices, in a word, the old civilization, from the awful radicalism of a sect that were upsetting the very foundations of social order, and endangering what little religion the common people could be got to practise. "All this private association and sectarianism is clearly against the law of the empire. They repudiate temples, they despise statues, they mock at the offerings of incense and the sacrifices of living things; and they tell decent temple-goers and frequenters of the sanctuaries that they are doing an abomination and worshipping devils. Now the proper, sensible, and right thing is, that each nation preserve its own customs and laws. One people has found the advantage of one set of institutions, another of another; let each keep what is once established by due and competent authority. The Jews are perfectly right in being tenacious of their peculiar laws." (This is cool, in one who had just been abusing the Jews with all his powers of ridicule and logic—but then he is now speaking in a different character.) "Besides, there is another and a deeper reason for this. It is probable that in the beginning of things the diverse parts of the earth were committed to diverse powers and dominations to be presided over and governed according to their pleasure; it must therefore be wrong to attack those institutions which they have established from the beginning in their several prefectures. It seems indeed perfectly certain that there is nothing in the world that is not given in charge to some demon. Man himself, the moment he enters the prison of his body, passes under the power of the keepers of this prison-house. Nay, the Egyptians, who are unexceptionable authorities here, tell us that to look after the various parts of a man's body, there are told off no less

than six-and-thirty demons or aerial powers (some say more); and they even mention their names, as Chnoumen, Chnachoumen, Cnat, Sicat, and others, by invoking whom, you obtain health in your various limbs. Certainly, therefore, if a man prefer health to sickness, and happiness to misery, there is no reason why he should not deliver himself from evil by propitiating these beings who have him in charge. One of two things, therefore; either the Christians must live in this world and worship those who rule this world, or they must abjure marriage, never have children, take no part in the affairs of men, in fact depart from the earth altogether, and leave no seed behind them. If they are to share in the goods, and to be protected from the evils of this world, then it is both unreasonable and ungrateful not to render tribute to the guardians of what they enjoy, and the powers from whom they have so much to fear." The proud and fastidious philosopher has fallen low. What an interval between the grand sentences of Plato and the humiliating confessions of the apologist of idol-worship! And yet both extremes must be duly considered, before we can realize the Paganism of the Neo-Platonic revival. The demonology of Zoroaster, which was the practical religion of the whole East, had encountered the Platonic philosophy and engrafted itself upon it; and the sages of such Greek cities as Cæsarea found themselves seriously defending the devil-worship of the wandering Arabs that roved over the plains of Syria and Asia, ignoring the centres of civilization that Alexander's conquest had erected in their midst.

The first part of the objector's patriotic appeal on behalf of established "institutions" is easily disposed of. The argument, carried to its lawful lengths, becomes ridiculous. "The Scythian law kills all the old men; the Persian law sanctions incest; the Crimeans sacrifice strangers to Diana; in one part of Africa they immolate their children to Saturn. One national law makes hanging a virtue, another commends death by fire. Some nations reckon it pious to worship crocodiles, others pay divine honours to cows, others again make gods of goats, and one people adores what another eats. This is making religion, not a truth, but a whim and a fancy. This is making piety, holiness, and righteousness, affairs of opinion, and not ascertainable, fixed realities. Suppose some one were to get up and say the same of temperance, prudence, justice, or fortitude, would he not be considered an imbecile? The truth is, there are two sorts of laws; the unwritten law of Nature, of which the author is God, and the written law of the state. If the state-law is not at variance with God's law,

it ought to be kept and to be preferred before the laws of strangers; but if it oppose the law of God, it must be trampled upon, even though danger, ignominy, and death be the consequence." Thus much for the sentiment of nationality, and the common and obvious reasons, as Origen calls them, that will make plain men repudiate it. But the demon-theory and the alleged distribution of things to the aërial powers, leads to a deeper and more serious question. Knowing, therefore, that his book will fall into the hands of some who will be inclined to examine such questions to the bottom, he undertakes to speak more at length on the matter. This gives him an opportunity of showing, by the history of the dispersion of Babel, how it is that we find such diversity of peoples in different parts of the earth. Their dispersion was a punishment; the ministers of this punishment are the wicked spirits, acting as the instruments of God. One nation alone remained in God's favour, and even it had to be punished through the "princes" or spirits of other nations. Of God's mysterious dealings with this nation, and of the redemption that was to come through it to all the other nations, he says he cannot speak out, on account of the *disciplina arcani*, which forbade the Christian teacher to enter into explicit details about the evil spirits, and this for the sake of not affording encouragement to idolatry.

The time had now come when all the nations were called to the One Saviour, the One Lawgiver—Jesus Christ, who "issuing a master and a teacher from the midst of the Jews, feeds with the word of His teaching the universal world." For punishment, therefore, were the peoples of the earth delivered to demons; for salvation they must all return to the law of God, through Jesus. Then, as usual, the Christian doctor lays down the grand principle that withers with its first breath all this base and futile service of devils. "The Lord our God do we adore, and Him only do we serve." If demons punish men, or if angels rule this lower world, it is by His supreme will that they act. "God, therefore, the one Supreme Lord of all—Him we must conciliate and make propitious, by religion and all virtue. Is not this simple? Is it not reasonable? Bethink you for one moment. There are two men, of whom one devotes himself entirely to the Almighty God, the other busies himself in searching out the name of the demons, their powers and their deeds, the rhymes that raise them, the plants that please them, the magic gems and the wizard characters that will elicit their answers; which of these two, think you, will be most pleasing to the Lord of All? But little wisdom is required to see that the former, in

his simplicity and trust, will be accepted of the Almighty God and His familiars ; whilst he who for the sake of his health and his comfort and his base and mean wants, deals in demon-worship and magic, will be rejected as evil and impious, and be left to the tender mercies of the devils he invokes, to the confusion and despair of diabolical suggestions, and to infinite evils. For Celsus himself owns that these demons are wicked, that they are covetous of blood, of the savour and smoke of a sacrifice and of the singing that evokes them ; let their worshipper, then, beware lest they prove slippery in their faith to him, and lest the adorer of yesterday be abandoned or ruined in favour of the more ample offerings of blood and of burnt odours that are brought by the adorer of to-day. And let not Celsus accuse us of ingratitude. We know perfectly well what true gratitude is, and to whom we ought to be grateful for all that we possess ; and we fear not to be ungrateful to the demons, our adversaries and our enemies ; but we fear to be ungrateful to Him with whose benefits we are laden, whose workmanship we are, whose Providence has placed us in our varied lots in life, and at whose hands we look for life eternal when this life shall be ended. And we have a symbol of this our thankfulness : it is the bread that we call the Bread of thanksgiving—the *Eucharistic Bread*.” This last sentence would read common-place to the infidel or the catechumen that might fall upon this answer of Origen to Celsus. They could not know what the faithful Christian knew, and what the writer himself knew and must have felt to his innermost heart, that these passing words were a veil that covered nothing less than the Tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament. The great central mystery, for well-known reasons, does not meet the eye in the pages of Origen, save in suggestive passages like this ; but we Christians of to-day can pierce the mystery because we have its key, and can respond with our Catholic sympathies to a Catholic voice that speaks to us in veiled accents across the expanse of sixteen centuries. “For our citizenship,” he concludes, “we are no rebels or traitors. You say, quoting the words of an ancient—

King there is but one, whom Saturn’s son hath established.

We say with you, King there is but one ; but in the place of Saturn’s son, we put Him who ‘raiseth up kings and deposeth them,’ and ‘who provideth a wise ruler in his season upon the earth.’ The kingly power is from God, and by God’s will we obey it ; would that all believed this as we do. You exhort us to enter the imperial armies and fight for the state. But no men serve their country as the Christians do. They are taught

to use heavenly arms in behalf of their rulers, and to pray to heaven for 'kings and all those who are in high places;' and their prayers, their mortifications, and their self-restraint are of more avail than many soldiers set in array of battle. And beyond all this, they teach their countrymen the worship of the Lord of All, and there is no earthly city so little and mean but they can promise its citizens a heavenly city with God. You exhort us to enter the magistracy and protect our country's laws and religion. We have in every city an organization that is to us a second *patria*, created by the Word of God, governed by those who are powerful in word and sound in work; excuse us if we concern ourselves mainly with the magistracy of the Church. The ambitious we reject; those whose modesty makes them refuse the solicitude of the Church of God, these we compel to accept it. The presidents of God's State are called by God's will to rule, and they must not defile their hands with the ministry of human laws. Not that a Christian refuses his share of public burdens; but he prefers to reserve himself for burdens and for a service of a diviner and more necessary sort, wherein is concerned the salvation of men. The Christian magistrate has a charge over all men; of those that are within, that they live better every day; of those that are without, that they may be numbered among those who act and speak the things of God-service; serving God in very truth, instructing whom he may, he lives full of the divine Word and law, and so he is able to lead to the Lord of All every one that is converted and wishes to live in His holy law, through the divine Son of God that is in Him, His Word, His Wisdom, His Truth, and His Righteousness."

With this description of the Christian Bishop, we conclude our remarks on Origen. It will doubtless have occurred to most of our readers that we have too completely ignored the charges of heterodoxy that have so often been made against the name of Origen. But we do not admit that Origen was unsound in the Faith, much less that he was formally heretical. Although not unprepared to justify this conviction, we cannot do more at present than invoke the authority of a new and important contribution to the Origen-controversy, which was noticed in our last Number.* Professor Vincenzi, it is confessed by competent and impartial critics, has totally dissipated the notion that Origen denied the Eternity of Punishment. As to the other accusations, he

* In S. Gregorii Nysseni et Origenis scripta et doctrinam nova recensio, per Aloysium Vincenzi. 4 voll. Romæ, 1865.

goes through them one by one and confutes them, without admitting anything whatever in the genuine works of Origen to be theologically unsound, "excepting a few points on which the Fathers of his age were as doubtful and uncertain as himself, since the Church had not then defined them."* Thirdly, he undertakes to prove that S. Jerome was completely mistaken, through no fault of his, with regard to the merits of a controversy in which he played so memorable a part; and, lastly, he maintains that Origen was never condemned by Pope or Council, discussing especially the alleged condemnation by the Fifth General Council. Under shelter, then, of the authority of a work that comes to us with the approval of the Roman censorship, and which on two separate occasions has been warmly praised in the *Civiltà*, we cannot be wrong in waiving, at least, all discussion, in articles like the present, on the alleged errors of Origen. What has been said, though it has left the greater part of his work unconsidered, may perhaps have served to draw attention to one who is in some respects the greatest of the Greek fathers. He did not live long after the completion of the *Contra Celsum*. As he had been the Faith's champion from his orphaned boyhood to his old age, so he merited at least to suffer as a martyr for the Truth he had served so long. His tortures in the Decian persecution did not immediately cause his death, but they hastened it. He died at Tyre in 253 or 254. The cities where he taught are now mere names. Alexandria is a modern Turkish town, Cæsarea is a heap of broken columns and ruined piers, Athens is the capital of a pitiful nation of mongrel Hellenes, Bostra and Petra are tombs in the deserts of Arabia. But two things are not likely to grow less in their greatness or to lose the vividness of their importance, the Faith of Christ and what Origen has done for it. In another region of the world, and in cities with names that are different, yet with histories as grand as belonged to the cities of the East, unbelief seems to be bringing back a condition of mind, to encounter which the Catholic writer will have to put himself into the circumstances of those ancient giants who met and overthrew scientific Paganism in the second and third centuries. Faith, and what is Faith, and why men must believe, occupied Clement and Origen. The same questions are occupying the thought of our own day; and many a hint may be gathered

* "Dummodo tamen nonnulla exceperis, quæ pariter apud Patres cœcos adhuc dubia manebant et incerta; quippe nondum ab Ecclesiâ definita."—*Vincenzi*, li. 524.

and many a suggestive argument started, by those who will take the Alexandrian stand-point and look at Faith as it is looked at in the polemical works of the great Alexandrian school.

ART. IV.—JAMAICA.

1. *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission*, 1866. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Part I., Report. Part II., Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.
2. *Papers relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica*. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty. Parts I., II., III. Feb. 1866.
3. *Jamaica and the Colonial Office. Who caused the Crisis?* By GEORGE PRICE, Esq., late Member of the Executive Committees of Governors Sir HENRY BARKLY, Sir C. H. DARLING, E. J. EYRE, Esq., of the Legislative Council of that Island, and late Custos of the Precinct of St. Catharine. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, Ludgate Hill.
4. *Jamaica in 1850*. By JOHN BIGELOW. New York and London: Putnam.

WHEN we touched in our last number on the state of the West Indies, we carefully avoided any mention of Jamaica. We were in daily expectation of the Report of the Royal Commissioners, and it seemed absurd to give any judgment without the opportunity of using materials for forming it so important, and obtained with so much trouble and cost. Unfortunately our present condition is that of the man who prayed for rain, and was carried away by the flood. The documents before us amount to more than two thousand folio pages, almost all of which are closely printed in double columns. Nothing could be more fortunate than this for gentlemen charged with cruelty or mal-administration. It screens them as effectually as the forms of the House of Lords did Warren Hastings. Let who will condemn them, the question is ready, "Have you made yourself master of the papers laid before Parliament?" and as no man can ever really profess this, the accusers are likely to steal out one by one, if not condemned by their own conscience, at least unable to stand the ordeal. An examination of the documents, however, will suggest that some opinion may be formed upon the most important subjects connected with the late troubles, without wading through the whole of this mighty ocean of print. The "Report" of the Commissioners is not unmanageable in bulk; and every one must feel that (making all allowance for human frailty) they are more likely to come to a trustworthy conclusion than men in England by a mere

study of the evidence upon which it is founded. At least, they were able (as they themselves suggest) to form, by their observation, some judgment as to the credibility of the different witnesses.

It may be necessary to explain to many of our readers that the Report itself contains a vast deal more than the summary of "conclusions" which has gone the round of the newspapers. It fills a Blue Book of forty-one folio pages. The *Times* and other supporters of the view of colonial affairs just now in fashion are fond of assuming that it confirms what they all along asserted. How far this is the case, and how much the cause of truth and justice has gained by the labours of the Commission we shall see.

The *Times* asserted in its numbers for Nov. 17th and the following days, "Enough is known to show that this has been a most dangerous conspiracy; and that, had it not been for the premature action of some of the rebels, the whole island might have witnessed scenes like those of Morant Bay. The rising presents the usual character of negro outbreaks. One might fancy it a record of some slave insurrection in days long gone by. There is the same secrecy, the same wide ramification of the plot, the same ferocity of purpose, setting before itself the gratification of revenge, rapine, and lust; and (singularly enough) the same hatred towards the Mulatto race; the only difference is, that, in this case, the leader was a man of property and position. Mr. G. W. Gordon was a black member of the Legislative Assembly, and a man of considerable property. This man appears to have been a prime mover in the rebellion, and it is said that a plan of operations has been found in his handwriting. However that may be, *it is certain* that in the attack on the Court-house he was deeply implicated. Though a member of the vestry, and accustomed to attend the meetings, he was purposely absent from the one which was to be interrupted in so disastrous a manner. It is not to be supposed that a man like Gordon would be ignorant of the risk he was running; but the history of insurrections often gives instances of such men—half knave, half fanatic—who enter into conspiracies in the desperate hope of winning power and revenge."

As to the crimes committed in the (supposed) rebellion, the *Times* told us "the plot had evidently been well hatched. There appears to have been no special animosity against particular men: the intention of the blacks was to destroy the whole white population; no age or profession appears to have been given immunity. In short, it is impossible not to give credit to what is the universal opinion of the respectable inhabitants

of the island, that there has been for a long time a notion among the black population that they can get the country for themselves, and that it only requires a bold stroke to establish an exclusive black community, either by destroying the whites or driving them in terror from the island." "The insurgents perpetrated the most fiendish atrocities. They shot twenty-two volunteers; they murdered the Rev. Mr. Herschel, having first cut out his tongue. They ripped open a negro compatriot, Mr. Price, for his fidelity to the cause of the whites. They roasted a third alive." So completely did these stories about mutilation, tortures, and atrocities get possession of the field, that we find their truth assumed even by the *Quarterly Review* in July, 1866, in an article written after the publication of the Report and Evidence of the Commissioners.

Next the *Times* gave us a theory as to the causes of this gigantic "rebellion of the Negroes." First, there was no grievance. Indeed, the idea of such a thing was utterly absurd. "The generation of blacks which has committed these atrocities knows nothing of slavery. It has been placed on a perfect equality with the white people; it has had the opportunity of acquiring property and of controlling, if it willed, the legislation of the island. If it has not used these advantages, the fault is its own." This utter absence of all grievance, real or even pretended, was enlarged upon day after day. "Fortunately for the interests of truth, there are in this country many persons who have passed some portion of their lives in the West Indies, and whose evidence is sufficient to refute the platitudes of rhetorical sentimentality. These persons know well enough that the Negro had no grievances—no grievances, at least, but what he had a legal means of redressing. He was the most fortunate of cottier proprietors. Why, then, did he plot foul treasons and murders? The answer is not far to seek. The wonderful influence of race has operated as strongly on the Negro as on the Slave, the Magyar, and the Celt." "Alas for grand triumphs of humanity, and the improvement of races, and the removal of primeval curses, and the expenditure of twenty millions sterling! Jamaica herself gainsays the fact, and belies herself, as we see to-day. It is that which vexes us even more than the Sepoy revolt. Then they show themselves so wonderfully unchanged. Who will disbelieve in race, and the old English doctrine of family, when we see the remote descendants of the King of Dahomey's subjects show themselves the very 'moral' of their African forefathers? They are as treacherous, as ready for deeds of blood, hideous and ridiculous, as when they could slay thousands to fill a trench

with human gore. For an hour they revelled in blood and in still more outrageous insults to the survivors; for days they indulged in a drunken dream of negro mastery and white slavery. It was Africa, hitherto dormant, that had broken out in their natures; one wish, however, crops out strongly enough. They desired the extermination of their emancipators. This is all sad indeed! We hardly know which will be most felt at our religious and philanthropical firesides—the horrible ingratitude or the evidently unimproved intellect of the savages. It is too evident that head and heart are the same. We have been trying now, the best part of a century, to wash the blackamoor white with all kinds of patent soaps, infallible dyes, sweet oils, soothing liniments, rough towels, and soft brushes. But he remains as black as ever, as thick-skinned as ever; his hair as woolly and his cranium as hard.” “These men, whose political rights are described as imperfect, are men who express their dissatisfaction by falling suddenly upon their employers, beating out their brains, ripping up their bellies, and practising, at a minute’s notice, all the atrocities of downright savagery. Is not the conduct of the black mob at Morant Town in itself a sufficient illustration of the character and capacity of the Negro? The worst grievance of these men was that work was slack and wages bad, and for that, as every person of candour would admit, they were to a great extent responsible themselves. Yet, on provocation not sufficient to create an hour’s rioting, they rise in murderous insurrection, and butcher all the white men they can find. This propensity is not to be overlooked in determining the Negro’s responsibility and position.”

We might easily multiply, by many times, these extracts; but we have given enough to show what representation was set before the English people by those who undertake to direct “public opinion” as to the facts of the “negro rebellion,” of the atrocities committed in it, and of the causes to which it was to be referred. That representation was that there had been an utterly unprovoked, long-standing, and deep-seated plot, “widely ramifying,” nay, extending through the whole Negro population of Jamaica; that the object of this plot was to murder all the white and coloured population, to seize upon their property, and (as it was insinuated by the *Times*, and openly declared by most of the English papers which echoed its language) upon their wives and daughters—that Christmas Day was fixed for one simultaneous massacre all over the island—that the whites were saved almost by miracle, merely through the accident that a premature outbreak took place at Morant Bay—that in this

outbreak all the whites and coloured people within reach (as well as some blacks accused of taking their side) were actually massacred without provocation in cold blood, and with every circumstance of the "most fiendish atrocity," the murdered men being frightfully tortured and mutilated while still living, especially by the women. As far as relates to Mr. Gordon, "it is certain that he was the prime mover in the attack on the Court-house," that he "organized the movement," and was "the prime mover in the rebellion."

So much for the narrative in the *Times* as to the insurrection and its more remote cause. As to the immediate cause, which is supposed to have excited the whole Negro population of Jamaica to a conspiracy so diabolical, the *Times* is at no loss. Here we are bound to admit it has the authority of Mr. Eyre for all its statements. He declared to the Colonial Parliament, "the entire colony has long been, and still is, on the brink of a volcano which may at any moment burst into fury. There is scarcely a district or a parish in the island where disloyalty, sedition, and murderous intentions are not widely disseminated, and in many instances openly expressed. The misapprehensions and misrepresentations of pseudo-philanthropists in England and in this country . . . have led to their natural, their necessary, their inevitable result among an ignorant, excitable, and uncivilized population,—rebellion, arson, and murder." To descend from generalities, all the mischief was owing to "Dr. Underhill's letter," which Mr. Eyre says was "in a great degree" the cause of the rebellion. This Dr. Underhill had been much in Jamaica; and in January, 1865, being then in London, he wrote to the Colonial Secretary a very calm and moderate private letter, describing the distress of the labouring classes in Jamaica, and suggesting practical measures for their relief. Mr. Cardwell inclosed this letter to Governor Eyre, adding, "I should be glad to receive from you a report upon its contents." The *Times* says, "Of course Governor Eyre published the letter in the island, and addressed a circular to the authorities and clergy of all denominations asking for the information required. These steps were the necessary consequence of Dr. Underhill's communication with the Minister. The Minister could only act upon it by referring it to the Governor, and the Governor could only reply to it by the means which he adopted. That is the course taken on all such occasions; and when Dr. Underhill laid such a statement as he did before the Colonial Secretary, there was no alternative between leaving it without notice or sending it to the island for consideration and answer." The *Times* must have been hard pressed for an

argument before it would venture to declare that any letter containing statements as to distress in any colony, and suggesting remedies, must necessarily be published in the local newspapers and discussed at public meetings. It was impossible, forsooth, that the Governor should have answered the letter from his own knowledge—impossible that he should have obtained information from others without circulating the letter he had to answer—impossible that he should have communicated it to trustworthy persons without dispersing it broadcast over the island. Mr. Eyre denies, indeed, what the *Times* asserts,—that he did publish it, or knows by whom it was published. However, he does not deny that he sent it to “the custodes of parishes [twenty-two in number], the judges, magistrates, the Bishop of Kingston, and the clergy and ministers of all denominations;” neither does he pretend that in thus circulating it he so much as marked it “private and confidential,” or took any other precautions to prevent its publication. Under these circumstances, it is nothing more than a quibble to say that he did not publish it; and so, indeed, the plea was treated by the Royal Commissioners. The apologist for Mr. Eyre in the *Quarterly Review* says indeed,—“In taking this course he acted perfectly in accordance with the dictates both of common sense and of prescription. There was no other course equally frank and sensible which the Governor could have taken;” but it adds, “that happened which might have been expected to happen. The whole affair got wind; and Mr. Underhill’s letter found its way into the colonial papers. To accuse the Governor of breach of confidence or want of discretion is childish in the extreme. He could not have prevented the publication of the ill-omened letter, except at the risk of greater mischief than, in fact, it eventually did produce: garbled portions, filled out with significant innuendoes, would have done more harm than the unmutated whole. As it was, its effects were soon enough perceptible.” We do not see that any serious blame was due to Mr. Eyre for publishing this letter. It is so sober and temperate, that it is absurd to suppose it could really do any harm. That he did virtually publish it is certain, in spite of his denial; and, considering it so dangerous as he does, what excuse has he for doing so? The *Times*, however (still following Mr. Eyre), states that the manner in which he published it led to public meetings, where “the people were told that they were tyrannized over and ill-treated, were over-taxed, were denied political rights, and had no just tribunals; and where, in fact, language of the most exciting, seditious kind was constantly used; and the people told plainly to

right themselves, to be up and doing, to put their shoulders to the wheel, to do as the Haytians had done, and other similar advice."

All these are Mr. Eyre's words, adopted by his apologists or the *Times*. Assuming the truth of his statement, it is plain that if by such means a rebellion was really produced, the responsibility of it must lie with the Governor who allowed such meetings to go on unchecked, among "an ignorant and excitable population," when he had full power to prevent it, not with the writer of a calm and sober private letter to the Colonial Minister. We shall see reason to believe that, though very greatly to blame, Mr. Eyre was not so directly the cause of the mischief as his own representation would make him.

As to the suppression of the "rebellion," the *Times* says: "The authorities acted with commendable promptness;" if they are blamed, "it was merely for defending the colony, committed to their care, against outrage." It must be admitted, however, that the *Times* made little comment upon the details of the doings of Mr. Eyre and his military subordinates in the month following the outbreak, and that for the best of reasons—because it systematically suppressed all those accounts, which made the blood of the mass of those who read them run cold. As far as its readers were allowed to know, there was no *primâ facie* appearance of any sanguinary or cruel proceedings. This suppression of facts was afterwards defended on the plea that many of the statements were not credible. It is to be observed, however, that on this plea the official reports of the officers employed, giving an account of their own proceedings, were suppressed, as well as the newspaper accounts. The indecent tone of these reports, more than anything else, excited the indignation of the people of England. Even the *Times* dared not wholly to defend them. But the tenderness of its censure is curious:—"We may ourselves wish that the tone of the dispatches had been more guarded, but we know that the wish is utterly idle; the acts of justice we see no reason to impugn. The tone in which they are described we can only regard as the inevitable result of such a strain on the muscles, nerves, and senses, as we hope to be spared ourselves." And a few days later:—"We cannot prevail upon ourselves to criticise too severely the proceedings, or rather the language, of the people driven to this desperate battle." N.B. This was after the publication of the letters of Colonel Hobbs and others, which caused such deep disgust in England; and also after the publication of Mr. Eyre's dispatch, in which he said, "No stand has ever been made against the troops; and though we are not only in complete military occupation of, but

have traversed with troops all the disturbed regions, not a single casualty has befallen any of our soldiers or sailors, and they are all in good health." Such was the "desperate struggle" which made the *Times* feel it impossible to find any fault with the letters of Colonel Hobbs, Captain Hole, and Colonel Elkington. We trust that we are not indulging a faulty degree of national pride, when we express our hope and belief—although the *Times* does consider such a hope as utterly idle—that by degrees British officers may learn to speak somewhat more like gentlemen and Christians, and that the manner in which the reports of these officers have been received by their countrymen will materially tend to prevent, on any future occasion, what the *Times* accepts as inevitable.

Now let us compare this account with the verdict of the Royal Commissioners, of whom we may very safely say, that they are not likely to be prejudiced in favour of "rebels." An officer of high military rank, himself for years past a colonial governor, and two high Conservative lawyers, both holding judicial positions in England, would hardly be under any temptation to favour "rebels and murderers," merely "because they have black skins," as Mr. Eyre is pleased publicly to assert is the case with all who in any degree object to his proceedings; for, of course, men so abandoned have no claim to benefit by the ordinary rule of gentlemen against imputing motives.

And first, it is exceedingly significant that the Commissioners' Report always carefully avoids the phrases "rebellion" or "rebels." It is only by examining it with this special view that any one can see with how much trouble this has been done. It was a matter of some difficulty, especially as all the documents and testimony brought before the Commissioners by Mr. Eyre and his agents always called the sufferers "rebels," and speak of "the rebellion." We have gone through the whole Report with this special object, and we find that the terms used are always "the late disturbances," "the riot," "the outbreak," "the disorder," "resistance to lawful authority." By far the strongest terms employed are "insurrection" and "insurgents." These are used twice. But in one of those places, beyond all doubt, and in the other to all appearance, they are used, not to express the judgment of the Royal Commissioners after due inquiry, but the view taken by the Jamaica authorities in the excitement of the moment. The important distinction the Commissioners lay down in these words:—"We know how much easier it is to decide after than before the event, and we are aware, too, that sometimes the success of the measure adopted for the prevention of an evil deprives the authors of those measures of the evidence they

would otherwise have had of their necessity. We have endeavoured, therefore, to place ourselves as far as possible in the position of the Governor and his advisers, at the time their determination was arrived at." This is obviously the meaning of the term, "this apparently formidable insurrection." In like manner, those whom Mr. Eyre always calls "rebels," the Commissioners invariably and studiously call "rioters," the "mob," or at a later stage "the prisoners." The importance of this careful choice of language was felt by Mr. Eyre's apologist in the *Quarterly*. He boldly cuts the Gordian knot by a simple misstatement of the fact. He says (p. 243):

"In these observations we have assumed that there was a rebellion, and that it was a deliberate and preconcerted rebellion. In both these assumptions we have the support of the Commissioners." The fact, as we have seen, is the opposite.

In the same passage from which we quote these words, we have a curious illustration of the manner in which vehement prejudice leads men to believe and advance contradictory accusations. Nothing can be more strictly identical than the view of Jamaica affairs in the *Quarterly* and the *Times*. They might well be (not improbably were) written by the same hand. Yet the *Times* describes the special character of a "negro insurrection" to be an almost supernatural power of "secrecy and wide ramification of a well-hatched plot;" while the *Quarterly* says, "Concert and deliberation are relative: they are shown in different degrees by different people. The power of combination is very weak in the Negro, compared with the same power in Europeans. If concert and conspiracy among negroes were to be measured by the same standard of definiteness that is applied to them in England, they could never be said to exist among negroes." "In Jamaica there was as much conspiracy as the Negro mind was capable of organizing." The cause of this difference is plain. The *Quarterly* was labouring to prove that there must really have been a plot, though the Royal Commissioners, after the strictest investigation, were satisfied that there was none. It pleads, therefore, what is always urged against all who demand just and fair government in the West Indies (and what is elaborately urged by Mr. Eyre himself in his appeal from the verdict of the Royal Commissioners to the whites of Jamaica): "You do not know the Negro. A negro plot is something quite different from a plot anywhere else." The *Times*, on the contrary, writing before the facts had been investigated, expressed the mere instinct of hatred by attributing to the Negro almost supernatural powers and qualifications for deep and dark con-

spiracy. These outbreaks of passion and prejudice often remind us of those with which we are only too familiar, in the arguments of Protestants against the "Jesuits" and the "priests," whom they firmly believe to be invested with all contradictory bad qualities at once.

The Commissioners then decide that there was really at Morant Bay "a riot," "disturbance," "disorder," and "resistance to lawful authority;" that the Jamaica authorities, in the excitement of the moment, erroneously believed that there was a "formidable insurrection" and a conspiracy. They are firmly convinced that this conspiracy was merely what they call it, "supposed." But they believe that the "leaders of the rioters" (*i.e.*, as they expressly say, the Boggles) had "a pre-concerted plan, and that by them murder was distinctly contemplated;" *i.e.* not any general massacre, but the murder of certain individuals against whom they were deeply enraged. They are also of opinion that some of them contemplated the attainment of their ends by the "death or expulsion of the white inhabitants." They are equally certain that the resistance to authority arose from "local causes." The first of these causes, they say, was the desire of obtaining land free from payment of rent. We have been strongly struck in reading the evidence with the analogy upon this point between Jamaica and Ireland. The Commissioners felt themselves precluded from tracing the causes of discontent any farther than the immediate proximate causes of this particular outbreak. They say, "We were solicited to admit evidence with respect to a great variety of subjects, embracing almost the whole range of island politics for several years past;" but "we resolved, as far as we could, to confine ourselves to an examination of the causes which proximately and directly led to the disturbances;" therefore "we made it our endeavour to reject all evidence which, either in point of time or place, failed to conform to the above standard."

This, no doubt, was necessary; but it obviously limits the utility of the Report. We would gladly have had, from men so able and in a frame of mind so judicial, some judgment upon the causes by which the island was brought into so inflammable a condition. Mr. Eyre's theory is simple. He is convinced that as late as Nov., 1864, nothing could exceed the loyalty and good disposition of the peasantry. He then made a speech to the Colonial Parliament, immediately after making a tour round the whole island, with the exception of the parish of St. John. He said, "I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing publicly how extremely interesting and gratifying this tour was to me. In the varying scenery, climate, and industrial

pursuits of the different districts, I saw much to admire and value. But however diverse from each other in physical features or capabilities the several parishes might be, I found the inhabitants, one and all, animated by the same spirit of warm loyalty, considerate kindness, and generous hospitality." When reminded of this by Sir H. Storks, he said (on oath), "Yes, I most fully endorse that passage, and I most gratefully remember the feeling which I then noticed. The feeling of loyalty was undoubted wherever I went. I may state that in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and Portland, especially in this district, wherever I went I was received with the greatest hospitality, not only by the gentry of the country but by the peasantry themselves. All the way they lined the road, and over each gateway there would be a couple of cocoa-nut boughs bent to the posts, and tied together, with fruit and flowers hanging from them, and my carriage was repeatedly inundated with bouquets. This was by the very people many of whom were recently in rebellion." He might have added, these smiling dwellings were the very houses burnt down twelve months later by his authority. Mr. Eyre, though no doubt a well-meaning man, is evidently no politician. He cannot imagine it possible that an excitable people could have made such a demonstration of loyalty, if, before that, they had felt or imagined any grievances. He does not know how readily a loyal-hearted peasantry jumps to the conclusion that a new governor, who visits them in a friendly and amicable spirit will be sure to set right all the grievances under which they have long been groaning. Had he witnessed the reception of George IV. by the peasantry of Ireland, he would no doubt have concluded that any discontent of which he afterwards heard must have been produced without a grievance merely by O'Connell's agitation, for he would have been sure, of his own knowledge, that so lately as July, 1820, no Irishman felt that he had anything to complain of. Accordingly he goes on to state, with regard to Jamaica, that he regards as the "primary origin of the agitation," "the letter of Dr. Underhill and the consequent meetings which took place." He mentions that on April 25th, 1865, he wrote to the Secretary of State, "transmitting the statement of distress and grievance from certain poor people of S. Ann's," in these words: "This is the first fruit of Dr. Underhill's letter." "I fear the result of Dr. Underhill's communication will have a very prejudicial influence in unsettling the minds of the peasantry, making them discontented with their lot and disinclined to conform to the laws which regulate their taxation, their civil tribunals, or their *political status*, all of which they have been informed are unjust, *partial*, or oppressive." It would be useless to tell Mr. Eyre,

or the writers in the *Times* and the *Quarterly*, that men happy, contented, and without grievance, are not so inflammable that their whole state of mind is to be unsettled and overthrown by a letter written by a gentleman in London, representing in very calm and sober language grievances which, as they assure us, never had any existence except in his imagination. Their only answer, we well know, would be that which Mr. Eyre makes to the Royal Commissioners,—“It is impossible that persons imperfectly acquainted with the negro character” can judge of such a matter. In fact the real root of the whole difference between Mr. Eyre and the planters on one side and the Commissioners and the people of England on the other, is that we will believe that negroes are human beings, and therefore capable of being influenced (in proportion to the degree of their cultivation) by the same motive and the same treatment which influence men of other races, while the others are convinced that they are wholly incapable of being affected by anything except force and terror. For our part, we heartily regret that the Royal Commissioners thought it inconsistent with their duty to examine whether there were really no grievances at an earlier date. We see many indications of them. For instance, the Royal Commissioners mention among the immediate causes of the outbreak in St. Thomas, “the want of confidence felt by the labouring class in the tribunals before which most of the disputes affecting their interests were carried for adjudication.” Of course Mr. Eyre will at once account for this want of confidence by referring to “Dr. Underhill’s letter;” and accordingly we have already seen, that in transmitting a complaint from the poor people at St. Ann’s he expressly mentions the “civil tribunals” as one of the things against which, without any cause, Dr. Underhill had prejudiced them by false representations. But we find that Mr. Justice Ker, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the island, writes, November 21st, 1865, “I am called upon to observe that St. Ann’s has long had a real grievance. That grievance is the fact that the confidential clerk and manager of the leading mercantile firm there, the Messrs. Bravo, is at the same time clerk of the magistrates and deputy clerk of the peace. It is utterly impossible but that a very large proportion of the cases which come before the magistrates for adjudication are cases in which the Messrs. Bravo are directly or indirectly interested, or in which they have, or are believed to have, a bias. But how could an uninstructed population be persuaded that justice could be done in such cases. In point of fact they do not believe it, as I have occasion very well to know. The influence exercised by the clerk of the magis-

trates over the bench is necessarily very great—sometimes paramount. Some recent decisions from St. Ann's which have been brought to my notice have given me a most unfavourable impression of the administration of justice in that parish." With all deference to Mr. Eyre, it would seem that the circumstances here mentioned were more likely to have excited disaffection among the people of St. Ann's than a private letter written by Dr. Underhill to Mr. Cardwell.

But it will be said, this was at St. Ann's. At St. Thomas-in-the-West the administration of justice was faultless. This, however, must not be taken for granted, for the whole of the late outbreak was confessedly caused by a question about the tenure of land brought before the magistrates of that parish. It is admitted that the place which rejoices in the euphonious name of Stoneygut is situated upon an estate called Middleton. This land has been long abandoned, and the peasantry had been allowed to take undisputed possession of it. They had made enclosures, planted trees, built cottages and a place of worship, and have for many years been under the impression that it belonged to them, and to them only. This is not disputed, and we shall afterwards find reasons why the Jamaica labourers prefer, whenever they have the opportunity, to settle themselves upon these "back lands," as they are called, instead of living upon the cultivated estates. It must be understood that this same village of Stoneygut is a thing of the past, for on October 19th, 1865, Colonel Hobbs writes word that he had "utterly destroyed this rebellious settlement." It must have been populous, for we are told the crowd at once assembled, when an attempt was made to arrest Paul Bogle in this village, exceeded 600. What led to the disturbance was that, after many years of undisputed possession by the peasantry, the land was claimed by "W. M. Anderson, Esq., the present agent for emigration." The magistrates at Morant Bay decided in his favour, and it was the prospect of eviction which led to the "planned resistance to lawful authority" manifested by the mob which surrounded the Court-house on October 11th, and upon which the volunteers were unfortunately ordered by the magistrates to fire. It was also against these same magistrates that the revengeful feeling existed which showed itself in murderous cries, and led to the conclusion of the Commissioners that by some at least of the "leaders of the rioters murder was distinctly contemplated." This state of things curiously contradicts the statement of the *Times*, that "there was no special animosity against particular men," and that the rebellion was merely an outbreak of a long-standing plot, setting before

itself the murder of all the white men of the island, and the seizing of their properties, wives, and daughters.

Whether the magistrates deserved the confidence of the peasantry or not, it need hardly be said that when the peasantry rose in riotous resistance, it was equally the duty of the Governor to put them down by the strong hand. Much and justly as Mr. Eyre's conduct has been condemned, it would have been still more worthy of condemnation if he had allowed a mob to act as a court of appeal over any bench of magistrates whatever, even if that bench had been like that before which was brought the question as to Naboth's vineyard. Of all conceivable forms of law, lynch-law is certainly the worst.

At the same time the administration of justice at Morant Bay does not seem to have invited confidence. The evidence given by Mr. Justice Ker before the Royal Commission lays great blame upon both the law and its execution. There, as, at St. Ann's, he says the clerk of the magistrates has great power, and adds, "an act of the clerk of the peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East gave great dissatisfaction. It was my allotted duty to have gone that circuit in October last, when I intended to have inquired into this very matter." This of course was stopped by the establishment of martial law,—*silent inter arma*. But his objections lie deeper. All questions which touch the labouring class, and especially questions between master and servant, are decided in Jamaica by the unpaid magistrates, all of whom are either planters or managers of estates, or else traders, and these last of a class not qualified "by pecuniary independence and social position to secure the confidence of the mass of the people. "The constitution of the court," says Judge Ker, "has led to want of confidence in it." There is a power of appeal from it; but this, he adds, is "surrounded with snares, and formalities, and technicalities, which render it not at all an available opportunity or means of redress. Two years ago, moreover, the colonial Legislature passed a new law which doubled the expense and otherwise increased the difficulties which before made an appeal almost impossible to a labourer. As one part of them, he has to travel to Kingston, a distance of sixty miles, before he can get the needful papers drawn up." We need not follow the Judge through the details of the obstacles interposed, as he evidently believes with deliberate intention, by the legislation of the planters in the local Parliament, in the way of any labouring man who attempts to obtain redress for any wrong.

But the planters are magistrates as well as legislators, and in this capacity, according to the evidence, they have done still more with the same intention. Mr. Jackson (for the last

nine-and-twenty years stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica, and who was for many years in St. Thomas-in-the-East) swears to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of that parish with the administration of justice ever since he knew it, and also that, in his opinion, the dissatisfaction was well grounded. Of the magistrates, he says, five-sixths are planters, or connected with the management of estates; the remainder merchants or shopkeepers. He was an evidently reluctant witness, continually repeating that he might be wrong, and the magistrates with whom he had sat right; but he admits that there had always been a dissension between him and them whenever he sat, and that he was always outvoted upon such questions as "the guilt or innocence of parties, and the sufficiency of proof,"—so much so that, whenever he could, he avoided sitting. The planter magistrate had a bias, "perhaps unconscious." But he gave in papers containing, as he said, "instances of direct acts of oppression." We may take the following as a specimen. A magistrate and proprietor of an estate at St. Thomas "met a woman going to work on his estate; by accident, apparently, her hoe struck his horse's nose, and he retorted by supple-jacking (*i. e.* flogging) her very severely. She took out a summons against him," and attended the meetings of the magistrates, court after court, for three months and more, but could never get the case brought on for hearing. This was because, as soon as that particular case was called, the magistrate sitting with Mr. Jackson would always get up and say he could not wait any longer; and as the law required at least two magistrates, Mr. Jackson could not hear the case alone. At last, after the poor woman had attended at all the courts held for three months, a representation was made to the Governor that "a court could not be made to try this magistrate in that district." After this, apparently through his interference, the trial came on. The facts were proved, and the question arose as to the penalty. One of the magistrates said, "Fine him a shilling;" the other said, "One or two shillings;" and I said, "Let it be five shillings;" and so it was fixed. Mr. Jackson added that he thought it a case that called for a higher penalty, but did not urge it because he made it a rule not to discuss with the magistrate sitting with him, so as to increase a penalty or punishment. "If I think a party innocent, nothing will induce me to join my brother magistrate in pronouncing him guilty; but if I think him guilty, and my brother magistrate thinks him innocent, I yield at once to the side of mercy." This sentence of 5*s.* fine carried costs, between 12*s.* and 14*s.* The Commissioners asked naturally enough whether these repeated

adjournments did not cause any increase of costs ; and especially whether nothing was allowed to the complainant for the loss of her time by these repeated attendances ? Mr. Jackson replied, " No. And that is a very great grievance. The costs are not allowed, because it would be, as it were, punishing the unsuccessful party for the fault of the magistrates, who did not form a court." Thus this poor woman had to lose her work to attend every court for more than three months without compensation. But we have not yet heard the last of this same worthy magistrate, Mr. Walton. On the very next court-day he was himself sitting with Mr. Jackson, and a case came on for an assault of one man against another. " The case," Mr. Jackson deposes on oath, " was barely proven against him, and it was a trifle compared with the assault he had committed on the woman. When I asked him what he thought of the case, he said ' Guilty.' I concurred and said, ' What fine ? ' ' Thirty shillings,' said he. I said I thought one shilling and costs would be quite enough ; but as he wanted to make it thirty shillings, I would go as far as five shillings and costs, which was precisely what he had been fined before. His answer was, ' I conscientiously cannot do it.' " Mr. Jackson remarks that probably Mr. Walton took a different view of the assault from himself. He continues,— " The same magistrate went on board a ship where there was a Sambo boy who had a fancy dog. He tried all he could to get this dog from the boy, either to purchase or to beg it. The boy would not part with it, and he took the dog away from the ship and took it home. The owner of the dog, by some means or other, repossessed himself of it, and the magistrate ordered the police to take the boy up ; and he was taken up, and lodged in custody on the charge of stealing the dog. He was brought up to answer that charge, which was unwritten. There was no summons, only a verbal order to the police to take him up. He was lodged in the lock-up. He was brought before me. Nobody appeared against him, and I told him he was at liberty to go. He requested to be allowed to remain, so as to answer the charge brought against him and vindicate his character. He remained there court after court till he was tired of waiting, and eventually he went away out of the imprisonment. That was after the vessel had sailed, and he had lost his situation ; and I believe he never got his dog back again. He was in gaol upwards of two months, if not more."

What Mr. Walton might have said in answer to all this we cannot tell, as he was one of the magistrates murdered in the riot of October 11. It appears, however, that the other magistrates found Mr. Jackson an unpleasant colleague. A

complaint was made against him to Mr. Eyre "by Baron Kettelholdt and others, charging him with using improper expressions towards the justices." The words, as deposed in the evidence of the Hon. Edward Jordan, "Governor's Secretary and Island Secretary," were these:—"Come not, my soul, into their council." On the charge of having uttered these words, and also refused to take his seat in the vestry, Mr. Jackson was removed from St. Thomas by Mr. Eyre. It is said that his removal had a great effect in producing the discontent in the parish. His own account of this, however, is, that it was not so much the sending him away from the parish which produced the discontent, as the fact, "that they were left without the slightest chance of getting another stipendiary magistrate in my place;" for "I may be permitted to say that the negroes have a peculiar confidence in the stipendiary magistrates generally."

In the state of things exposed by the evidence of these judicial authorities, and to which every lawyer and judge in the island seems to have given concurrent testimony (although we have been obliged to confine ourselves to one or two), we can hardly bring ourselves to believe, with Mr. Eyre, that "Dr. Underhill's letter was the primary cause of the want of confidence, which, as the Commissioners report, was felt by the labouring classes in general in the tribunals before which most of the disputes affecting their interests were carried for adjudication." Oppression, the wise man says, drives wise men mad; and of all kinds of oppression the most maddening is that carried on under form of law.

But the *Times* assures us "the Negro had no grievances—no grievances, at least, which he had not the legal means of redressing; he might be, and often was, a municipal or a legislative elector, a vestryman, a custom-house officer, often a magistrate, not unfrequently a member of Parliament." In law, such was no doubt the case,—as a representation of fact, the statement is grossly exaggerated. For instance, a very accurate account in 1851, sixteen years after emancipation, says "No negro ever had a seat there till the session before the last, when one was returned. In the last session there were three." We do not mention this as any grievance, but merely as an instance of the recklessness of statement indulged in by Mr. Eyre's advocates. However, persons more or less coloured might be much more reasonably expected to attain such positions than negroes, especially as they are large holders of property. Could they, on behalf of the peasantry, obtain a legal remedy for the grievances we have mentioned? Mr. Gordon's case is not encouraging. He had

been a good deal concerned in the affairs of St. Thomas. There, as indeed throughout the whole of Jamaica, one of the main causes of discontent is systematic jobbing in all financial matters. Mr. Price, who has resided many years in Jamaica, has just published a volume, which few persons in England are likely to read, as it enters at length into all the history of the Jamaica jobs, and which may admit of partial reply, but which goes through Mr. Eyre's administration in detail, and seems unquestionably to establish the fact that the extreme unpopularity of Mr. Eyre's government with the whites of Jamaica was owing to their conviction that he systematically encouraged this vile practice. It would fill up much more than an article if we should go through the different jobs which Mr. Price accuses Mr. Eyre of patronizing; but Jamaica affairs cannot really be understood unless we wholly lay on one side the statements of the *Times*, some Conservative organs, and the *Quarterly*, who unite to assure us that Mr. Eyre's administration was always approved by the whites of Jamaica. As we understand it, their approbation was given only to the slaughter and torturing of the negroes under martial law; but up to the very moment of the outbreak of October 11, a very large proportion—we believe a vast majority—of the whites regarded Mr. Eyre's administration as most disgraceful and calamitous, and were clamorous for his removal. In giving one extract to confirm this statement, we must not be supposed to accept all the views it implies; nor do we with Mr. Price blame the Commissioners for refusing to inquire into the more remote causes of discontent; but it illustrates the state of feeling among the leading whites of Jamaica as to Mr. Eyre and his administration. The writer was in so leading a position in the island that when the Assembly compelled Mr. Eyre to change his ministers as late as June, 1863, he was obliged to entrust the administration to him. He writes (p. 4):—

Several witnesses bore testimony before the Royal Commissioners as to the existence of a wide-spread spirit of disaffection among the lower classes of Jamaica during the last three or four years, but no attempt was made to unravel its cause, nor to ascertain whether the same spirit under a milder phase had not pervaded the higher and middle classes during exactly the same period. Anxious to avoid any such inquiry, the Royal Commissioners, beating tenderly about the bush whilst examining the more educated witnesses, freely putting questions as to the non-payment of wages and the tenure of land, and soliciting and readily accepting statements as to the supposed maladministration of justice by the subordinate magistracy, refused to inquire whether the rule of the chief magistrate of the colony, and the denial of political justice by himself and the Colonial Secretary, had caused dis-

satisfaction amongst every class in Jamaica during the same time. The Commissioners have therefore failed to elicit the cause of the dissatisfaction and general uneasiness which existed among the lower classes, and of the hostility between Mr. Eyre and Mr. Gordon, which led him and others to the verge of sedition, and resulted in his execution; and they have equally failed to ascertain the causes which, having led to such calamities in the past, may yet lead to the recurrence of others equally deplorable.

It is now just three or four years since Mr. Eyre assumed the government of Jamaica as Lieutenant-Governor; since the "Tramway Fraud" was initiated; since the Main Road Forgeries and delinquencies occurred; since Mr. Eyre dissolved the Assembly and agitated the island by his appeal to the black constituencies, for the sole purpose of retaining in office and forcing on the Assembly a Government who, with himself, had permitted these frauds, forgeries, and delinquencies; and it is just three years and a half since Mr. G. W. Gordon, from being a peaceable, inoffensive man, minding his own business, avoiding politics, and abstaining even from being a Member of the Assembly, first took to the *métier* of a demagogue.

It is necessary to bear in mind these disputes as to public expenditure and public works, if we would at all understand the case of Mr. Gordon. The *Times* and the *Quarterly* report him as "a man half knave half fanatic, who entered into a conspiracy in the desperate hope of winning power and revenge." The Commissioners, who acquit him of conspiracy, quote, apparently as proof that he was going as near it as he could, his words, "I must first upset that fellow Herschell and kick him out of the vestry, and the Baron also, or bad will come of it." It is to be remembered that these were not written words, but an account given by memory of a private conversation six months before. Remembering this, we really do not see that the expression was extraordinarily violent, or goes beyond what men in his station in England would use under the same circumstances. The Commissioners seem to have been much influenced by words reported to have been used by Gordon, when, disclaiming all intention of rebellion, he said he would try a demonstration of it. But, considering how difficult it is to the most truthful witness to repeat, six months afterwards, the exact words of any conversation, we cannot help thinking it far more probable that Mr. Gordon said, "I shall try a demonstration," without adding the words "of it." And upon these two minute monosyllables the whole meaning turns. It appears from the printed documents, that Mr. Gordon and his friends were in the habit of calling the public meetings then going on "a demonstration." In this sense his meaning would be perfectly intelligible. He had no idea of rebellion, but meant to try what a demonstration—i. e. a political agitation—would do.

On the other hand, a "demonstration of rebellion" would have been nonsense. It could only mean that, without making a real rebellion, he would do enough to bring him under the law, which would be exactly the opposite to his known intention. Improbable as it was that he would make a rebellion, it is certainly impossible that he should wish to make a "demonstration of rebellion." We believe, then, that his words fairly meant, and were intended to mean, that he had no idea of rebellion, but that he would try to get Mr. Herschell and the Baron out of the management of the affairs of the parish by political agitation. But why should he be so inveterate against a respectable clergyman like Mr. Herschell?—was it sectarian zeal against a man whose life was devoted to the instruction of the ignorant and the reformation of sinners? Upon this question Mr. Price throws much light. He tells us (p. 130)—

It is not generally known, except in Jamaica, that most of the ill-blood which resulted so fatally in St. Thomas-in-the-East was caused by the illegal permission to the late Rev. V. Herschell to rebuild the chapel at Bath, in that district. The late Baron von Kettelholdt, the custos and chairman of the building committee, had (without complying with the requirements of the law) allowed Mr. Herschell to become contractor for the extensive repairs (almost equal to rebuilding it) of that chapel; and Mr. Herschell, having no knowledge of such work, employed the late Mr. C. A. Price, a builder, to execute it.

The result was, the work was ill-done. Mr. Gordon, as leader of Her Majesty's opposition, opposed the proposal to pay Mr. Herschell more than his contract to enable him to build the walls over again. The Baron was one of three men charged with having patronized former "frauds and forgeries," and who, expressly on that charge, had been removed from office by a vote of the white Colonial Parliament. "Mr. Price had been one of his warmest supporters in the Assembly, and Mr. Herschell out of it." These three men waited on Mr. Eyre, and obtained for Mr. Herschell an addition to the payment secured by his contract. Such were the proceedings which made Mr. Gordon resolve, if he could, to remove them from the vestry.

The Baron, on the other hand, determined to get rid of Mr. Gordon. First he obtained his dismissal from the magistracy by Mr. Eyre, on the charge of having made a charge against one of the magistrates connected with the same lock-up house which has figured in the evidence of Mr. Andrews. The dismissal was confirmed by the Colonial Office. Mr. Price, who was wholly unconnected with Mr. Gordon, states that he "was dismissed on facts not correctly stated, as the Duke of New-

castle admitted." The next object was to prevent his holding the office of churchwarden, which would have enabled him to check jobs in the expenditure of public money upon the Establishment. Mr. Gordon professed to be a member of the Established Church. He was, we suspect, quite as good a one as many who pass muster here. Five years ago, however, he had been rebaptized. The vestry, under the guidance of the Baron, decided that this made him ineligible for the office of churchwarden to which he had been elected, and excluded him. The account given of this matter by the *Quarterly* is, "after having left the Church of England for the Baptist denomination, he was elected to fill the office of churchwarden; but the custos (the Baron) and vestry having refused to admit his qualification, he brought two successive actions against the custos, and was defeated in both." This is a thoroughly dishonest account. It suppresses the fact that Gordon professed to belong to the Establishment, and also, that although the inferior court, which the *Quarterly* admits to be utterly untrustworthy, gave a verdict for the Baron, the judges of the Supreme Court, which, it says, "have ever fully maintained the honour and character of the English Bench," quashed that verdict by a unanimous judgment, as contrary to the evidence, both on the point that Mr. Gordon was in the eyes of the law a member of the Established Church, and also on other grounds; and ordered a new trial. Nor was this all. A second time the inferior court gave a verdict for the Baron; and a second time the judges of the superior court unanimously quashed the verdict. A third trial was coming on when the murder of the Baron stopped the proceedings. But we must add one important fact, namely, that the Baron managed to get the whole expense of this disgraceful litigation paid out of the public funds levied by taxation upon the population, whose sympathies were notoriously on the side of Mr. Gordon. This state of things, the writer in the *Quarterly* is not ashamed to describe by saying that "Gordon brought two successive actions against the custos, Baron Kettelholdt, and was defeated in both." Nothing can be more plain than that the law was on his side, and the corrupt administration of justice on the other. In a word, it is plain that it was to Mr. Herschell the government contractor, not to Mr. Herschell the clergyman, that Mr. Gordon was opposed. In one especial respect Jamaica resembles Ireland. It has a great and costly Anglican Church establishment, and a population wholly alienated from it, although unhappily not Catholics, like the people of Ireland. There is a Bishop residing in England, a suffragan Bishop filling his place in Jamaica, three Archdeacons, twenty-two Rectors, how many "Island Curates"

we do not know. The annual cost of these gentlemen, who are paid out of the taxes of the island, is variously estimated at from £30,000 to £45,000 per annum. The chapel at Bath was being rebuilt at the public cost. Mr. Gordon desired to be churchwarden, that he might have power to check jobbing and reckless expenditure of money raised by the taxation of a poor and suffering population. He was legally elected to it, he was illegally kept out by the jobbers whom he was opposing, and he had recourse to "agitation" only when he found justice refused and unattainable in any other way. This is the account of the matter accepted by the Commissioners. The language he used was not that of a refined and aristocratical politician. It was, however, far less violent than that to which we are accustomed in party disputes in England. In a word, so far as appears, Mr. Gordon was doing merely what the *Times* says the negroes ought to have done: he was seeking the redress of real grievances by legal means. Seldom has it happened to any man thus engaged, that every word he has said for many months, not only in public but in private conversation, sometimes with intimate friends, sometimes with ladies, should be scraped together to criminate him, at a time when, having been already cut off by a violent death, he was unable to disprove anything, to explain anything. Yet the result even of this is that he has been pronounced innocent by a Commission, consisting of a colonial Governor and two experienced lawyers. This does not prevent the *Quarterly*, and a considerable section of the press, from assuming his guilt. The *Quarterly* ventures to speak of "the moral certainty of Mr. Gordon's guilty knowledge and guilty purpose. Much more than this, Mr. Adderley, the Under-secretary for the Colonies, declared in the House of Commons that "the Commissioners were firmly convinced of the complicity and guilt of Gordon, and that, as far as language could convey a meaning, they appeared to have the firm conviction that had Gordon been reserved for a regular trial before a criminal court, there would not have been a jury in Kingston who would not have found him guilty;" a statement which called out from Russell Gurney the declaration: "I was called upon to state whether I had changed the opinion expressed in the Report that Gordon in our opinion was not guilty of the offence attributed to him, or of any complicity in conspiracy. I certainly have not changed that opinion, I entertain it as fully now as before. I am perfectly satisfied that the evidence on which Gordon was convicted was insufficient to justify the conviction; and I am also satisfied, having carefully examined all the evidence adduced before us in the course of our inquiry, that in the words of the Report, 'although

it appears exceedingly probable that Mr. Gordon by his words and writings did much to produce that state of excitement and discontent in different parts of the island which rendered the spread of the insurrection exceedingly probable,' yet we cannot see, in the evidence which has been adduced, any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the Government." It is important to remember that the Commissioners came to this conclusion not merely after examining all that was actually proved against Mr. Gordon at that which was called his trial, but after having also heard and examined carefully into everything which could be alleged against him five months after his death.

We do not at present enter into the conduct of those by whom Mr. Gordon was put to death. We have insisted upon his innocence only incidentally. What we have already shown is that in the judgment of the Commissioners the outbreak at Morant Bay was not a rebellion, but a riot, in which, however, the leaders contemplated murder, and hoped to obtain lands free of rent;—that this outbreak was in great measure produced by a total want of confidence in the administration of justice, and that this want of confidence was well grounded;—that the inferior courts were thoroughly untrustworthy and corrupt, and that Mr. Gordon was engaged in an attempt to obtain the redress of real grievances by legal means, and was, neither in act nor intention, guilty of any crime against the law.

But in order to probe the social disorder of Jamaica, we must go still further back. Ever since the Emancipation Act, the fundamental mischief has been, that the laws of Jamaica have been made by a body which had opposed to the last moment the emancipation of the slaves, which really believed that negroes will not work except under compulsion, and which, as a necessary consequence, legislated on principles fundamentally false. The object of legislation was not to train the freedmen to labour voluntarily, but to keep them in such a condition that their labour might be forced. It was avowedly with this view that an act was passed to enable the owners of estates to evict tenants at a week's notice. Nor has this been a dead letter. The Rev. H. Clarke, who has been for eighteen years an island curate, writes only last January: "I attribute the existing poverty and demoralization among the people of my district in a great measure to the practice which the estates adopt, of moving the negro villages periodically, in order to prevent the labourers from profiting by the bread-fruits, cocoa-nuts, and other trees of slow growth, which they

plant around their dwellings. Every village of the estates in this district of 5,000 inhabitants has been moved within the last ten years; and as the people have to pull down and rebuild their cottages at their own expense, they have got into a way of erecting miserable little huts, in which the poor things are compelled to live like pigs in a sty—old and young of both sexes sleeping together. Great numbers of them have left the estates altogether, and bought or rented land in the mountains; but as they are there out of the reach of all civilizing influences, it is not likely they can advance either in wealth or morals." It is plain that things like this must be thoroughly altered before Jamaica can prosper.

Much might be said upon this part of the subject, but in truth the speech of Earl Grey upon the bill for the government of Jamaica as a Crown colony was enough. That the abolition of the Colonial Parliament was a simple blessing, is a point upon which we have only met with one dissentient,—Mr. Price. All other opinions are unanimous. The only safe government for such a colony is one like that of India, a despotism responsible to the Home Government and to Parliament. The late House of Assembly was elected by 1,457 voters, while 436,807 had no voice or influence. No government can be worse than that of such a parliament. It is exempt from responsibility by the fact that it is held to represent the island, and it represents only one class in a society where, perhaps more than in any other, class is divided against class.

If Englishmen had been asked, at any time before the news of the late outbreak arrived, what they knew about Jamaica, we imagine that nine out of ten would have been found to have no definite idea, except that the Negro demanded wages so high that "no conceivable opulence of cane-crop will cover such wages," and that, "sunk to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in the creation, he can listen to the less fortunate white man's demand, and take his own time in supplying it." This impression was made upon the mind of England by a single passage of Carlyle; so great is the power of great talents, even when abused to the poorest sophistry. Mr. Bigelow, an able American traveller, who spent a large part of the year 1850 in Jamaica, and published his able and valuable volume on his return, says:—

I made the current wages of the island the subject of special inquiry. To my utter surprise I learned that the price for men on the sugar and coffee plantations ranged from eighteen to twenty-four cents (about 9d. to 1s.) a day, and proportionably less for boys and women. Out of these wages the labourers have to board themselves. Now when it is considered that in the

largest market in the island flour costs from sixteen to eighteen dollars (about £3) by the barrel, butter thirty-eight cents a pound, eggs from three to five cents a piece, and hams twenty-five cents a pound, does not the cry of high wages appear absurd? Are wages lower in any quarter of the civilized world? Four-fifths of the grain consumed in Jamaica is grown in the United States, in fields where labour costs more than four times this price, and where every kind of provisions but fruit is less expensive. The fact is, the negro cannot live on such wages, unless he owns in fee a lot of three to five acres, or ekes them out by stealing. He is driven by necessity to the purchase and cultivation of land for himself, and he finds such labour so much better than that bestowed upon the lands of others, that he very naturally takes care of his own first, and gives his leisure to the properties of others: in that particular he acts very much as if he were a white man.

But far better evidence than the nominal cost of labour may be produced to show that wages are actually very low. In the first place, every house and shop is filled with black servants. People with incomes of less than five hundred dollars a year (say £110) will keep more servants than would be expected in the United States from an annual income of ten thousand. . . . I was particularly struck with the absurdity of this complaint about the high price of labour one day, when I was on a visit to a delightful sugar estate lying in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. It lies near the base of a mountain, beautifully wooded with the most luxuriant forest trees of the tropics. The mansion is upon an elevation, which gradually slopes for near a quarter of a mile, till it is bounded in the valley by extensive fields of sugar-cane which skirt the margin of a beautiful river that traverses the whole estate. As I drove into the lawn in front of the house, I observed from fifty to seventy-five head of cattle—oxen, cows, and donkeys—grazing about, and three men and two boys, posted at different points, were watching them, occasionally varying the monotony of their duties by rolling over on the grass, and chattering to each other *de rebus omnibus* in that peculiarly rapid and thoughtless gibberish which one never hears except from negroes and monkeys.

When I entered the house, I asked what these negroes were doing on the lawn, and was told that they were tending the cattle to keep them from wandering off into the mountain. Before I left, the overseer of the estate assured me, in all sincerity, that the planters could not get ahead in Jamaica unless wages came down. I told him that he must not talk to an American about high wages, when he could afford to keep three men and two boys to do what was not more than half occupation for the smallest of the boys.

This is but one of the thousand ways in which labour is squandered on this island (p. 128.).

On the same subject the Royal Commissioners say, "It did not appear to us that the rate of wages was low, but rather that the smallness of the sums frequently received by the labourer at the end of the week arose from the unwillingness to labour for more than a very limited time."

The two statements may seem contradictory; but we believe

both are true, and that in the truth of both lies the real difficulty of Jamaica. Nothing is easier than to get into a bad social system, nothing harder than to get out of it. That the wages are so low that labourers could not live upon them is certain. Yet we fear that an employer who all of a sudden should be willing to pay double would get little more work done for it. We believe it will be found as a general rule, that countries where wages are low are exactly those in which labour is dearest to the employer. Take Ireland for example. We remember to have heard some years ago, from an exceedingly intelligent Irish resident landlord, who has property close to Dublin, about thirty miles from it, and in the far West, that the market price of labour was one-and-sixpence in the first, a shilling in the second, and between sixpence and ninepence in the last; and that to him the cheapest was the eighteen-pence, and the dearest the sixpence. But he added that the difficulty was that if he should at once double the wages in the West, he would not get more for his money than he actually did. Experience in different parts of England, where the rate of wages differs exceedingly, has often impressed us with the same opinion. In Jamaica, from a long series of wretched management, the habit has become inveterate that hired labourers work ill and irregularly, and are not paid enough to keep body and soul together. The most industrious men will work for themselves. Mr. Bigelow says:—

I was greatly surprised to find that the number of coloured proprietors is already considerably over one hundred thousand, and is constantly increasing.

Upon their little tracts [averaging, he thinks, about three acres] they raise not only what they require for their own consumption [Mr. Carlyle's pumpkin], but a surplus which they take to market, usually in small panniers on donkeys or upon their heads. Nearly every coloured proprietor has a donkey, which costs from seven to ten pounds, upon which he packs his produce, and under the custody sometimes of a woman, often of a child, he sends it to town, to be converted into money, with which he purchases such articles of necessity or luxury as his land does not produce and he can afford. One of the most interesting spectacles to be witnessed about Kingston is presented on the high road through which the market people with their donkeys, in the cool of the morning, pour into the city from the back country. They form an almost uninterrupted procession four or five miles in length; and what strikes the eye of an American at once, is their perfect freedom from care. Neither anxiety nor poverty, nor desire of gain, has written a line upon their faces, and they could not show less concern at the result of their trip if they were going to a festival. One may readily perceive how strong and universal must be the desire of the poor labourers to exchange their servile drudgery on the lands of others for this life of comparative ease and independence.

Of course it requires no little self-denial and energy for a negro upon the

wages now paid in Jamaica to lay up enough with which to purchase one of these properties. But if he does get one, he never parts with it except for a larger or a better one. The planters call them lazy for indulging this feeling of independence ; but I could never see anything in the aversion of the negroes here to labour, which was not sanctioned by the example of their masters, and by instincts and propensities common to humanity (p. 118).

Unquestionably it is to be wished that the negroes were willing to work regularly for wages, and the owners of land able and willing to pay them regularly and liberally. The present state of things has resulted from many causes : from bad habits formed under slavery ; from the reaction from slavery ; from the insolvent state of the estates before emancipation, in consequence of which the compensation money given for the slaves was taken by the mortgagees instead of remaining with the owners as capital to be employed in cultivation ; from the insane policy of the slave-owners, some of whom at once evicted the freedmen from their estates, and others treated them so ill as to make them take every opportunity of leaving them ; from the irregularity with which wages have often been paid, and from their having been in many cases ultimately kept back ; from the absolute want of capital, and the wasteful methods of cultivation, which have almost limited the produce to one or two staples, although the island is capable of producing an almost endless variety of crops ; from the ease with which land could be bought or rented by the labourers on an island containing about 4,000,000 acres of land, almost all capable of cultivation, while less than " 500,000 have ever been reclaimed or even appropriated,"—and even of this a large part is now abandoned ; from the ease with which the necessaries of life can be raised in such a climate, and the ready market for any produce more than is required for the wants of the cultivator. All these circumstances have naturally tended to make the peasantry rely for support not upon wages but upon the cultivation of small holdings. And this has produced many mischiefs. Owners of estates have difficulty in obtaining certain permanent labour, as the labourer often wants to be employed on his own land just at the moment when he is most wanted on the estate. Wages are so low that a man who attempted to live by them alone would starve ; the peasantry lose the civilizing influence under which they would be brought if they were steadily employed by good and intelligent masters ; and moreover, there is constant danger that one or two bad seasons, to which Jamaica is always more or less liable,* may

* The usual cause of distress in the tropics is, of course, any failure c

destroy the produce of their land (as has happened in the last two years); in which case the cottage proprietor has nothing to fall back upon, and is at once reduced to absolute want, like the peasantry of Ireland when the potatoes failed.

These and other reasons make it exceedingly desirable for the proprietors and the labourers that the negroes should be trained to work regularly for wages if it can be brought about. Nor need we despair of this if proprietors with capital and intelligence can be encouraged to settle in the island. If this cannot be done, we fear it will be abandoned to a state not much above barbarism. It is notorious that for many years the white population has been abandoning it. Mr. Bigelow says, in 1851, "I have reason to believe that it is the expectation of the Home Government that these islands, without changing their colonial relations, will be substantially abandoned by the white population, and their local interests left to the exclusive management of people of colour."† Mr. Price says:—

Having lived long in a part of the island from which the white people were so rapidly disappearing, and being one of the last in that district, I had opportunities of remarking the effect of that withdrawal on the respectable portion of the black population; and I believe it to have caused them real regret and even anxiety. On many occasions they pointed out the evil consequences which would ensue to them by that withdrawal, as well, and perhaps better, than I could have pointed them out myself. They clearly saw the effect of the absence of magistrates, and of those who could guide and advise them; and as far as my experience goes, I believe that these people would infinitely rather have seen a very large accession to the white population in that district than any withdrawal from it.

It is impossible not to be anxious for the future. We rejoice to see that Sir H. Storks, a man whose words are not thrown away, declares, "I augur a prosperous future for Jamaica." God grant that his augury may be fulfilled. But he may justly say that he has not merely predicted prosperity, but stated

rain. This is the cause of the great distress of the last two years in Jamaica. Mr. Price, however, believes that a natural and permanent change is taking place in the climate, connected with a change in the Gulf Stream, owing to which the rains which used to fall in Jamaica now pass north of it. He is convinced that no possible legislation or institutions—slavery—slave-trade—what you will, could have enabled Jamaica to compete with Trinidad and Demerara in growing sugar.

† The *Quarterly*, eagerly looking for some proof of treason against Mr. Gordon, makes a great point of his having expressed this opinion, as if it were impossible to look forward to the white men leaving the island without intending to murder them.

upon what his hopes depend. That is "the advantages to be derived by all classes from a just and impartial administration." He clearly enough implies what was already well known to those whom he addressed, that this was exactly what as yet it had not had. Miserable as were the events of last autumn, the survivors may perhaps think that they have not purchased too dearly the abolition of such a parliament as that of Jamaica and the dismissal of such a Governor as Mr. Eyre.

Of the negro disturbance we have said enough. As to its suppression, the Commissioners report "that praise is due to Governor Eyre for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection, to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination is in a great degree to be attributed," and that "the military and naval operations appear to us to have been prompt and judicious."

They consider that the council of war had good reason for advising the proclamation of martial law, "upon the information before them, and with the knowledge they possessed of the state and circumstances of the island."

These last words are very important. They refer to the equitable rule which we have already mentioned, that the conduct of the authorities ought to be judged not according to what the state of the island is now known to have really been, but according to what they believed it to be from the information laid before them. The meaning is, therefore, that although the Commissioners now know that there was really no rebellion, and that the proclamation of martial law was quite unnecessary, yet that the Council, being misled by the report of a rebellion, had reason for its advice, and that the Governor, under the same error, "was well justified in acting on that advice."

As to the continuance of martial law for a calendar month, the longest time during which it can by the colonial law be continued, they decide, putting themselves as before, "as far as possible in the position of the Governor and his advisers at the time their determination was arrived at," that

It was not till the 21st of October that the Maroons marched into Torrington, which evidently was the stronghold of the insurgents, and which place, from the marks of preparation found there, it had been intended to defend. After, however, firing a few shots, they fled at the approach of the Maroons, and on the Monday following, the 23rd, Paul Bogle was apprehended with his few remaining followers; and on the 24th was conveyed as a prisoner to Morant Bay. *From this time it must have been clear to all that the rising in St. Thomas-in-the-East was put down*, and that the only thing to be feared were simultaneous risings in other parts of the island. The question to be considered in deciding upon the conduct of the Government is not

whether such risings were in fact likely to take place, but whether the Government, *with the information then in their hands*, had reasonable grounds for apprehending that they might take place. It will be seen that they were receiving almost daily reports from different parts of the island, which must have led them to the conclusion that considerable danger of such risings existed. They could not at the time investigate, as we have, the grounds on which these reports rested. But there was a course which might have been pursued, by which [the advantage of the terror produced by martial law] would have been secured, and yet many of the evils attendant on martial law avoided. On the 30th of October it was formally stated by the Governor that the wicked rebellion lately existing in certain parts of the county of Surrey had been subdued, and that the chief instigators thereof and actors therein had been visited with the punishment due to their heinous offences, and that he was certified that the districts lately in rebellion were desirous to return to their allegiance. *From this day, at any rate, there could have been no necessity* for that promptitude in the execution of the law which almost precluded a calm inquiry into each man's guilt or innocence. *Directions might and ought to have been given* that courts-martial should discontinue their sittings, and the prisoners in custody should then have been handed over for trial by the ordinary tribunals.

Let us see exactly what these weighty sentences imply.

Martial law was never really necessary, but the Governor was justified by the exaggerated accounts he received "from the custodes of different parishes, in whom the Government was bound to place a certain amount of confidence," in believing that it was necessary, and in proclaiming it.

Supposing it had been necessary, it would certainly have ceased to be necessary on October 21st (*i.e.* eight days after it was proclaimed), when it must have been clear to all that the rising was put down.

But, as before, the reports of the danger of other risings, which the Commissioners investigated and found to be idle, but which the Governor could not then investigate, excused his continuing martial law as a precaution to prevent other risings.

But on the 30th it was plain to all men—*i.e.* as they were then informed—that the danger was over, and on that day Governor Eyre *might and ought* to have stopped the proceedings of the courts-martial, even supposing him to have acted not upon a knowledge of the real state of things, but upon the assumption that all the false and exaggerated reports which had reached him were well grounded.

This verdict implies that everything done under martial law, every man or woman hanged, shot, or flogged, every house burned—that all of it equally was done needlessly and under a mistake. The Commissioners think that, in the earlier stages

of the affair, the Governor was not responsible for this mistake; but that only shifts the responsibility on those under whose advice he acted. They, no doubt, have so far an excuse, that they gave this false information not intentionally, but in a panic.

Still more certainly, all the misery illegally inflicted after October 21st was wholly needless, as from that day the Commissioners decide that even those most deluded *must have seen* that the rising was put down, and in fact all that was done after that was done merely as a precaution against future possible risings. The only defence for such a precaution was the probability of such risings. The Commissioners having investigated know that no such probability existed. But this, we admit, was at the time not known to the Governor.

Lastly, after October 30th, the Commissioners decide that *even upon the facts known at the time*, there was no longer any excuse whatever for the suspension of "the ordinary laws passed for the suppression of wrong-doing and the protection of the well-doer."

The Commissioners are careful to say not only that monstrous evils might have come from this suspension, but that they actually did arise. "The punishments inflicted seem to us to have been FAR GREATER than the necessity required. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that, among the sufferers during the existence of martial law, *there were many who were neither directly nor indirectly parties to the disturbances which it was the object of those placed in authority to suppress.*"

In another place, they explain what these innocent men, women, and children suffered. "(1) The punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent. (2) The floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous. (3) The burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel."

They are careful to point out, that although "they fear, to a certain extent," such excesses must always attend martial law, yet in this case "much which is now lamented might have been avoided, if clear and precise instructions had been given for the regulation of the conduct of those engaged in the suppression, and every officer had been made to understand that he would be held responsible for the slightest departure from those instructions."

The Commissioners throughout confine themselves merely to the statement of facts, without saying who was to blame. It is clear, that for the omission of so ordinary a precaution, by which so many atrocious acts of violence and crime might in their opinion have been avoided, the higher authorities, Major-General O'Connor, Brigadier Nelson, Colonel Elkington

the Adjutant-General, and Mr. Eyre himself, were directly responsible. In one instance only the Commissioners consented to reopen the whole case against a prisoner, and hear not only all that was proved against him at his trial, but, in addition, all that could be raked together against him during five months, in which the authorities were active in looking out for some pretext to cover their acts. This was the case of Mr. Gordon, and, as we have seen, they wholly acquit him of the crimes laid to his charge.

Mr. Gordon was killed on Oct. 23rd, two days after the time at which the Commissioners have decided that "it must have been clear to all that the rising was put down," and when any further executions were merely precautions against a future (and as it has now been proved an imaginary) danger. There was much, however, to make his case singular. He was, as the Commissioners have decided, innocent of legal offence. He had long been in strong personal opposition to Mr. Eyre, and was, therefore, of all others, the man against whom, in honour as well as law, he was most bound not to stretch the law. Above all, he was not subject to martial law. He surrendered in Kingston, where the ordinary law was in force, where the courts were sitting, and where he could without danger have been legally tried, if there had been any legal charge against him.

Some of the English papers have pretended that Mr. Gordon could not legally be tried except at Morant Bay, because there the rising had been, in which he was falsely accused of being implicated. It is answer enough to this, that it is never alluded to either by Mr. Eyre himself or by the Commissioners. It is, no doubt, an idle pretence. But even if it were true, it is monstrous to say that his trial might not have been deferred till the regular courts had been restored. There is certainly no law that a man charged with high treason must of necessity be tried the day after his arrest. It is well known that his trial was hurried over. The *Times*, Mr. Eyre's advocate, said that it was the accident of his being absent from the vestry on that particular day that was fatal to him. This was owing to illness, as he offered to prove by the testimony of his physician. But the unhappy youths before whom he was brought refused to wait for that evidence, and their refusal, and the sentence they passed without waiting for it, was confirmed by Brigadier Nelson, and approved by General O'Connor and Mr. Eyre. The fact was distinctly proved before the Commissioners. It should be added that Mr. Eyre was well aware his conduct in this case had not even the poor cover of martial law; for he says he might have ex-

tended martial law to Kingston, in order to enable him to seize Mr. Gordon, but for public convenience thought it better to trust to an act of indemnity. He did, therefore, what he did, well knowing that he was breaking the law. It should be mentioned, that Colonel Nelson not only refused to allow Mr. Gordon's legal adviser to see him before his "trial," and his religious minister before he was put to death, but when he was intrusted by the lawyer with an open and perfectly unobjectionable letter, suggesting the topics for his defence, Colonel Nelson threw it into the sea. Mr. Eyre's personal complicity in this outrage has not been proved; he was on board the ship when it was perpetrated.

For Mr. Eyre personally, there is at least this excuse, that he is apparently too puzzle-headed to understand the difference between things reported and things proved. He actually mentions it as a justification of Mr. Gordon's death, that he had received a letter from Colonel Hobbs, in which Colonel Hobbs said that he had found proof against him. This proof turned out, as was to be expected, mere idle rumour. He evidently never made up his own mind whether there had been a plot or not, at least for weeks afterwards. In his first report he does not hint at it; in his speech to the local Parliament, a fortnight later, he speaks generally as if he thought there had merely been a sudden outbreak, and in one or two places as if he believed there had really been a diabolical conspiracy, such as the *Times* described. He had evidently never made up his mind, probably never seriously asked himself, which of the two he believed to be the fact. We have no doubt that to this hour he is quite incapable of distinguishing between the two, and would not even understand any one who asked him the question. Again, what chiefly produced in England the belief of a very atrocious plot was his positive statement that the persons murdered in the outbreak of the 11th had been barbarously tortured and mutilated. When doubt was thrown upon the fact, people said (and said truly), "Mr. Eyre answers for it." The passage in which he did so was remarkable; he said:

The most frightful atrocities were perpetrated. The island curate of Bath, the Rev. V. Herschell, *is said* to have had his tongue cut out whilst still alive, and an attempt *is said* to have been made to skin him. One person (Mr. Charles Price), a black gentleman, formerly a member of the Assembly, *was ripped open*, and his entrails taken out. One gentleman (Lieutenant Hall, of the volunteers) *is said* to have been pushed into an outbuilding, which was then set on fire, and kept there till he was literally roasted alive. Many *are said* to have had their eyes scooped out; heads *were* cleft open and the brains taken out. The Baron's fingers were cut off and carried away

as trophies by the murderers. Some bodies *were* half burned, others horribly battered. Indeed, the whole outrage *could only be paralleled* by the atrocities of the Indian mutiny.*

Here some of the most important things are stated as facts, others as rumours. At a later period Mr. Eyre had the humiliation of admitting that the whole statement by which he had thus worked upon the feelings of his countrymen was a simple fiction. But it is self-evident that no man who had been aware that there is a real distinction between rumour and proof, and that a man is not equally deserving of punishment or execution when he is only accused by rumour and when convicted by proof, would have mixed together all these statements, some of which he asserted as facts, others as mere rumours, in a wild state of confusion. If he thought it worth while to allude at all to rumours so improbable, he would have alluded to them as rumours, and stated separately what he knew to be facts. The distinction, however, did not strike Mr. Eyre. We much question whether in his whole life it ever occurred to him. It was evidently mere chance which of these idle calumnies he introduced as rumours,—“it is said;” and which as ascertained facts, to which he pledged his own veracity. He would, we are confident, have seen no difference in the effect of the passage if his secretary had inverted all the sentences and written “The most frightful atrocities *are said to have* been perpetrated; the Rev. V. Herschell *had* his tongue cut out whilst still alive, and an attempt *was made* to skin him. Mr. C. Price *is said to have* been ripped open. Lieutenant Hall *was pushed* into an outbuilding. Many *had* their eyes scooped out; heads *are said to have* been cleft open. The Baron’s fingers *are said to have* been cut off. Some bodies *were* half burned. Indeed *it is said* that the whole outrage could only be paralleled, &c.” It is evident that in making the most momentous official statements he writes sometimes “it is said,” and sometimes “it is certain,” merely as figures of rhetoric, conveying exactly the same meaning.

But the most remarkable instance of this unfortunate puzzle of mind was exhibited on his examination before the Commissioners, for which he had had months to prepare. The Commissioners wished for his own sake to ascertain whether he had hanged Mr. Gordon because he suspected that he was a party to a conspiracy, or only because he suspected that his strictly legal political agitation might have been one of the remote exciting causes of a bloody riot. They tried to ascertain this

* The *Italics* are our own.

by cross-questioning him. His answers would have been in any one else mere evasions; in him they clearly came from simple inability to understand that there is a difference between evidence and gossip, and also between high treason and political opposition. He did not mean to evade the questions, but they were too subtle for his comprehension.

Sir H. Storks : What information had you received at that time which led you to the conclusion that it was important he should be apprehended out of the proclaimed district?—*Mr. Eyre* : When I was in the disturbed district myself, I heard from every quarter, and I had reason to believe from various little facts and circumstances, such as his issuing seditious placards, and his being intimately connected with all the chief rebels, and various other little facts of that kind, led me to the conclusion that he had been the prime instigator of the outbreak in that neighbourhood; and I found that the same opinion was universally entertained in Kingston.—*Sir H. Storks* : Can you refer us to any particular information you received on that point?—*Mr. Eyre* : Amongst other things, some of the rebels, I was informed, had themselves stated that he was the cause of their being brought to the gallows.—*Sir H. Storks* : From whom did you receive that information?—*Mr. Eyre* : I cannot at this moment remember from whom I received the information.—*Sir H. Storks* : Do you speak of his being intimately connected with those parties who were leaders in the outbreak? Was that a political connection, or was there anything more than that?—*Mr. Eyre* : I believe it was political, personal, and religious.—*Sir H. Storks* : Political feeling had risen high in that district?—*Mr. Eyre* : Very high.—*Sir H. Storks* : Were you aware of anything beyond that which would naturally exist between a man who was a candidate for political honours and those by whom he was supported?—*Mr. Eyre* : I had reason to believe that it was his acts and the language which he had indulged, which had led to the rebellion.—*Sir H. Storks* : That had excited the insurrection; but had you information to show that he was the instigator of this particular outbreak?—*Mr. Eyre* : Simply the fact I have mentioned; that he had circulated seditious placards, mentioning by name those individuals who were subsequently murdered, whom he held up to the odium of the public as being tyrannical and unjust.—*Sir H. Storks* : Had you seen what you called the seditious placards; had they been communicated to you?—*Mr. Eyre* : Oh yes, I had seen the placard, but without being aware who had issued it, or who had circulated it.—*Sir H. Storks* : Do you allude to that which is headed, "State of the Island?"—*Mr. Eyre* : I do.

Upon this *Sir H. Storks* passed to other matters, evidently seeing that it was hopeless to ascertain what *Mr. Eyre's* real meaning was, inasmuch as he had himself no notion of it. No reasonable man could have called the paper in question seditious, as *Sir Henry* implies, and if it had been, a man might have issued a seditious paper on August 9th without committing high treason on October 11th.

We cannot but feel that this total incapacity to distinguish between proof and gossip, treason and political opposition, is some small excuse for Mr. Eyre. But we cannot admit it as a complete defence. A man who undertakes to steer a ship without knowing north from south is held responsible by the law of England for results which he did not intend. A man has no right to assume the government of a great colony, still less to suspend all law and decide cases of life and death by his own simple will, if he is destitute of the first mental qualification for the office. There is a strange notion that those who demand that Mr. Eyre should suffer some punishment are actuated by revenge. The simple fact is that English governors in positions more or less similar to his are now wielding immense powers over about one-fourth of the human race. There are few years in which it is not necessary that some of them should repress a disturbance or disorder. Can any question be more practical than this, What measures may, or may not, be taken by an English Governor under such circumstances? We have here a very conspicuous case in which the facts have been carefully examined and reported upon by dispassionate persons of high character and position. This is an unusual advantage. We cannot possibly prevent this Jamaica affair from passing into a precedent, and it is by precedent that men are chiefly governed in such cases, which, from their nature, cannot be fully provided for by law. What has just been done in Jamaica has actually been defended by the precedent of what was done in the suppression of the Indian mutiny. If Mr. Eyre and some of his leading officers are punished considerably, judiciously, but seriously, what has been done in Jamaica will be a warning to other governors and military officers; if not, it will be an example. Which of the two do we wish it to be? People have argued that, if Mr. Eyre is punished, other governors will be afraid to act vigorously on putting down a rebellion. But nobody has ever proposed to punish or blame Mr. Eyre for any thing that he did in the suppression of the outbreak, but for acts of violence and wrong which he did or allowed after it was suppressed.

It is said indeed, by Mr. Adderley and Mr. Disraeli, that the affair has been investigated and set at rest, and they refuse to re-open it. Mr. Adderley said in the House of Commons (July 31st) that "the events in Jamaica had been matters of trial by a properly constituted tribunal, and the evidence and report of that tribunal were before the House. [An honourable member. 'Do you mean the Commission?'] What else should he mean? There was but one constituted tribunal; the evidence and report were before the House, and the Government accepted

them as the only authoritative decision. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Buxton) was mistaken if he supposed that the House would re-open the case and try it again. The Government declined to re-open the case." Mr. Disraeli was even more insulting. Now all this goes upon the monstrous assumption that the Commission was a tribunal. A tribunal is a body legally empowered to ascertain the innocence and guilt of men, and acquit or punish them. The Commission was merely empowered to ascertain and report *facts*. And therefore, even when reporting acts of cruelty and wrong which they justly condemn, they are careful to avoid even mentioning the name of any person as responsible for them, much less, of course, do they pretend to punish any one. All they do is to report that certain great political crimes have been committed, and great cruelties suffered by large numbers of her Majesty's subjects, many of whom were innocent of any offence, and that a very large part of these things might and ought to have been avoided without injury to her Majesty's service. There they leave the matter, and properly so, for their business was done. Where they could they go out of their way to praise anybody they could. This, though not part of their business, no one would wish otherwise. Where they could only condemn, they state the facts and leave it to those whose business it is to proceed against and punish those responsible for them. The mention of the names of Ensign Cullen and Mr. Morris is no exception. They recommend further inquiry into those cases, because the officers and men examined gave evidence so contradictory that the honour of the service is implicated; that is, they recommend inquiry into a case in which, on one side or other, wilful perjury must have been committed before them by an officer in the army—they do not undertake to decide by whom. This certainly is no exception to their rule; for the inquiry they recommend is not into crimes committed under martial law, but into untrue evidence given before themselves. The questions which their Report naturally raises are such as these, among very many more:—With regard to Mr. Eyre, ought he to be tried and punished if found guilty, for allowing martial law to continue in force at least a fortnight after the Commissioners have decided that, even viewing the facts, not as they really were, but as he viewed them at the time, he "might and ought" to have put an end to it; and thus sacrificing "many" persons whom they pronounce to have been wholly innocent? Ought he to be tried and punished, if found guilty, for hanging the leader of the opposition to himself in the Colonial Parliament, whom they decide to have been innocent, for seizing him for this purpose

in a district where the law of England was in undisputed possession, and illegally sending him by force, not really for trial but for sentence and execution, to one which was kept under martial law, and that two days after the time at which the Commissioners repeat that "it must have been clear to all that the rising was put down;" and when, moreover, as he was a prisoner on board a ship of war, it was certain that the whole population of Jamaica, even if they had been in armed rebellion and in complete possession of the island, could not have rescued him.

Again, whether Colonel Nelson ought to be tried and punished, if found guilty, for ordering the trial of Mr. Gordon by a court-martial, and that a court consisting of three youths, although he avows that he himself greatly doubted whether he was justified in trying by court-martial any person for speeches and acts said to be "seditious, prior to the rebellion;" for approving the sentence of death and ordering it to be executed, and especially for refusing the access of his legal adviser to the prisoner, and destroying the letter with which he was intrusted open by him: also for refusing to allow him to see his religious minister before his death. Also for intrusting absolute power to many subordinate officers without giving them instructions, such as the Commissioners have decided ought to have been given for their guidance, by which he made himself partaker in many extreme outrages; also, for the number of executions which he approved and ordered at Morant Bay, and for which he is directly responsible, and which the Commissioners have pronounced to have been "unnecessary."

Whether Captain Hole ought to be tried and punished, if found guilty, for giving, as he himself states, to sixteen women thirty stripes each with a cat-o'-nine-tails, without trial, as well as many more to a still larger number of men; especially whether a man who openly avows such conduct ought to retain her Majesty's commission.

Whether Colonel Fyfe, a stipendiary magistrate, a member of the Legislative Council, and late custos of Portland, ought to be tried and punished, if found guilty, for shooting without trial a man upon whom he found the Baron's ring. This was on October 27th, six days after it was clear to all that the rising was put down. And it was done so deliberately that he gave the man time to say his prayers. In mentioning Colonel Fyfe, we must add two cases sworn to by him of volunteer officers, whose names are not given, but who were under his command. In one, two volunteers, on leave, saw a girl, named Lindsay, washing at a stream.

"They ordered her to go in to Bath. She said she had no clothes to go in a proper way. Perhaps she was a little annoyed at their ordering her. She might have given them some answer; but they ordered her father to flog her, and he did. Q. The father did?—A. Yes, they threatened to shoot him if he did not. Upon hearing of this, I sent for them at once, and put them under arrest, and threatened to try them by court-martial." "There was another case, in which Mr. Woodrow flogged a person. He was connected with the Maroons. I inquired into the case. I referred to himself, and he made a very candid explanation. Upon his own showing, he was in the wrong." In both these cases Colonel Fyfe, after threatening a court-martial, let off the criminals upon their giving a paltry sum of money to the injured parties. Now, ought English officers thus to compromise offences? and ought not such offenders to be in some way or other punished?

Whether Colonel Elkington and other officers, who have (as Lord Carnarvon truly says) put their names to letters absolutely indecent and disgusting, ought not to be punished for conduct "unbecoming a gentleman and an officer," and whether they are still to be in command over British officers and soldiers, as men upon whom there is no stain?

We might very greatly multiply these questions. We specially insist upon these, in consequence of a remark made by Lord Carnarvon, whose general tone, we gladly observe to have been a marked contrast to that of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Adderley, in that he spoke of the outrages committed with the indignation and disgust natural to a British gentleman and nobleman; while they seemed to regard with strong favour even those which they did not dare wholly to defend. He however considered the Commission as answering to a grand jury, and said that it only mentioned the names of two officers (besides that of Ramsay, who is to be tried), namely, those of Ensign Cullen and Dr. Morris; and added, "these two persons consequently will be brought before courts-martial."

Should the notice to be taken of the conduct of the military officers be confined to this, we must say great injustice will be done to these two men and great injury to the service. We have already shown that all that was peculiar in their case was that the Commissioners advised inquiry not into their conduct under martial law, but into their *veracity* in their evidence before the Commission. It will be monstrous, on this account, to leave without inquiry the grave crimes we have mentioned, and many others, merely because the Commissioners, while condemning the crimes, did not feel it right to mention the *names* of any persons guilty of them.

There is another statement which we do not find mentioned in the Report,—we do not know why, although it has always seemed to us among the most important,—namely, that many persons were cruelly flogged before being hanged, some before, some after their so-called trials. If it had been possible to deny this most disgraceful fact, we cannot doubt the Report would have denied it.

From the evidence given before the Commission, as well as all other accounts, we cannot doubt that it is true; and also that Brigadier Nelson, among others, is responsible for it. We need not say this is distinctly the torture. Is its infliction in a British colony to pass wholly unnoticed?

Of the outrages charged by all witnesses against Ramsay we say nothing, because he is to be brought to trial. Whether it is possible that he should obtain anything like a fair trial before a Jamaica jury remains to be seen.

Lord Carnarvon says that Mr. Eyre has already been punished. This, however, is a mistake. Mr. Cardwell has declined, in an apologetic tone, to employ him in organizing the new system of government in Jamaica. That is all. In doing so he has highly praised a great deal of his conduct, and has said that he is "compelled to disapprove other parts of it." On the whole, he resolves to "intrust the arduous task of inaugurating the new government to some other person, who may approach it free from all the difficulties inseparable from a participation in the questions raised by the recent troubles." Is this punishment? Is it even censure? Would it prevent any minister from intrusting him with another government, or even with that of Jamaica itself, as soon as the new government is inaugurated? And in considering this, it is impossible not to bear in mind his own conduct. Before leaving Jamaica, he declares solemnly and publicly, "There has been nothing in my public conduct to occasion self-reproach, nothing to regret. On the contrary, I carry with me into my retirement the proud consciousness that at all times and under all circumstances I have endeavoured, to the best of my power, to do my duty as a servant of the Crown, faithfully, fearlessly, and irrespective of personal considerations." Nay, he declares "the very acts which have led to my dismissal have saved a noble colony from anarchy and ruin." As to Mr. Gordon, of whom Mr. Russell Gurney declared in the House of Commons not merely that he was not legally convicted, but, much more than this, that he was not guilty of the offence attributed to him, or of complicity in a conspiracy, Mr. Eyre declares that "there was evidence which would have been legally admissible in a civil court, and which would have satisfied a civil jury as to his guilt." He therefore

Eyre's Reception

openly appeals from the Commissioners to "the British public." And it must be acknowledged that the same men who urge the censure of the Commission as a reason why he ought not to be legally proceeded against, do not scruple to accept this appeal in his favour. He comes to Southampton, and is met on the shore by an address from the mayor and a portion of the clergy and laity, with three earls, who echo his applause of himself, condemn his recall, and anticipate his restoration to the public service. He replies in a speech in which he magnified himself as having "protected the lives and properties of the colonists, and saved an important colony to the Crown. Severity was in reality the truest mercy." Of the Commissioners, who blamed the long continuance of martial law, he says, in a patronizing tone, that he could respect their opinion as that of men acting in sincerity and under good impulses, but that they were no judges of the real state of things. Next he is invited to a public dinner, at which above 100 gentlemen sat down, with nearly an equal number of ladies in the gallery. His conduct was eulogized without a drawback by the Earls of Cardigan, Hardwicke, and Shrewsbury, who declared they were met "to uphold the character of a distinguished man, and justify his conduct before the world,"—to "support a man who had done his duty." Mr. Charles Kingsley called upon every one to "take him on trust," and expressed his expectation that he would see him "attain the honour of a seat in the House of Lords; an assembly in which he would not be the least noble man among the peers of England." Then a subscription is started for a "testimonial," and although this is afterwards changed to a "defence" fund, it is still avowedly to magnify not merely his general character but his conduct in Jamaica. Many names of considerable authority are given to the committee, and Mr. Carlyle publishes a letter declaring "that penalty and clamour are not the thing this governor merits from any of us, but honour and thanks, and wise imitation (sic), should similar emergencies arise, on the great scale or the small, in whatever *we* are governing." He goes on specially to speak of the example to "to all the colonies and governors the British empire has."

Nor can we say that it is at all unlikely that some future minister may wholly remove any censure upon him by appointing him to some other public office, when we see already that Mr. Adderley declares in Parliament "that the only two things that could be assigned as faulty in Governor Eyre were the continuance of martial law and the excessive punishments under it," and that these were mere "errors of judgment." In a word, unless the nation at large bestirs itself,

we think it far from improbable that when the first excitement is gone by he may claim and receive a reward which will make his act an encouragement and example to all British governors, instead of a warning. A more fatal end of this unhappy affair could hardly be imagined.*

Another point which ought to be more distinctly cleared up by judicial proceedings is the real meaning and nature of the proclamation of martial law. Mr. Eyre understands it to mean that the Governor may do what he pleases. Thus he assumes, that if it had been proclaimed in Kingston, no objection whatever could possibly have been raised against all that was done in the case of Mr. Gordon. Colonel Nelson goes so far as to declare that it placed *the whole* population of the proclaimed district—every man, woman, and child—in the position of "the enemy." The Commissioners asked, "You looked upon St. Thomas-in-the-East as an enemy's country, is that your meaning?" He answered, "Decidedly so; perfectly as an enemy's country, in full possession of the enemy;" and this was to last as long as martial law was continued. Now, "martial law" may be proclaimed at any time in any colony, or even at home. And if it is unlikely to be proclaimed in England, no one can say that it is very unlikely in Ireland. Few questions, therefore, are of more practical importance than to inquire whether the view taken by Mr. Eyre and Colonel Nelson is correct.

A lawyer (Mr. Finlason) has lately published a book upon this subject, in which he says virtually that any outbreak in England or elsewhere, which the Government considers to amount to a rebellion, fully justifies the proclamation of martial law, and that, once proclaimed, the whole inhabitants are placed in the position of enemies who have none of the rights of belligerents—i. e. of spies, deserters, or brigands. Of course, he holds that this power ought not to be abused; but, if we understand him, he strongly maintains that the Government is the sole judge how it ought to be used, and cannot be called in question afterwards for any use made of it. It seems that if a party of miners were to make a riot in Cornwall, the Government would have a full right in law to send a regiment of horse to burn the city of Chichester, and put to the sword every man, woman, and child in it, nor could they afterwards be called in question for doing so. We do

* Under these circumstances it is curious that Sir Samuel Baker should condemn those who blame Mr. Eyre, for being "so un-English as to hit a man when he is down." If Mr. Eyre is down, he certainly has not himself discovered the fact.

not believe we have at all exaggerated Mr. Finlason's principle, although, of course, we do not suppose that he would admit the justice of our example.

Now the real importance of these doctrines comes from the immense extent of the colonial and Indian dominions of Great Britain. It would be mere affectation to pretend to fear that Lord Derby would really put to the sword the inhabitants of Chichester in the way we have described. But that there is a real and practical danger lest British subjects in India or the West Indies should be treated, in some moment of panic and excitement, quite as unjustly under cover of martial law, we do most firmly believe, and we are sure that the Eyre precedent may be used to justify such proceedings, unless some legal steps are taken upon the subject.

We would strongly advise all our readers who care about this matter to read and weigh the careful "Opinion" of Mr. Edward James and Mr. Fitzjames Stephen upon this subject. It is to be found at page 68 of the "Jamaica Papers," No. 1, published by the Jamaica Committee (65, Fleet Street). We have not space to enter at large into it; we take the substance of it to be, that martial law is used in many senses. (1.) To express the power used and exercised in early times, before standing armies existed, by the Constable and Marshal, over troops in actual service, and especially on foreign service. This is now quite obsolete, being superseded by our military law, which rests upon Act of Parliament. (2.) It expresses the acts of arbitrary authority by which kings used to put down breaches of the peace or insurrections, &c., in time of peace. This was abolished and declared to have been always illegal by the Petition of Right. (3.) It is sometimes applied to the code by which our standing armies are governed, especially in time of war. This is more properly called military law, and is regulated by the yearly Mutiny Act. (4.) It is applied to the common-law right of the Crown and its representatives "to repel force by force, in case of invasion or insurrection." It is plain that this last is the only sense in which martial law can now exist either in Great Britain and Ireland, or in any of the colonies. It is therefore most important to ascertain its nature and limits; nor are they difficult to find. It is strictly analogous to the right of every individual to defend himself and his house and family by force. If a man's house is broken open by half a dozen armed men, no one would blame him for firing upon and killing even the whole of them. This is martial law. But if he had taken one of the thieves and, with the aid of his servants and neighbours, bound him so that escape was out of the question, and should then proceed to shoot him,

* *Cruik on Martial Law*

it would be murder; nor would it be less murder because the man had legally incurred death, *e. g.* by murdering one of the family just before. Again, if some of the thieves escaped, and the householder should meet one of them the next day in the Strand, he would not be justified in shooting him, even though he might be a murderer. Much less would he be warranted in doing so by pleading that he thought his house likely to be broken open again, and believed that by killing this man he should make the thieves afraid to repeat the outrage.

The analogy suggests that, under martial law, any governor may freely use force to any degree to put down insurrection or rebellion. But it suggests equally that, when the insurrection is once put down, he may not put any man to death by martial law, either as a punishment for crimes committed during the insurrection, or as a warning to others not to rebel. It may be very right and proper that the man should suffer death upon one or both of these grounds, but it must be by the sentence of a legal court, not by martial law. Still less, when there is no longer any danger of resistance, must any man be put to death, or otherwise punished by martial law, for acts done before the rebellion, even if they deserve capital punishment; much more if they were not legally punishable at all. The last was confessedly Mr. Gordon's case.

We believe this to be the only meaning in which martial law is now legal in any part of the British empire. But if so, nothing can be more certain than that its nature is wholly misunderstood both by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Adderley. They both declared in the House of Commons, as a fact which no man could question, that nothing done under martial law could be illegal. Surely it is most important that this question should be brought to a legal decision, nor could any more fitting instance be found than this Jamaica affair.

The feeling of moderate men on the other side has arisen because, by the law as it stands, it does not seem easy to try the legality of the proceedings of Mr. Eyre, Colonel Nelson, &c., except by a prosecution for murder. This is much to be regretted. But if a fault at all, as we think it is, it is the fault not of those who demand the legal settlement of these important questions, but of the law. We believe that, in the seventeenth century, such a case would have been tried by an impeachment, and that a man accused of abuses of authority, like those stated in the Report of the Commission, would have been condemned to fine and imprisonment, and pronounced incapable to serve the Crown in future in any capacity civil or

military. Unfortunately this course is now practically impossible; but we cannot think this defect of the law a reason why the important legal questions we have mentioned should not be brought to legal arbitrament.

How absolutely necessary it is that some legal steps should be taken, and taken in England, is most clear if we consider the light which the late miserable events throw upon the state of feeling prevalent in some at least of our colonies, and the degree to which military and naval men mixing with the society of the colony are in danger of catching its tone. All the world remember the reports of horrible and disgusting cruelties with which the newspapers (except the *Times*) overflowed last November and December. Some of them may have been exaggerations. But they were exaggerations not invented by the London press and its correspondents, but copied from the Jamaica newspapers. Moreover, in Jamaica they were believed to be literally true. Take, for instance, the accounts of the number of the peasantry massacred. It was stated at more than 2,000. What it really was, the Commissioners say can never be truly known; but they believe that they estimate it pretty correctly at 439; the number of persons flogged at not less than 600; the houses burned at 1,000. Let us assume that they are in the right, as we heartily hope they are. Certainly, the larger number was universally believed to be exact in Jamaica, and that as much by the Government as by the people. For when the Colonial Parliament met, a member moved for an address to the Governor, requesting him to state the number killed. He said it was generally believed to exceed 2,000, and that an official statement to that effect would be useful, as tending to intimidate the negroes, and prevent future insurrections. Mr. Eyre's Government opposed the motion, not at all upon the ground that the statement was exaggerated. They suggested nothing of the sort. But they said that, "if the honourable member knew the constitution of the courts-martial he would find out the rapid way in which the rebels were brought in and tried. If he had that experience, he would not make the motion." They added, "that they might just as well send a message to the Governor, asking him to ask the Secretary of State to furnish a return of the names and numbers of those killed in the Indian mutiny. It was impossible for the Governor to furnish the return asked for by the honourable member. In fact, there was no chance of getting it." This answer suggests an unpleasant doubt whether the Commissioners have really succeeded in obtaining so exact an account as they believe. At least, Government

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Times

and people in Jamaica believed that no less than 2,000 had been killed.

Then the several outrages reported were one and all published in the Jamaica papers at the time. For instance the murder charged against Provost-Marshall Ramsay, and for which he is to take his trial, and Colonel Hobbs' celebrated statement that he had tied a black boy, "Paul Bogle's valet," to his stirrup, and held a revolver to his head till he selected from among the prisoners all who were to have been colonels, &c. &c.; all of whom he would have shot. So again with Captain Ford's celebrated letter to his brother. He said, "We quarter on the enemy as much as possible: small stock, turkeys &c., we take *ad libitum*; other supplies we give receipts for. We press all the horses and saddles we can find; but the black troops are more successful than ours in catching horses;—nearly all of them are mounted. They shot about 160 people on their way from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, hanged seven in Manchioneal, and shot three on their way here. This a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it—the inhabitants have to dread it. If they run at their approach, they are shot for running away." He describes in the same letter Mr. Gordon's last scene. "G. W. Gordon had his black coat and vest taken from him as a prize by one of the soldiers, also his spectacles by another. So you see he was very little differently treated from the common herd."

The *Colonial Standard* contained an account of Provost-Marshall Ramsay's doings. This journal was reckoned in Jamaica so accurate that General O'Connor specially commended its narrative, and Governor Eyre sent home files for the edification of Mr. Cardwell. Here it is:—

Morant Bay, Oct. 18.—The supposed rebels that were captured and brought in during the day on Tuesday last, and early on the following morning, were examined by the Provost-Marshall at his office; but, beyond being stragglers, nothing was proved that warranted the whole of them coming before a court-martial. About thirty were one by one lashed to a gun and catted, receiving fifty lashes on the bare back, laid on after man-of-war fashion, and the rest (about twenty) committed as rebels. Among the rebels was George Marshall, a brown man of about twenty-five years old, who, on receiving forty-seven lashes, ground his teeth, and gave a ferocious look of defiance at the Provost-Marshall. He was immediately ordered to be taken from the gun and hanged. No time was lost, and he was accordingly strung up in the presence of the insurrectionists.

Again:—

At an early hour yesterday (October 19th) morning, the catting of rebels and stragglers, as they were brought in from their hiding-places, was resumed.

Amongst them was one Cameron, in whose possession was found a volunteer rifle, and who confessed to having killed a volunteer, and desired that he himself should be shot at once. This favour, however, the Provost-Marshal did not grant him, but, by way of foretaste, ordered him fifty lashes, which he duly received on his bare back, fastened around a column of the Station. He remained there in company with another murderer and rebel, who was also tried and had received twenty-five lashes, until noon, when they were taken down to the court-martial. A fifer of the rebels brought in wounded in the foot by a rifle bullet, supposed to have been received from a volunteer rifle, was given fifty lashes on his bare back, and released—his wound and his emaciated condition being sufficient guarantee for his future good conduct, should he survive.

We might give whole pages of the same kind. All the world knows how Colonel Hobbs, Captain Ford, &c., afterwards explained away their letters. The Colonel was "cheerful" when he wrote, because he had just destroyed the whole village without meeting the least resistance, and therefore stated a whole string of facts, which he afterwards denied to the Commissioners. Captain Ford really disapproved of all that was going on, but was afraid to say so, lest he should be shot or catted. The shifts to which British officers were driven to explain before the Commission the things they had written and done, was not the most pleasant part of the business.

But what a light all these things throw upon the public feeling in Jamaica, and upon the degree to which it was shared by Mr. Eyre and the other authorities. For, as we have said, these letters were published in the Jamaica papers, were seen there by Mr. Eyre, and sent by him to please and edify Mr. Cardwell. Nay, the returns of the officers, which were about the worst things of all, were officially sent to him by General O'Connor. Yet not one word of disapprobation or regret did he utter. They were published in the Jamaica papers, yet for more than three months, until after the Commission had arrived, all the officers concerned—Brigadier Nelson, Colonel Hobbs, Captain Hole, Captain Ford, Colonel Elkington, Mr. Ramsay, and all the rest—felt sure that the published accounts did them honour; not one of them wrote to the papers to say he had not acted as was represented. And no wonder; for Mr. Eyre himself was so utterly without any suspicion upon the subject, that he selected the very persons most seriously implicated,—Colonel Nelson, Lieutenant Brand, Colonel Hobbs, Provost-Marshal Ramsay, Colonel Hunt, as those whom he recommended to the Government for reward. Every article reprinted from a Jamaica paper, every letter from Jamaica which appeared in the English newspapers, echoed the same

language. Every one of them assumed that the late events would, at length, convince the people of England that their policy with regard to the Negro must be reversed, and that the indulgence which had hitherto been shown him must be changed for severity. That the Governor or the military officers employed could merit anything except reward and honour, does not seem to have crossed their minds. Indeed, this was the excuse made for them by their apologists in England. As month after month passed, and it was necessarily admitted that, as yet, no plausible evidence had arrived,—*e. g.* of Mr. Gordon's guilt, the *Times* pointed out, very truly, that they—the dominant party in Jamaica—considered the absolute excellence of their own conduct so self-evident, and its merits so great, that they had evidently never thought of justifying their doings. Thus the *Times* wrote, December 2nd: "The outcry here against the colonial authorities will cause surprise in the island where their alleged misdeeds have taken place;" and when Colonel Nelson arrived in England (December 14th), it said, "We may now learn how it happens that people on the two sides of the Atlantic should form such widely different opinions."

We must not exaggerate the unanimity in Jamaica. A considerable minority was all along horrified at Mr. Eyre's doings. We must not forget that a perfect apparent unanimity existed at Paris under Robespierre. The *Times*, indeed, was never tired of urging that the Colonial Parliament had echoed Mr. Eyre's words. It repeated day by day, "One thing is clear, that Governor Eyre's conduct has been fully approved by the public opinion of the colony. Every community ought to be the best judge of the measures necessary for its own safety, and the opinion of Jamaica constitutionally expressed by the Legislature is, that the acts of the authorities were just and prudent" (Dec. 13th). Now, there was one important fact which it carefully suppressed. The Legislature met during the continuance of martial law. Its members had just seen one of their own body, the leader of the opposition to Mr. Eyre, seized and hanged, virtually without trial. Every one of them felt that, in case of the slightest opposition to the Government, he might share Gordon's fate. Consequently, as long as martial law lasted, the Legislature was unanimous in approving Mr. Eyre's conduct—so long, but not a day longer. Martial law expired on November 13th. On the 14th a motion was carried in the House for an address to ask the Governor on what grounds he had declared that the colony was on a volcano, &c. In return, he reminded them that they had already (in the time of martial law) echoed

his words, and sent them a report from Colonel Whitfield, saying that he saw men "with sullen and discontented looks, looking as if they would have much pleasure in cutting one's throat." It would seem that Mr. Eyre supposed cheerfulness and content to be the natural expression of a man's face, when he has just had a hundred lashes with a cat in which wire has been twisted, and his wife and daughter thirty (without the wire),—when his house has been burned and all his friends and neighbours hanged. At least any Englishman, he feels, would be cheerful and cordial under such circumstances. None but a negro could be so base as to look discontented and sullen; and he only if he had been tampered with by pseudo-philanthropists. This letter Mr. Eyre thought so important, that he not only laid it before the Colonial Parliament, but sent it to Mr. Cardwell, with a letter calling to it his "particular attention." The minority in the Assembly, however, was not even thus satisfied. Next came the motion for a return of the numbers killed, flogged, &c.; of which we have already spoken. Moreover, a part of the island press at once changed its tone. The *Morning Journal* wrote: "The opinions of the British press on the late 'rebellion' have been read here with very great interest. The facts on which comment is made cannot be gainsaid, as they are taken from the official despatches of the military and naval authorities to the Governor. We have not commented upon them because we dared not, notwithstanding the highly conservative tone of our journal." It is also to be remembered, in reading these mild remonstrances, that although martial law was no longer actually in force, the terror was not over while Mr. Eyre remained in power; for it might any day be restored on the report of any disturbance in any part of the island, and the case of Mr. Gordon showed that, whenever it was restored, men might be hanged for words spoken long before it was proclaimed. However, from that time letters began to come to the English papers from members of the Assembly and others, expressing their horror at Mr. Eyre's proceedings. When the Commission came, although there was still some fear that he might yet be restored, men spoke more openly. Thus, Captain Ford excused his celebrated letter by saying, "The tone of the letter has been much condemned. I will explain that I intended it to bear no tone whatever, knowing that it was subject to be opened, both at Morant Bay and at Kingston, by the post-office authorities. Therefore I was unable to convey my sentiments in it. My general tone, as my brother can prove, was decidedly in favour of mercy." Such, also, was the case with Mr. Lake, the reporter, whose accounts raised no

small indignation in England. He was bitterly reviled by Dr. Bowerbank, and other partisans of Mr. Eyre, for saying, under martial law, that Provost Ramsay was "the right man in the right place," and afterwards denouncing him. In explanation, he said to the Commissioners, "I dreaded the Provost-Marshal. If I had said he was the wrong man in the wrong place, I knew what I should have got. I do not believe that I committed any sin, I only saved my back from being lacerated." Much virtuous indignation has been lavished on him by Mr. Eyre's supporters. But they should remember, that at the moment he published in detail all the atrocities which he ever attributed to the Provost-Marshal, Colonel Nelson, Colonel Hobbs, and the rest. He did not conceal anything then which he afterwards related. On the contrary, he declared in the papers at the time that he saw Ramsay hang, without trial, a man against whom there was no charge, even to bring before a drum-head court-martial, only because he looked ferocious when he had received forty-seven lashes. It is true he did not say it was murder, and he called Ramsay "our excellent Provost-Marshal;" but he described in detail the act which all men now agree was wilful murder, if it took place as it was described. His account was published in the Jamaica papers. It must have been known to Mr. Ramsay, Colonel Nelson, Mr. Eyre, General O'Connor, and all the rest of Mr. Eyre's party; but the remarkable thing is, that no one of them ever suspected that it was other than unmixed praise of Mr. Ramsay, until one day, to their amazement, the Commissioners arrived, and they found out what people thought of it here.

While, then, a small minority of the whites in Jamaica was horrified at Mr. Eyre's proceedings, it is true that the vast majority thought not only all that he did, but all the most atrocious excesses of which any one has ever been accused, whether truly or falsely, to be matters of high praise,* for which the doers deserved reward, and for which Mr. Eyre specially recommended them for reward to the Home Government.

And this language was repeated by Mr. Eyre's supporters here. The *Times* of November 20th hoped that "the rewards earned by the few loyal and faithful would show that England

* For instance, whether it is true or not that Captain Hole and his men shot sixty persons on the line of march, it is certain that Colonel Elkington believed the fact to be so, when he pronounced it "splendid service;" and from his situation on the General's Staff it is difficult to suppose that he derived his information from any other quarter than Captain Hole himself.

Carlyle

is ready to recompense those who defend her." It is true, about two months later, it found it necessary to change its tone; but the Southampton banqueters and Mr. Carlyle are still eager for rewarding Mr. Eyre, Colonel Nelson, Mr. Ramsay, and the whole set of them.

We are sincerely sorry to be forced to add that, as late as November 17th, Mr. Cardwell wrote a despatch, extracts of which were laid by Mr. Eyre before the Colonial Assembly. We have not succeeded in finding it entire in the blue books, where we suppose it must be. We heartily hope the extracts were garbled. Before November 17th, the most disgraceful of the letters which the *Quarterly* now pronounces to reflect deep discredit on their authors, and lamely apologizes for Mr. Eyre's not expressing his "disgust" at them (for instance, Colonel Hobbs's celebrated letter, about Paul Bogle's valet and the revolver), had been published in England. Yet the despatch, if we have it as it was written, contains not so much as a hint of blame or regret except at the negroes. It expresses sympathy only with the authorities, and adds, "I will not fail to bring under the notice of the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief and the Lords of the Admiralty," &c., the merits of "General O'Connor, Captain de Horsey, and the other officers of the army and navy whom you mention, and of the sailors and marines under their orders." As to the civilians, Mr. Cardwell selects for praise, by name, only Mr. Ramsay. If there was any reason why he did not then know what the English newspapers knew, it ought, in justice to him, to be stated. Unfortunately, at Oxford, on New Year's day, he made a speech in which he declared "one thing has never been disputed, and that is, that by great promptitude on the part of the authorities, and by the skilful disposition of the troops, comparative safety was speedily restored to all persons of whatever race or colour, who desired to live in peace and orderly submission to the law." Now we must judge of this by what was then believed, as we have shown, not in England only, but in Jamaica,—viz., that more than 2,000 of the peasantry had been butchered. Would Mr. Cardwell feel that he was in "comparative safety" if he had been tied to a gun to receive fifty lashes with a wire cat, because there was avowedly no charge which could be brought against him, even before a drum-head court-martial? It is no answer to dispute whether these accounts were true. He said "one thing has never been disputed," and thus showed that he meant that, even if all the accounts we have are true, still "comparative safety has been restored." The fact was, he was thinking only of Mr. Eyre and his party, not of the

400,000 peasantry of Jamaica who felt, we imagine, by no means in a state of safety.

We have called special attention to this wretched state of public opinion in Jamaica chiefly because it shows how much need there is that people at home should keep a sharp look-out upon all that goes on in the colonies, if we are not to have the power of England turned into an instrument of foul oppression against the unpopular classes in them. Unfortunately, naval and military officers mix with the governing class only. They are treated with hospitality and *fêted*; they find themselves among polished men and women, and do not for a moment suspect that there can be anything vicious in the feelings and judgment of their kind friends and entertainers towards any class by which they are surrounded. They return to England crammed with colonial prejudices, and put down contemptuously the opinion of men who, perhaps, have never visited the West Indies, but in many cases have spent years in carefully studying their history and present condition. Such men are Colonel Nelson, Colonel Hobbs, and poor young Brand. How far this goes, we see in a greater Nelson. There is now not a man in Jamaica who does not denounce the African slave-trade, and declare, very truly, that its abolition was not even materially a loss to the Island. When Nelson was there, the public feeling was the other way, and he accordingly wrote against the designs of "Wilberforce and his hellish crew." We heartily hope that, some years hence, those who condemn Mr. Eyre's proceedings will be regarded as the opponents of the slave-trade are now. But, if it is to be so, we must be on our guard, for the future, against this public opinion of the colony to which the *Times* appeals, and of which many well-meaning officers of the army and navy are merely mouth-pieces.

We do not at all deny that much very violent and savage language has been uttered against Mr. Eyre by Englishmen of various classes. No one can regret more than we do these indefensible and un-Christian excesses; and we trust, for our own part, that we have avoided everything which approaches to rhetoric or invective. Yet we are bound to say that, unless public opinion in England had been pretty loudly expressed, —it might have been expressed none the less loudly because temperately—all the good which we may now reasonably hope from the miserable events of last autumn would have been lost. Not only might the Jamaica Legislature still have existed, but Mr. Eyre's wretched system of misgovernment might have been in force. Nor would such men as Colonel Nelson and others have to fear in any future case

that, even if by the protection of Government they escape trial and punishment, they may still be called up before a Royal commission, and have their crimes branded in its report, and their names in its "evidence." Nay, he and Colonel Hobbs, Colonel Elkington, and General O'Connor and Mr. Ramsay, would probably not only have escaped deserved punishment, but have been rewarded and invested with new and "extraordinary powers freely conceded to them," as the *Times* at first recommended. As to any quiet suggestions of moderation, they would have been put down with the words of the same organ, "If any are disposed to be hypercritical, we beg of them to consider at least the possibility of kindling a fresh flame by apparent sympathy with the rebellion."

PIUS IX. AND THE "*CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA*."

Brief "Novissimum Supremi Nostri," of February 12th, 1866.

DURING the year 1849, Pius IX. was in exile. The hosannas which greeted his elevation to the chair of S. Peter had been succeeded by the "Away with him: crucify him" of Garibaldian mobs. He was separated from many of his trustiest advisers; priests were being assassinated with diabolical cruelty, and frantic orgies were desecrating sacred places in the Holy City; an obscene, blasphemous, socialistic literature was deluging the Italian peninsula; and it was with fear and trembling that the faithful, outraged everywhere, dared to pray that the "walls of Jerusalem" might again be "built up." At the flood of this sorrowful period, on the 20th of April, the Holy Father pronounced, at Gaeta, his celebrated Allocution, "*Quibus quantisque malorum*," in which, as he has recently said, he "did not fail again and again to urge men who were endowed with piety, ability, and sound doctrine . . . to defend by their writings our august religion." His invocation was responded to in nearly every part of the Christian world; a regenerated movement commenced in the Catholic press of France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Central America, England, and Italy, the seat of danger, of which the good effects have been incalculable, and the disinterested fervency of devotion has shown a constantly increasing tendency. The Head of the Church is now enabled

to continue: "And certainly we are filled with no small joy; since *many* men have everywhere arisen who, most willingly obeying these our exhortations, and animated with admirable zeal towards the Catholic Church and this Holy See, do not cease, with honour to their name, . . . to defend truth and justice."*

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were among the first to take up the pen at the Pope's behest. The Brief of last February creating a literary college under their direction, states that they instituted, in accordance with his wish, the periodical called the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the writers for which have proved that "they had nothing nearer at heart than, by their learned and erudite elucidations, manfully to protect and defend the Divine truth of our august religion, and the supreme dignity, authority, power and interests of this Apostolic See; . . . to expose and resist particularly the manifold errors of our most unhappy age—its aberrations, and its poisoned writings, so pernicious both to Church and State." And "since," he adds, "from this journal, now sixteen years old, no slight benefits have redounded to the Church and to literature, . . . it is a matter of our especial desire that so admirable a work should for ever remain in a stable and flourishing state, for the advancement of God's greater glory." Therefore, "in order that there should be certain appointed men who, being heartily devoted to us and this chair of S. Peter, and eminent for their love of our most holy religion, and celebrated for sound and solid doctrine and erudition, may be able to fight the good fight, and by their writings defend, unremittingly, Catholic interests and sound doctrine, . . . we desired that certain religious of the illustrious Society of Jesus should constitute a College of writers." The Sovereign Pontiff then "erects for ever" the Jesuit writers of the *Civiltà Cattolica* into such a College, "to be fixed in a home peculiar to themselves," ordaining it to be dependent in all things on the General of the Jesuits; and prescribing that the duty of its members shall be "to carry on the said journal, or produce other writings, as shall appear most opportune to ourselves or the Roman Pontiffs, our successors," and "sedulously devote all their labour, industry, and zeal to the composition and publication of writings for the defence of the Catholic religion and this Holy See." Mindful, however, of the great uncertainty of the times, the Pope subjoins:—"But if it should ever happen in any case that the said College has to depart from this our city, we will that they may be able to

* See our July number, pp. 229, 230.

establish themselves in any other city [at the time] more convenient, which may be named by the General of the Society of Jesus, with our consent and that of the Roman Pontiffs, our successors, until (the impediments having been removed) they may be called back by the same General to their ancient home; . . . reserving to ourselves, and our successors alone, the power of making any change in respect to this college of writers of the Society of Jesus."

Anti-Papal contemporary writers have affected to discover a deeper signification in the Brief of the 12th of February than we have succinctly given. In opposition to the text and spirit of his decree, they have represented the Pope as having voluntarily created a rival power to his own, which he has "made nearly infallible." The truth, however, is, that the Venerable General of the Jesuits, upon whom the duty is imposed of appointing the members of the newly-established College, is bound by solemn vows implicitly to obey every command of the Holy Father, and that the submission to their superior of the individuals composing the order is subject to the condition of absolute subordination to the successor of S. Peter, who could, were such a necessity supposable, depose their chief, dispense them from their vows, dissolve their communities, confiscate their property, and devote themselves to any other Church service he might be inspired to believe would benefit religion and promote the welfare of souls. The Brief of Pius IX. bestows upon the Sons of S. Ignatius no faculty that they have not always considered it to be their highest honour, and as inalienable from their vocation, intrinsically to possess, namely, unfearing, unflinching devotion to the Holy See, and the consecration of their rarely-cultivated powers to the "greater glory of God." For this they "live, and move, and have their being," and the College will be a willing, unpretending forefinger of the Papal will, dedicated—as would that all Catholic writers were—to subserve the interests of religion, as they are announced on earth by the successors of S. Peter. There are reasons, however, for understanding why the Holy Father might have been guided by the impulses of practical justice in his especial praise of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. Its editors had, for sixteen years, submitted their labours semi-monthly to his inspection, and embraced every opportunity of knowing and fulfilling his wishes; their periodical had been conducted with such consummate wisdom, learning, and industry that it had become a powerful bulwark against the attacks of the enemies of the faith; yet it had infringed, in no contest, upon courtesy, decorum, or Christian charity, and had never merited a word

of dispraise. They neither expected nor received reward; nor had a single word of encouragement ever been directed by the Holy See to the public in their behalf. The *Armonia*, and, afterwards, the *Unità Cattolica*, under the direction of that good man and undaunted Christian hero, Cavaliere Margotti, had twice been favoured with an affectionate tribute of the Holy Father's appreciation of his untiring labours. The *Univers* and the *Monde*, of Paris, had been invigorated to new zeal by the Pope's applause of their exertions in withstanding the assaults of the enemies of the Church. The *Bien Public*, of Gand, ever in the vanguard in devotedness to Rome, had received an extraordinary meed of approbation. The *Osservatore Cattolico*, of Bologna; the *Archivio Ecclesiastico*, of Florence; the *Osservatore Cattolico*, of Milan; a courageous Central American journal, whose name escapes our memory; several newspapers in and near Italy, whose names, *persecutionis causâ*, may not be divulged; bishops and priests, for long-suffering, imprisonment, pastorals, and books; private individuals, like Günther, for frank, humble retraction of errors, had been, over and over again, cheered by well-merited eulogies and tender assurances of the esteem and love of Christ's Vicar. It would have been an anomaly if the literary child of his own fostering had obtained no assurances of his good-will, and been permitted to go on unrequited by any balm of consolation from his lips. Yet we are able to assert, the approbation by Pius IX. of the *Civiltà Cattolica* was, *motu proprio*, unsolicited, even unexpected; although its enemies might, with some plausibility, have represented its omission or deferment to be a tacit condemnation of its tone and teachings.

Commendations by the Sovereign Pontiff have not been scattered indiscriminately among such editors of Catholic journals and periodicals as have simply performed the duties of their vocation; but have only been given to those who have perseveringly continued to defend the truth under circumstances of unusual hardship and difficulty, where, as *quasi* confessors, they were exposed to trials, mortifications, sometimes to imprisonment or exile, on account of their devotion to the Holy See. Three requisites are indispensable, in order to acquire a public manifestation of the Holy Father's applause of the literary labours of those who strive in the lists against the enemies of Christ's Church: viz., properly directed erudition; manly, unflinching courage and energy in combating the foes of religion; but, above all, united to these, the most unreserved, humble, and tender devotion to the Apostolic

ROMAN Church. Careful analysis of the Brief of Feb. 12, in favour of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and reference to former Briefs, Encyclicals, Letters, and Bulls of Pius IX., will make it manifest, perhaps to the exultation of the hostile student, that unlimited obedience to the Roman, as distinguished from all other churches; unalterable attachment to Roman traditions and observances; and acceptance of the infallible authority, in dogma and discipline, over every other power on earth, of the Vicar of Jesus Christ—the recognition that his every doctrinal pronouncement is infallibly directed by the Holy Ghost—are corner-stone conditions of his proclaiming approbation of any individual before mankind. That extremist school of "ultramontane" Romanism—unadulterated Popery—which it is the fashion in this age of liberalism to scoff at and revile as superannuated and obsolete, is what the Pope on no proper occasion fails to extol; promising little short of "much trial and tribulation" to its adherents in this world, but great reward in the next. As early as his Encyclical letter, "*Qui pluribus*," of the 9th of November, 1846, on the occasion of his elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, he declared that sound Catholic faith involves unqualified belief in and submission to the intrinsic as well as extrinsic inspirations of Rome. His words are:—

God himself has established a living authority, whose office it is to put an end to *every controversy* on matters of faith and morals by an *infallible* judgment, and this living and infallible power is in vigour SOLELY in this [the Roman] Church, which ALONE He has founded upon Peter, the chief, prince, and teacher of the whole Church. And as where Peter is the Church is; as Peter speaks by the mouth of the Roman Pontiff, and is always living in his successors; . . . it clearly follows that divine teachings must be accepted in the full sense in which they have been and are held by this Roman See, the Blessed Chair of S. Peter, the mother and mistress of all churches, which has ever inviolably preserved the faith given by Jesus Christ. This principal See, from which sacerdotal unity derives its origin, is the metropolis of piety, in which the solidity of the Christian religion remains entire and perfect; around which all churches on earth, on account of its high principality, must cluster; the Church with which "whosoever does not gather scatters abroad."

Similarly, in the dogmatical definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary ("*Ineffabilis Deus*") he insists that the "Roman church" is "the mother and mistress of all Churches, the centre of Catholic truth and unity, in which *alone* religion has been inviolably preserved, and from which all other churches must borrow." Limited space forbids our quoting numberless like passages in documents of all kinds emanating from the present Sovereign

Pontiff, in which he has steadfastly reiterated the claim that, for eighteen centuries, has been made by the successors of S. Peter in the Apostolic chair. Solemnly invoking the Holy Ghost as his authority, he has announced anew a doctrine accepted by the Saints and Martyrs of every age; illustrated by Holy Doctors and Fathers, from Saints Ignatius, Irenæus, and Cyprian, down to the erudite Jesuit writers whom he has constituted into a college, to vindicate it against the attacks of the enemies of Christ in this latter half of the present century. For "no one," said Pius VII., in his prophetic Encyclical Letter "*Diu Satis*,"* "was ever the enemy of the Christian religion, who did not, at the same time, wage wicked war against the See of Peter, because, while the latter stands, the former cannot fall."

The only bound to their authority which the Popes of Rome have ever recognized, is that appointed directly and immediately by God Himself; and which the Holy Ghost inspires themselves infallibly to declare. The pretensions of the Vicars of Jesus Christ have never varied upon this point; and, therefore, the intrinsic worth, in the eyes of Rome, of every organ of Christian thought is estimated in proportion to its greater or less fidelity to the teachings, discipline, and guidance of the Church, as represented by S. Peter's successors in the Papal Chair. Apparent sanctity, eloquent zeal, admired learning, cannot counterbalance the discord that arises from want of harmonious relation to the divinely-constituted centre of Christian unity. Hence marvellous professorial receptacles of ecclesiastical learning may have the odious adjunct "*ism*" appended to peculiar tenets they have inculcated; unless they unreservedly submit them for rectification to the Holy See. Hence crowns of glory, earned by lives of self-sacrifice for religion, may dim on the brows of a Tertullian and leave him a doubtful memory compared with contemporary saints of greater humility. No influence that has systematically cavilled against any matter of doctrine, discipline, or morals, insisted on by the Roman See, has survived as an unblemished authority in the Catholic Church; while history has marked those who have maintained its highest claims as in faith the truest Christians.

The Catechism teaches that faith is the belief in all things which God has revealed and made manifest through His Church; but of that Church the Bishop of Rome, supported by the learning and sanctity of all ages, declares that he alone is the infallible head, and that Roman traditions and practice are the

* On the occasion of his exaltation to the Holy See.

"ONLY"* rule for all Christians. "Does he who opposes and resists the Church," writes S. Cyprian, "who resists the Chair of Peter on whom the Church was founded, flatter himself that he is in the Church?" † "He was careful to inquire," says S. Ambrose, speaking of his brother S. Satirus, whether the bishop of the place where he had been shipwrecked "agreed in faith with the Catholic bishops, *that is*, with the Roman Church." ‡ "You cannot deny," argued S. Optatus, "that you know that the Episcopal chair was first given to Peter in the city of Rome, . . . in which one Chair unity should be maintained by all; that the Apostles should not each set up a chair for himself, but that he should be at once a schismatic and a sinner who should erect any other against that one Chair." § "What faith does Ruffinus call his now?" asks S. Jerome. "If he replies, it is the Roman, then we are Catholics." And in a letter to Pope Damasus concerning Meletius:—"The Church here being split into three parties, . . . I cry aloud, Whoever is united with the Chair of Peter is mine." || "Why," cried S. Augustine to the Pelagians, "do you still demand an investigation which has already taken place before the Holy See?" ¶ A few months after the confirmation of the African councils had reached Africa, he observed, addressing his flock:—"The rescripts from the Apostolic See have reached us: the cause is decided." ** "All doubt," he says elsewhere, was removed by the rescript of Innocent." †† And so on, until Pius IX., continually multiplying clouds of witnesses have maintained with S. Leo that, "through Christ's eternal protection, the firmness of the foundation on which the high fabric of the whole Church is built suffers nothing from the temple that rests upon it. For the solidity of the faith which was praised in the Prince of the Apostles is perpetual; and as that which Peter believed of Christ continues always, so that which Christ instituted in Peter always remains." ‡‡ In a word, "where the Pope is, there is Rome;" where Rome, the fountain-head of the true faith, outside of which there is no salvation. Popery is the rock upon which whosoever falls is broken; but whomsoever it falls upon is ground to powder.

It seemed necessary to premise so much, to make it palpable

* Pius IX. Alloc. ut sup. † De Unit. Eccl. ‡ De Obitu Fratris.

§ De Schismat. Donat. l. ii. || Lib. i. in Ruffin., n. iv.

¶ Operis imperf. contra Julianum, l. ii. c. 103.

** Serm. 131, De Verbis Apost. c. 10, col. 645, tom. v.

†† L. ii. ad Bonif. cont. 2 Ep. Pelag. c. iii.

‡‡ Serm. III. In anniversario ad Pontif.

why a great deal that is adulteratedly wise, moderate, philanthropic, honest, and pious, does not acquire a title to the unqualified praises of the successor of S. Peter. The mouth or the pen that would emulate the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and kindle in its favour the fire that descended upon the Prince of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, must, in addition to purely natural intellectual gifts, be thoroughly impregnated with Romanism; must be inflamed with the zeal of a S. Theresa when she expressed the willingness with which she would lay down her life for the preservation of the minutest ritual observance of the Church; with supernaturally sage humility must be ready to throw self away, and be able to say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ" (that is, the faith of S. Peter), "who liveth in me."

God has promised eternal life to man as a reward of faith, of which the basis is humility. Self-love, self-assertion, is incompatible with its perfect development. Archbishop Manning truly remarks that "man has no choice but to be either the disciple or the critic of the revelation of God."* If the latter, he may be in some sense a Catholic; may be honoured, respected, venerated, and the centre of crowds of admirers and imitators; but his faith is tainted with an heretical animus, which only God's grace can prevent from degenerating into overt antagonism to truth, and formal heresy. For heresy (*αἵρεσις*—the choosing) is but the preferring, selecting, and finally judging for oneself in matters of religion. True faith and heresy bear the relation to each other which "I believe because the Church teaches," does to "I think." Error from inculpable ignorance cannot constitute heresy; while an heretical animus is not necessarily inconsistent with the mere mental acceptance of the doctrines inculcated by the Catholic Church. Innumerable nominal Protestants have, it is to be hoped, never protested; have humbly accepted the teachings of fathers, mothers, guardians, or pastors, innocently imbibing, as Christian doctrine, what they perhaps may never know that the true Church of Christ reprobates and anathematizes. "The rule of God's dealing," says the Archbishop of Westminster, "is that revelation should be not a discovery, but an inheritance."† If God permits any of His creatures to remain, throughout their lives, bereft of higher knowledge, they will no more be condemned for heresy than one born blind because he cannot

* Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost, p. 3.

† *Ib.* p. 88.

see.* On the other hand, a barren intellectual persuasion may cause others to subscribe to the Catholic creed, with an heretical animus sufficient to exclude the *donum Dei* of supernatural faith, and cause the loss of their souls. Valid Baptism, by whomsoever administered, makes its recipient a Christian, *i.e.*, implicitly, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, none the less so because he may be differently labelled before the world. "Man judgeth"—he often must do so—"by the outward appearance," and one calling himself a Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, will be so classified by others; but God, who "looketh at the heart," may find in him the essentials of faith: while Catholics, on the other hand, may sin mortally against the virtue of faith, because their wills are untrue to the loyal submission which they owe to the rules of doctrine, discipline, and morals, proclaimed to the Church by the Holy Ghost through the successors of S. Peter. The Catholic Church, from the time of our Lord, in each doctrinal definition, anathema, censure, decree, disciplinary regulation, Bull, Brief, Encyclical, Allocution, admonition, and even in its tacit as well as expressed approvals or disapprovals, has virtually propounded to every Christian the question—"Will you also go away?" Do you humbly accept what is proposed to your intellect? do you cheerfully submit to what is imposed on your will? or do you murmur, cavil, and, in your heart, disobey? And, wherever the response to any one of its multifarious exactions has failed to be as unreserved as that of S. Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go, Thou alone hast the words of eternal life?" it has at least fallen short of the requirements of unalloyed faith. The humble *disciple* of faith finds no "hard sayings" in the teachings he has been graciously commanded to "hear:" its *critic* dwarfs down the inspirations of the Spirit of God to the narrow standard of his own prejudices or capacity; cavils against the quality and quantity of the authority that proclaims them; disfigures the meaning of words; appeals from Bishop to Pope, from Pope to Council, from Council to the laxest possible interpretation of its ordinances, and when finally discomfited, from every other authority to himself. Or, if too tender of conscience utterly to revolt, so swathes, abridges, mutilates, or distorts the obnoxious precept, as to reduce it to the sickliest semblance of itself. He will not understand that he is sitting in judgment upon God; that if his religion does not begin, it

* See Pius IX.'s emphatic declaration on invincible ignorance, quoted and commented on in our number for April, 1865, pp. 465-468.

ends in pride; that his zeal is not born of the Spirit of Truth, but of self-conceit.

Faith, therefore, is objective, not subjective; of God, not of man's purblind intelligence. It is in the highest sense synthetical, not analytical. It freely nourishes itself upon the bread of life, without crumbling it into fragments in order to apply a chemical test, before receiving it, to each of its atoms. Reason opens the way to receive, illustrate, and defend it; but, once received, it becomes less of the head than of the heart, for the Holy Ghost teaches that "man believeth from the heart unto salvation." "Not many wise, not many learned," enter into the Kingdom of God, but myriads of the "poor in spirit" throng the road that leads there. It is true that the "wisdom, falsely so called," of the world glitters in its day; that the fallible acumen which criticises, patronizes, or explains away infallibility, is applauded, even by many educated men among pseudo-Catholics; but it has never been countenanced by the Holy See, nor by the Universal Episcopate, nor been understood by, much less taken root among, the poor to whom "the Gospel is preached." Not a name among its celebrities has been added to the calendar of the saints, and no new generation of "choosers" has even followed in the footsteps of the critics of revelation who preceded them. When the spirit of *heresy* is perplexed, it leans upon human authority; plunges for relief into books or manuscripts; consoles itself in kindred associations; or perhaps pursues the *ignis fatuus* of a new theory. Faith, if tempted, kisses the feet of Jesus, and exclaims: "Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief." Heresy seeks enlightenment in the library; God enlightens faith in the oratorium. Faith, if angry, "sins not." "Zeal of its Father's house" may "eat it up;" it is "wroth with the wicked every day;" but its yearning is to convert, heal, and save. The spirit of heresy "compasses sea and land to gain one proselyte;" but is cankered with the passion of a contumacious will, distempered by a changing mind and an uneasy conscience. While the disciple of revelation is supplicating God, with streaming eyes and an anguished heart, for the release from bondage (never more needed than now) of S. Peter, its critics, with demurring jealousy, are employed in "testing, measuring, limiting, by their supposed discernment and intuition,"* the words of his Allocution at the Council of Jerusalem, or of the Encyclical of his successor, Pius IX., of twenty months ago. The spirit of heresy will neither bend nor yield; but the retractations

* Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost, p. 3.

of humble belief ennoble and sanctify past unwitting error, by the increased splendour with which they illumine truth.

If, however, predominating pride of intellect or knowledge, which are the essence of the spirit of heresy, will brook no opposition, much less can the will of God tolerate obdurate resistance. The heretical animus and Rome must, therefore, be for ever arrayed against one another in irreconcilable antagonism. Heresy, says Bossuet, instinctively hates the Pope, because he always strikes the first and the final blow at every innovation. Yet unbelief, schism, and overt heresy, are perhaps less dangerous, and are certainly less insidious enemies of faith than that semi-acquiescence, under protest, in doctrine and discipline, engendered by personal and national pride, obsequiousness to wealth, power, distinction, learning, and false shame among some who call themselves Catholics. These latter are a corrupting element inside of the camp. They represent the repugnance, in unregenerate nature, of the worldly, respectable, influential, and ambitious, within the Church, uncompromisingly to recognize the admonitions of our Lord :— "He that is not with Me is against Me;" "Whosoever shall deny Me before men, I will also deny him before My Father who is in Heaven;" "The love of the world is enmity to God." Venially guilty, comparatively, in this class are the very earthy, common place earthlings, distinguishable by their cowardly horror of the word ultramontane; by their thin-skinned dread of being sneered at as "Jesuits;" by their solicitude not to be considered behind the spirit of the age, illiberal or narrow-minded; and by the demonstrative courtesy and spirit of conciliation with which they meet, more than half way, the propitiatory advances of Mammon, mindless that whoever is not his enemy is his slave. "Ashamed of Jesus," as represented by his Vicar in Rome, they incur the double doom, that our Lord will be "ashamed of them at the last day," and that what is bound on earth by S. Peter or his successors, shall be bound in heaven. More culpable and prolific in evil are the lineal descendants in that long line of monarchical restrictors of the liberty of the Church, which, in every century, has waged active war against the inalienable supremacy of the Holy See. The cupidity and jealousy of no Christian government, since the time of S. Peter, have failed, at some time or other, to extort the unwilling remonstrances of Rome; nor have sycophantic adulators of the tyrannical excesses against which it has protested, been wanting, even among recreant patriarchs, bishops, and priests, false to the oath of obedience without which they could not have been

ordained or consecrated.* The traditions of the Apostolic Roman Church, adjusting the practical mode of communication between man and the Divinity; directing how belief should manifest itself in external forms of worship, private devotions should be conducted, and vocations be determined on and adopted; drawing the line that marks what is due to God and what to Cæsar; and interpreting questions of doctrine, Scripture, discipline, morals, law, philosophy, and to a certain extent history—pronouncing what is to be regarded as certain, probable, or doubtful—are the normal rule which every humble, well-instructed Christian must abide by, and in resisting which "rulers of the earth have imagined a vain thing," and many "wise and learned" have stumbled. The dark side of the domestic history of the Church is its unbroken chronicle of great kings, great nations, supported by the zeal and enthusiasm of literary genius, encroaching upon the liberties of the Church by arrogating to themselves some prerogative bestowed by Christ exclusively upon S. Peter and his successors. There is no country that has not raised the standard of revolt against the supremacy of Rome. Gallican liberties; obstructed intercourse with Rome of the churches of Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, Brazil, Central America, Mexico, and Poland; Austrian emancipation from its guidance until the inauguration of Francis Joseph I.; the severe anti-Roman laws of the greater part of the states of Germany; the ferocious persecution of Romanism in Switzerland and Italy; the war of Lammenais, his disciples and ex-disciples, who are still too much infected with a portion of the deadly poison his subtle influence left in their souls; Kaiserlich-Königliche catechisms, and theological text-books, forming the enforced basis of ecclesiastical educa-

* When the Holy Father bestows the hat upon a Cardinal elect, he says:—"Recipe galærum rubrum, . . . per quod designatur quod usque ad mortem et sanguinis effusionem, pro exaltatione sanctæ Fidei, pace et quiete populi Christiani, augmento et statu Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, te intrepidum exhibere debeas, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen."

The following words form only a part of the oath of obedience of bishops elect before being consecrated according to the Roman rite:—"Ego N, Electus Ecclesiæ N, ab hac horâ fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro Apostolo, sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domino nostro, Domino Pio Papæ Nono, suisque successoribus canonicè intransitibus . . . Papatum Romanum, et regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum, et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem . . . Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, et promovere adjuvabo, etc."

Priests simply promise, before being ordained, obedience to their bishops, which of course includes acquiescence in the duty of bishops towards the Holy See.

tion in the larger portion of the universities and episcopal seminaries of Central Europe, and corrupting the intelligences of rising generations; the rationalism of Germany's many Fröschhammers; the acrid hostility to Rome of the gifted Döllinger, and the too numerous admirers of that learned but erring man; have all been witnessed upon the hearthstone of religion, within the generation that includes the Pontificate of Pius IX. Who can impeach the Sovereign Pontiff's faithfulness to the trust committed to him, in appealing, in "our most unhappy age" to erudite Catholics to aid in combating the enemies of the faith; or his justice in perpetuating a periodical that has especially contributed to explain his condemnation of the blasphemies that have pululated during his trying probation in the Vatican?

The Pontificate of Pius IX. began in sorrow, and may end in sorrow. The legend hath it of him, "*Crux de cruce.*" His very first Encyclical complains of the "*nefarie molitiones contra Romanam Beatissimi Petri Cathedram, in qua Christus posuit inexpugnabile Ecclesie sue fundamentum.*"* His Allocation of the 17th December of the following year relates to the "*gravissima damna . . . ob tristes rerum vicissitudines,*" that had overwhelmed the Church in Spain.† In 1848 he sent letters to Syria, for the purpose of healing discord and schism, by which souls were being hurried to perdition there. In an Encyclical letter from Naples, of the 8th December, 1849,‡ he besought the co-operation of the bishops of Italy in resisting the spirit of insubordination that was laying hold upon the minds of men throughout the Peninsula. His first Bull after his return to Rome from exile, again mourns over the religious desolation in Piedmont; the imprisonment, by a Catholic monarch, of the Archbishop of Turin; and the deplorable dangers to which Christianity was subjected in Belgium.§ The year after he condemned a work, published by a false Catholic in Lima, violently attacking the Holy See;|| and a few months later he issued an Encyclical letter filled with lamentations over the state of Christendom generally. On the 27th of September, 1852, the persecution of the Church by the government of New Grenada elicited the Allocation: "*Acerbissimum vobiscum.*"¶

* "*Qui pluribus;*" Nov. 9, 1846.

† "*Ubi primum.*"

‡ "*Noscitis et nobiscum.*"

§ "*Si semper antea,*" of May 20th, 1850.

|| "*Multiplies inter,*" of 19th June, 1851.

¶ "*Exultavit cor nostrum;*" 21st Nov.

In a letter directed fourteen months afterwards to the hierarchy of France, the Pope reprobates Gallican perfidy; lauds the devotion to Rome of the French Episcopate, exhorting it to discourage publications against the rights of the Apostolic Church; because "the wicked enemies of the Catholic religion ever attack the Chair of the Blessed Prince of the Apostles, knowing that religion can never fall or slide back while she stands, whom the proud gates of hell can never conquer, and in whom is contained the entire and perfect solidity of Christian doctrine."* At the close of the same year, he protests against the invasion of the prerogatives of the successors of S. Peter, in Northern Germany, and deplores the unfilial conduct of the government of Hartz, and the sad state of religion in the West Indies.† In 1854, he enumerated, in a letter to the Bishop of Fribourg, the injuries suffered by the faithful there, and lauds his constancy under affliction. Twelve and eighteen months subsequently, on the 22nd of January and 26th of July, 1855, appeared the two famous Allocutions—" *Probè meminertis* " and " *Cùm sæpè*," respecting the sub-Alpine persecution, excommunicating those who had taken part in the law suppressing religious communities. They were followed by another Allocution, of the latter date, denouncing the violence of Spain against prelates true to the Apostolic Church, and mourning over the deplorable state of religion in Switzerland.‡ Next year he condemned and declared void the anti-Christian acts of the Mexican authorities, reiterated his anxieties concerning Switzerland, and expressed his execration of the horrible system of education forced by the government of South America (formerly under Spanish rule), and other South American governments, upon ecclesiastical seminaries, to the prejudice of the dignity of the Holy See, and of morality and piety among the people.§ In 1857, he condemned the works of Günther, lauding, however, his docility and ready submission to the sentence against him.|| The January following, the Sovereign Pontiff addressed an Encyclical letter of admonition to the prelates of the Two Sicilies,¶ and on the 15th of November, the *Instructio*, " *Etsi sanctissimus*," against mixed marriages. In 1859, two celebrated Allocutions pronounced void the recent acts of the

* "*Inter multiplices angustias*;" 21st March, 1853.

† Allocution in Consistorio secreto, 19th Decembris: "*In Apostolica sedis fastigio*." "*Antequam ad nos pervenirent*," 9th Jan.

‡ "*Nemo vestrum ignorat*."

§ Allocutio "*Nunquam fore putavissimus*," die 15th Dec., 1856.

|| "*Eximiam tuam*."

¶ "*Cùm nuper annua*."

sub-Alpine government; and renewed the major excommunication, confirming the decrees of the Council of Trent against assailants of the civil principedom of the Roman Pontiff.* Three Allocutions, and an Apostolic letter, in 1860, renew the protestations of the Pope against the violation of his territory; excommunicate anew the guilty; deplore the blameable conduct and duplicity of certain Catholic monarchs; and show the wickedness and absurdity of the principle of non-intervention. A fifth Allocution, at the end of the same year, dilates in censure of Gallican pretensions; exposes the troubled relations of the Holy See with Baden; and calls attention to the bloody persecution of Christians in Corea, China, Cochin China, and Tonquin.† In 1861, the happy arrangement by which long existing difficulties between the Holy See and Goa had been partially healed, forms the subject of an Encyclical letter to the Archbishop of Goa of March 22nd; an Epistle to the Archbishop of Warsaw of the 6th of June, sets forth the care and paternal love of the Pope for the Catholics of Poland; and an Allocution of the 30th September depicts, with touching detail, the cruelty of the persecution waged by the sub-Alpine government in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, dwelling at the close upon the misery of the Church in Mexico and New Granada.‡ On the 8th of July, 1862, in a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Lisbon and the other Archbishops and Bishops of Portugal, Pius IX. complains of their non-intervention in the canonization, a month previously, of the Japanese martyrs;§ and on the 8th of December, he condemned the errors of Fröschhammer, placing his works upon the Index. In 1863, five Encyclical letters and an Allocution insisted upon the submission of every part of the Catholic Church to the Holy See.|| Poland, Mexico, New Granada, San Salvador, Italy, and Germany, are, on various accounts, the subjects of these documents.¶

* Of 20th June; "*Ad gravissimum*," and 26th Sept., "*Maximo animi nostri dolore*."

† "*Nullis certè verbis*," 19th Jan.; "*Cùm Catholica Ecclesia*," 26th Martii; "*Omnibus notum*," die 13th Julii; "*Novas et ante hunc diem*," 28th Sept.; and "*Multis gravibusque*," 17th Dec.

‡ "*Ad reparanda damna*;" "*Cùm primum*;" "*Meminit unusquisque*."

§ "*Quò graviora*."

|| Epistola ad Archiep. Moacensen et Frisingensem, "*Gravissimas inter*."

¶ Allocutio 16th Martii, "*Omnibus notum*." Epistola, "*Non deve meravigliare*," 22nd Aprilis. Ad Russiarum Imperatorem. Epistola Encyclica, "*Quanto conficiamur maiore*," die 10th Aug. Similis, "*Incredibili afflicti mur dolore*," die 17th Sept. "*Etsi maximo*," Epistola 30th Novembris. Similis, "*Tuas libenter*," die 22nd Dec.

On the 17th of March, 1864, the Holy Father insisted to the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, that the will of the Holy See should be adhered to, in the settlement of the liturgical strife that had been fomented in that diocese.* On the 30th of July, he again reprobates and condemns the acts of the Russian government in its tyrannical ferocity towards the Catholics of Poland;† and on the 18th of October, in a letter to the Emperor of Mexico, expresses his disappointment and displeasure at the iniquitous manner in which that monarch had inaugurated his reign by the confiscation of Church property. Finally, in the Allocution, "*Cura et sollicitudo*," of March 27th, 1865, he renews his lamentations over the sad state of affairs in Mexico.

Add to this superficial catalogue of discourses and documents emanating from Pius IX., insisting upon the exercise of his supreme prerogative over all Christian Churches throughout the globe, the private exhortations and instructions, the affectionate remonstrances, of so gentle and mild a man, and what an aggregate in the space of one Pontificate! Add, moreover, the eloquence of the supernatural silence of this truly Holy Father, wherever speech might have aggravated instead of subduing the spirit of self among his forward children; the waywardness he has wisely refrained from reproving; the partially tainted books he has thought it more prudent not to put upon the Index; the decrees of his predecessors he has mercifully left in abeyance; the semi-hostile or inerudite periodicals, newspapers, ephemeral literary productions, he has given over to the devouring tooth of time, but has not doomed to destruction by a word of his mouth as Christ's infallible Vicar; the cockle, in a word, which he has left untouched, lest, by plucking it up, he should destroy the wheat also;‡ and what a volume would be required to make the significance of his reign comprehensible. Yet the essential principle of the Pontificate

* "*Non me dicere*."

† Epistola, "*Ubi Urbaniano*."

‡ Pius VI., in the Brief, "*Quòd aliquantum*," addressed on the 10th March, 1790, to the Archbishop of Aix, and other archbishops and bishops in the National Assembly of France, assigns as a reason for the tardiest possible intervention against the irreligious and schismatics of that period:—"*We had at first resolved to keep silence, lest the voice of truth in the ears of these inconsiderate men might provoke them to rush forwards to even greater destruction. This our purpose was supported by the authority of S. Gregory the Great, who declared that it was necessary 'to weigh with prudence the critical circumstances of the times, and not to allow the tongue to expend itself in useless discourse, on occasions where it should be restrained, . . . following the example of Susanna, who, as S. Ambrose says, accomplished more by her silence than she could have effected by words.'*"

of Pius IX. is identical with that contained in the Apostolic Headship of each of the Popes who has preceded him;—maintenance and vindication of the purity of the faith and traditions, exclusively handed down in the Roman Church, under the never-failing guidance and enlightenment of the Holy Ghost. "It is the duty of the Pope," says the late Archbishop Kenrick, "to watch over the entire kingdom of Christ, from the high tower on which he is placed as sentinel, and to sound the alarm when the enemy approaches."* When, from the generations of eternity, we shall be able to look back upon the warfare of the successors of S. Peter against sin and the world, how awfully sublime it will appear! Thirty-three of their number have perished as martyrs. Forty-five are worshipped as Saints upon our altars. A large portion have been in "prison frequently; in journeys often; in perils of rivers; in perils of robbers; in perils from their own nation; in perils from the Gentiles; in perils in the city; in perils in the wilderness;" worst of all, "in perils from false brethren." Few but have shared some part in the passion of their Divine Master. Many have been able to say: "No man stood with me, but all forsook me; but the Lord stood by me and strengthened me." Blessed will those be of whom the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth shall have said, that in the hour of his need they "stood with him," and did not forsake him.

It follows from the above, that the adequate "defence of our august religion," called for by Pius IX. on his accession to the Pontificate, and undertaken, he says, "by many,"—by some in a manner to elicit his especially favourable notice, and, in the instance of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, to secure for that journal extraordinary privileges,—requires learned and erudite champions; whose hearts and intelligences overflow with supernatural love for Roman faith, Roman tradition, Roman practice; who affectionately receive their religious impulses from the living Roman Church.

The infallibility of Rome is (we confidently affirm) immediately revealed by God, and definable as a dogma of the Faith. It has been repeatedly proclaimed by overwhelming majorities of the Universal Episcopate; it underlies the decisions of every Council; it is a part of the *sensus communis* of Catholic people of every period; against which no Father, Doctor, or Saint ever revolted; and which it is the especial duty of every one who would fight for Christ's Church to defend. Heresies have called forth more or less solemn dogmatical decrees condemn-

* "Primacy of the Apostolic See." Ed. New York: 1848, p. 151.

ing them, and manifesting portions of the Creed of the Church; but these, though *of* faith, are not *the* Faith; just as the contradictories of innumerable condemned propositions are true, but are not the whole of truth.

The aggregate of all the traditions of the Apostolic Roman Church, as illumined by the ever-present Spirit of God, is the unwritten common law of faith. "*Vetus et perpetua traditio*" must, Benedict XIV. shows,* take precedence of every other authority. Tender attachment to Roman tradition is the groundwork of practical Christianity, and defence of it is the defence of the religion of Jesus Christ. Those who wage war in its behalf, and against its enemies, must, however, expect no reward in this world, besides that of a good conscience. The sign of truthfulness to the Christian vocation is summed up in the words: "You shall be hated of all men for My sake." "Men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for My sake." When pastors of the fold become its ravagers, then alone are they greeted, by those outside, with respect and admiration. How extolled were Jansenius, Baius, Quesnel, Arnaud, and their associate labourers! With what rapture the free-thinking world of the last century greeted the anti-Roman decrees of Joseph II., Charles III. and Louis XV.! What toleration is manifested towards the most abject superstitions of the Greek and Nestorian Churches, because they are divided from the Holy See! What a model of learning and greatness the priest Gioberti became, so soon as he attacked the prerogatives of the Holy Father! Poor Lammenais! How hated while a champion, how sought after when an enemy of Rome! So, in this day, all who sneer at Roman theology, and seek to bring the traditions of Rome and the consistency of the successors of S. Peter into contempt, are regarded by the enemies of the Church as their allies; from whom they have everything to hope and nothing to fear. They are not of those who can "rejoice" at suffering "persecution for justice sake." But no Roman Catholic Christian, whose heart throbs with supernatural desire to fulfil the precept: "Preach ye the gospel to every creature," can hope for the smiles of the world, or for earthly protection from its fury.

From what has been said may be gathered why the distinction of founding the new college of religious writers has been conferred upon the Jesuits. They have been chosen by Pius IX. on account of their learning, wisdom, and piety; their devotion, in common with all good Catholics, to the Holy

* *De Fœtis, et passim.*

Apostolic See; but also because of their indifference to everything else, as compared with the interests of Christ's Church. The Church to them is father, mother, sister, home, and country. They esteem all things, even their own lives, as of no account, in the fulfilment of their vocation. The blood of their martyrs has sanctified every known land on the face of the earth. Their confessors have been innumerable. There is not a science or branch of useful learning that has not been enriched by their labours. The number of their authors has been over thirteen thousand in three centuries. There is no conceivable charity or work of benevolence they have not fostered. Their care of the poor, sick, suffering, incarcerated, has made them the idols of the people wherever they have been, until long exile has caused their good deeds to be forgotten, and slander has created for them a character the opposite of their own. Their vilest enemies have been compelled to bear testimony to the irreproachable purity and humility of their lives. They have received the praises of every sovereign Pontiff, including the Pope who suppressed the order, since the foundation of their society by S. Ignatius Loyola. During the last century they were smitten down by one of the most fiendish conspiracies ever devised among men. It was necessary, the Encyclopædists had written, to "destroy the dogs before the sheep could be attacked." They sank out of existence without a murmur, blessing the hand that destroyed them. God permits them to be hated, calumniated, persecuted, despised; to be driven from country to country, and from city to city; to suffer death by fire, water, the knife, torture, and the rope;—they have chosen to be of the SOCIETY OF JESUS, and to drink of the cup that He drank of. But the Almighty hand upholds them, and their zeal is never so burning, their charity never so fervent, as when the dangers and tribulations that surround them are the greatest. It is to this body of men that Pius IX. has committed the care of "perpetuating for ever" the *Civiltà Cattolica*.

ART. VI.—CROMWELL'S CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. By JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq.
London : Longmans.

IN the DUBLIN REVIEW of January we commenced an account of the Irish wars and administration of Oliver Cromwell, suggested by the excellent and exhaustive work of Mr. Prendergast on the Cromwellian settlement, with a view also of testing the gross and unscrupulous account given by Mr. Carlyle of Cromwell's policy and conduct in Ireland. Our first article, after a rapid survey of the circumstances attending the appointment of the Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant and his arrival, of the state of Ireland at the time, the policy and position of Ormond, of the Catholic Confederates, of the Ulster Irish and the Scotch of the Plantation, described in detail the first great act of the war, the siege and sack of Drogheda. To-day we resume the narrative of Cromwell's military operations, both in Ulster and Munster, in the weeks that intervened before the interruption of the war by winter. In a third article we hope to conclude the history of the war and to describe the system and establishment of the settlement.

IT was on the 11th of September that Drogheda fell. The sudden shock and the atrocious ferocity of that event spread terror to the uttermost ends of the island. Ormond had compared it to the massacre of Amboyna. Owen Roe said that the soldiers who did such a deed would sack hell itself. The Royalist troops in the neighbourhood were panic-stricken. Ormond, on the news reaching him, ordered the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk at once to evacuate and to burn those places. They were occupied by some battalions of the Ulster Scotch, whom Lord Ardes had sent forward in advance of the army, but who were now only too eager to return to their homesteads by the Laggan. They would not even take time to put the torch to the towns, and in Trim left their cannon behind them.

Cromwell did not pause to push his advantage. On the night of the 12th he dispatched Colonel Chidley Coote with

two regiments of horse and one of foot to summon Dundalk; but they found the town empty as to troops; and thus the main road to Ulster lay open. Two days later, Cromwell added to Coote's force a second regiment of foot with two troops of dragoons, and gave the command of the whole to Colonel Venables, a prompt and resolute soldier of rising reputation, with orders to feel his way round by the northern coast, and attempt towards a junction with Sir Charles Coote, who still lay loosely beleaguered in Derry. A man-of-war with siege guns and provisions attended the expedition. Venables marched from Dundalk to the fortified town of Carlingford, perched between sea and mountain, in a position which had, from the time of John de Courcy, been regarded as one of the great gates of the Pale, commanding as it did the principal passes of Mourne. Its chief castle, called King John's, built on an immense rock overhanging the harbour, had walls so thick that it is doubtful whether the artillery then in use could have had much effect on them at the ranges which the nature of the ground and the form of the Lough admitted. This castle was sustained by a number of other forts, whose ruins still dot the ancient town and the headlands of the bay. Four of these were in a condition of defence when Venables summoned the place, but the only one which offered any resistance was that commanding the mouth of the harbour, now called Greencastle, whose cannoneers made such good practice that they shot away the mainmast of the Commonwealth's man-of-war, and made his entrance, in the Lord Lieutenant's opinion, quite "a considerable adventure." Without more ado, Carlingford surrendered on articles.

Next day, Venables pushed on to Newry, which yielded without a blow. Here he paused for three days in a place where supplies were commodious, and there were good opportunities of reconnoissance and communication. It was becoming manifest that there was a strong section of the Ulster Scots, whom the spirit of John Knox was moving to incline towards the policy of the Parliament, and the government of Cromwell. The Ulster Scots were in this position, that they were asked merely for love of the absentee king to forego their long feud of life and land with the Ulster Irish, and to march with them in the rear of the Confederate Catholic and Prelatical army of Ormond. And against whom? Against one who certainly was less their enemy than the enemy of their enemies. If, forsooth, he had slain the king, had not Scotland surrendered the king to be slain? And, as for slaying of kings, had not Knox warned crowned heads, yea, even to the very presence of Majesty, of what would

befall them if they did not govern by the Word as well as the Sword? Something, perhaps, is also to be credited to the instinct of a race whose canny sense much sooner saw with which standards the fortune of war marched; and who, unlike the Irish fond inheritors of the fascination of a desperate destiny, were pleased to be pleased with the victorious rather than the vanquished cause. At all events, Venables was able to write to Cromwell from Newry "certain informations," of the nature of which there can be little doubt, and which the General, in his next letter to Speaker Lenthall, says "promise well towards your northern interest." Nor was performance slow to follow promise. Within a week, the Scots had surrendered every place they held in Ulster, and put the Plantation under the protection of the Parliament. Soon after Venables' arrival at Newry, a cornet rode in from Lisnegarvy (now Lisburn) with the assurance that if he advanced, that place, which was a sort of military centre to the Scotch segment of Ulster, would immediately surrender; and when he did advance, he was joined, according, doubtless, to previous treaty, by Major Bruffe, "with a troop of horse of the country." In Ulster, blue bonnet and buff doublet rode together thenceforth. One attempt only was made on behalf of the king in the north; and, though admirably contrived, and to a certain point well executed, it proved a complete failure.

Colonel Mark Trevor, a daring Cavalier officer, gathered five hundred horse (most of them probably from Owen Roe's army, with which he had served some time), with the intention of falling on Venables' camp by way of *camisade*, if opportunity offered during his march through Down. Venables having rested three days at Newry, on the fourth marched northwards across the Bann, and as far as Dromore. The road twines here amid a series of undulating hills of varying height and contour, capable of forming a complete screen for the advance of soldiers who knew the country. Accordingly, all day long, Trevor, himself unobserved, led his troopers through the valleys on a zig-zag line corresponding with that by which Venables was advancing. This march was so skilfully made that the Parliamentary scouts saw not a trace of it, and Venables encamped in the evening outside of Dromore, little dreaming that the enemy was within a mile of his pickets. But in the night a courier, hard-riding all the way from Dundalk, came with warning from the Commonwealth officer in command there, who had heard of Trevor's stolen march. Still, when Trevor's men charged the camp an hour before daybreak, they found that, either from contempt of danger, or the fatigue of the previous day's march, Venables' soldiers were completely off

their guard; and the first troops which charged under Major Chatfield cut their way right through the camp and into the town of Dromore, carrying off several of Venables' principal officers and two of his standards. Now Chatfield's orders had been, "in case they got into the quarters, to stay there and not pursue, but to keep the rebels from rallying." Meantime, on an adjoining hill, Trevor impatiently waited for the dawn, expecting that it only remained for him to scatter the broken camp like chaff. It would have been a splendid feat of arms to have achieved with only five hundred Rapparees; and it would have had, at all events, two great political effects—it would have exorcised the panic caused by the fall of Drogheda, and perhaps converted again the calculating sympathies of the Scots. But Chatfield's troops had not remained in the quarters, knocking the enemy about according to orders, but were now outside it, cutting down the outposts towards the town. Meantime, in the darkness, the Puritan soldiers groped for their guns and whispered their way into rank. And on this particular morning it so happened that the hour before the dawn was "extraordinary dark." So that Chatfield probably lost his proper track, and Trevor had to wait a good deal longer for light than he had calculated. When at last the sun lifted the mist, Trevor saw that his camisade was spoiled. Four or five troops of Venables' horse, and as many companies of foot, were already rallied to their ranks, and the rest were fast falling in. After a sharp skirmish, in which he lost the prisoners and standards Chatfield had taken, Trevor was forced to fall back across the Bann, and report to Ormond that Ulster was lost. The same day Venables received the keys of Lisnegarvy. Four days afterwards, Belfast opened its gates. Meantime, the Scots of Derry, following the example of their kinsmen of Down and Antrim, offered to surrender Coleraine to Coote. Thus, before the end of September, within barely a fortnight from the fall of Drogheda, every port and every place of military importance round the whole coast from Dublin to Londonderry, one alone excepted, saw the flag of the Parliament hoisted on its Tholsel, and the Puritan soldiers mount guard at its gates and preach from its pulpits. Carrickfergus, whither Sir George Munroe had hastily retreated when he found how the feeling of the Plantation was swaying, was the one exception; but so little importance did Coote and Venables attach to it, that as soon as they had joined their forces, they felt able to detach Jones's regiment, which at once marched south, and arrived in time to take part in the Munster campaign.

Meantime Ormond, deeply depressed as he must have been

by so many disasters, and most of all by the dull dismay, which seemed to infest the very air and paralyze all the elements of his combinations, did not, at all events, suffer his own mind to yield in the least degree to the temptation of despair. On the contrary, there is perhaps in all his life nothing more heroic and touching than the way in which he addressed the king at this particular time, urging him to come into Ireland. Charles had left the Hague in June, sending on his servants and baggage by sea to Cork, and intending, after a stay of eight days at Paris, to proceed to Ireland; "but a fair lady, or the endeavours of those about him, who were for his agreeing with the Scots, detained him at St. Germain for three months, till after he had received the news of the defeat of Rathmines and the landing of Cromwell."* This news somewhat roused his Majesty. It was necessary to take a decisive step. Under all the circumstances, it occurred to him that he could not well do a wiser thing than make Ormond a Knight of the Garter. On the 18th of September accordingly, about the time when the Ulster Scots may have been opening the gates of Belfast and Coleraine to the regicides, Garter-King-at-Arms was directed to discharge his august functions. That nothing might be wanting to the dignity of the occasion, the King resolved to send Colonel H. Warren and Mr. Henry Seymour, both gentlemen of his bedchamber, into Ireland, the latter to carry the badge of St. George and the Garter to his Excellency, who was directed by the same channel to report on the actual state of the kingdom, and the policy of his Majesty's going thither. Ormond, at this moment, appears to have had no words to waste in acknowledging the illustrious dignity which the king had been pleased to confer upon him. He writes like a man who does not know, and hardly condescends even to care, how many hours' purchase his life may be worth, but who is determined to live or die like a statesman and a soldier, and who feels that in such an emergency, a frankness almost cruel is the most loyal service it is in his power to render to such a king as he has got. He unhesitatingly urges his Majesty to come to Ireland without a day's delay; but the reasons which he gives for this weighty counsel must have been somewhat startling to Charles the Second. This is his argument:—

Sir,—The rebels are strong in their numbers, exalted with success, abundantly provided with all necessaries, likely to want for nothing that England

* Carte (*Oxford Edition*), vol. iii. p. 479.

can afford them, and in the pride of all this are either marched out or ready to march to pursue their victories. On the other side to withstand them, our numbers are inferior, discouraged with misfortunes, hardly and uncertainly provided for, the people weary of their burdens, wavering in their affections through the advantage taken to pervert them by those who are disloyally inclined, and our towns defenceless against any considerable attempt. After such a stating of our condition, your Majesty may wonder that I,—who in my opinion concerning the hazarding of your person into this kingdom was doubtful, or rather plainly against it, only upon fallible resolutions taken of Cromwell's coming over, before the defeat near Dublin which made easy the better half of his work in this kingdom, and before the loss of Drogheda with above two thousand of our best foot, and above two hundred horse,—should now change my opinion and hold it absolutely necessary for your Majesty to appear here in person.

This seemingly preposterous change proceeds, not from a less care for your Majesty's safety, but from a greater desire of your glory, consisting in your being restored to your kingdoms by the blessing of God upon your immediate conduct of your affairs and armies; for which, by a special providence, they seem to be reserved, and without which it is evident not only to me, but to all, that for faith and judgment I hold capable of such a debate, that this kingdom will very shortly cast off all signs of obedience to your Majesty, and revert to the condition it was in*when your Majesty commanded me thither; or rather to a much worse. For all such as have contributed towards the restitution of your Majesty's Government in the conclusion of the last peace, and would persevere to the end in their loyalty, will now infallibly in the first place be singled and marked out for destruction. So that if your Majesty conceive the preservation of any footing in this kingdom may be at any time necessary towards the recovery of your other two, it can (reasonably speaking) be no other way hoped for, than by your presence; and by that it may.

When there was a possibility of reducing the kingdom without this or any personal hazard to your Majesty; and that by the reduction of it, your Majesty might have had no more to do, but to command the transportation of an army hence for any design more worthy the venture of your person than this then seemed to be—I held it my duty to dissuade your Majesty from coming in at the end of our success, when it was to be feared the formidable forces then designed, and since come against us, would give a check to it. But now that the rebels are so exalted in their pride, even as high as success and the lowest contempt of an enemy can raise them, it will be ruin to them, if the progress of their arms be but stopped, and to your Majesty's infinite honour to have attempted it with such disadvantage, whatever the event be.

The king had come as far as Jersey on his way to Ireland. Prince Rupert with the remnant of the Royal fleet was at Kinsale; and Ormond had carefully fitted it out in order that his Majesty might have an efficient and imposing escort. But would the king come? What a weary question it must have been in the agony of that disastrous autumn! Ormond

very probably over-estimated the effect that his Majesty's presence might produce. Still it must be remembered that the Irish cherished, even before its deposition and exile, a peculiar loyalty to the House of Stuart, which they have never been able to feel or to affect for Plantagenet, Tudor, or Guelph. The king was in the first bloom of manhood, and though already too prone to pleasure, was known to possess good abilities, was distinguished for the fascination of his manners, and not suspected of wanting courage. Ormond knew his country and his countrymen well—a nation capable of enduring devotion to a principle or even an idea, and capable also of sudden superhuman efforts under the influence of enthusiasm. He believed (to use a word that has come to have an idiomatic sense in Ireland) that there would be a general Rising of the whole Irish nation, if the king would only put himself at its head. He may have felt too that, though diminished in external dignity, his authority would in reality be greater as the king's chief councillor than as the king's viceroy. His great difficulty in governing Ireland had been the jealous conflict of authority among so many semi-independent armies and political connections. But all were willing to be governed by the king: and who should govern the king but Ormond? This great hope, however, which it is evident from the whole tone of his letter to Charles, filled his mind at the time, was soon dispersed like a dream. Cromwell's bugles were already sounding for his march into Munster; and when the king's messengers arrived with Ormond's letter at Jersey, they found that Charles had outraged all his most loyal friends and defiled his father's memory by subscribing to the Scotch Covenant. He had sworn to exterminate Popery, and not even to tolerate Episcopal Protestantism.

Had Ormond been content to take a merely military view of his position after the sack of Drogheda, he would probably have marched his army into Cavan, formed a junction with General O'Neill, who was actually advancing with that intent, and then thrown his whole force in the way of Venables' advance through the Plantation. The Scots would have found less difficulty in coalescing with O'Neill when the Viceroy was in the field to take the command of both; and Venables, with such a force on his road, would hardly have ventured to advance beyond Dundalk. Cromwell would then have been obliged either to abandon his design upon Ulster—a province in which it was of the highest political importance that he should establish the authority of the Parliament at once—or else advance to fight on a field of their own choosing (and the Ulster borders peculiarly abound in long stretches of

rapidly undulating ground, then profusely wooded, thickset with bogs, seamed by frequent valleys, and narrowing now and then into perilous passes) an army the chief part of which knew by dint of battle every acre of ground it marched over—an army superior in numbers, not inferior in courage or discipline to that of the Parliament, and led by a general who was equally skilful in giving or in avoiding battle. But, on the other hand, Cromwell might have abandoned his designs on Ulster for the time, and taking advantage of the Viceroy's absence, marched into Munster, captured Kilkenny, annihilated, or, what might be even worse from Ormond's point of view, treated with the Catholic Confederates or with Inchiquin, or with both, might even have actually established his head-quarters at Cork by the time that the king and Prince Rupert arrived there. But, if he had done so, he must have left Dublin exposed to the almost certain danger of falling into Ormond's hands, and for a considerable time taken the risk of casting himself loose from his actual base of operations—the sea. It is probable, in addition to these merely military considerations, that nothing would have strengthened Ormond's position with the extreme section of the Confederates so much as the fact that he and O'Neill had actually joined camps. Owen Roe's patriotism and his orthodoxy were alike above suspicion. Whatever he did was sure to be best for the Irish Cause, and was certain moreover of the sanction of Rome. The interdict which the Nuncio had laid on Kilkenny and on all towns accepting the Peace with Ormond was in many parts of the South still a most serious obstacle to the Viceroy's policy, a difficulty with many conscientious Catholics, and an excuse to the malingering. But O'Neill was known to possess the Nuncio's complete confidence, and to be in correspondence with him; and when the Ulster flag advanced, every good Confederate felt that the hope of Ireland and the blessing of the Church went with it.

Ormond did not, however, decide on defending Ulster. His head-quarters were at Portlester when Drogheda fell, and within a week he returned to Kilkenny. Though the treaty which he had engaged with the Ulster General was not actually concluded, O'Neill had promptly set his army in motion, and marched rapidly from Derry into Cavan. He promised Ormond that he would be at Carrickmacross, which is no more than a day's march from Drogheda, on the 9th of September. A calamity not less dire than that of Drogheda was now, however, impending over hapless Ireland. O'Neill was dying, and, in the belief of his army, dying by poison. A mysterious malady, which suddenly infected his system with lingering mort

pain, delayed him day after day until the 20th. But in his ears the blood of the murdered women seemed to cry for vengeance; and, hardly able to keep his saddle as he was, "he advanced by continual marches (which the extremity of his pain and the stops occasioned by floods made the slower) into the county of Cavan, still flattering himself that he might recover so far as to be able to serve himself at the head of his army, which he was infinitely fond of doing." * Ormond was exceedingly desirous of O'Neill's presence and advice; but when he heard the ghastly news of his state, he wrote to him to spare himself—to send on part of his army at once, and to follow, as his health would permit, with the rest. O'Neill at once gave General Richard Farrell, his constant comrade and favourite lieutenant, the command of about four thousand men, with orders to march straightway towards Ormond's quarters. He told him to advise the Viceroy not to engage Cromwell unless at great advantage, but to guard the passes of the country well, and to let the season of the year have opportunity to tell against the enemy. O'Neill doubtless knew the exact measure of Ormond's military ability; and might be excused for dreading lest the soldiers of Benburb should be involved in another such blunder as the Battle of Rathmines.

Meantime Cromwell had returned to Dublin, reported progress to the Parliament, urged them to send him supplies and reinforcements, and, after a fortnight's halt, was ready to take the field again. The fanatical exultation of the army waxed fierce and high; the Puritan soldier not merely "hummed his surly hymn" on guard at the Castle; he held forth on the words and deeds of Joshua from the pulpits of Christ Church and St. Patrick's. "The buff coat instead of the black gown," writes a Dublin correspondent of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, "appears in Dublin pulpits, that being a furtherer of preferment if valour accompany it. To use two swords well is meritorious. Not a word of Saint Austin nor Thomas Aquinas, only downright honesty is now given forth."

But the time fit for keeping the field was flowing very fast; and the reasons for and against an active prosecution of the war were almost evenly balanced. The Irish autumn and early winter were, if anything, rather damper than than now, and there was a sort of cholera, known as "the disease of the country," which at this season periodically ravaged the quarters of the army, and which had laid myriads of rank-and-file and more than one Lord Deputy low. Then, it was to be considered

* Carte, vol. iii. p. 495.

that half the island, the most English and the most Protestant part of it, was secure by the success of Venables' expedition. Might it not be the wiser course to organize its forces for the Parliament, wait for the further reinforcements that were sure to come, and reserve the heavier half of the work for the following year? This might seem to be the part of sound policy and even of prudent generalship. But the spirit that urged Cromwell always asked, was this the way to follow God's guiding Providence? "Give me leave to say," writes his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the Speaker of the Parliament at this time, "how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously (at Drogheda), it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory." Of old, when Joshua had taken Jericho, did he pause thereupon? Did not the Lord say to him, "Fear not, neither be thou dismayed; take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai; see I have given into thy hand the king, and his people, and his city, and his land." Had his Excellency not already said to the army that this conquest of Ireland was as another conquest of Canaan? Had not his word been so far fulfilled, and was there not an Ai in Ireland to follow the fate of Jericho? And if Charles Stuart did indeed come into the country, as his friends hoped, and as the Lord in His mercy might have not improbably predestined, should not the second success give into his hand, even as unto Joshua, people and city, and land, and even king? Whether or no, there were sufficient reasons of policy and war for a fresh campaign. The army was in high spirits, eager for battle, confident of triumph, admirably provided as to armament and commissariat. An utter panic appeared to stupefy the Irish. The sack of Drogheda, following so soon the rout at Rathmines, had almost destroyed respect for Ormond's capacity to conduct affairs. The Commissioners of Trust, whom the Catholic General Assembly had appointed to act as a sort of aulic council with him, were certainly slow in collecting supplies, and even suspected of a desire to treat with the Commonwealth. It was believed that the Viceroy's only hope now was in the coming of the king, and in the junction of O'Neill's army, and that both events might be expected to take place before the end of October. Cromwell knew in the last week of Septem-

ber that the treaty with Owen Roe had actually taken effect, and that the Ulster army was marching southwards. But the march from Cavan to Kilkenny for two-thirds of the way lay through a country of lakes and bogs, of imperfect communications and scanty forage, and at this season in especial the advance of an army which had to live on the country, and therefore to spread out a very wide front, must necessarily be slow. It was in fact so slow that Farrell did not reach Kilkenny until the 25th of October.

Cromwell meantime determined to attempt Wexford. He evidently calculated that by following the short, straight line of the coast, through the county of Wicklow, having his fleet to attend his advance and sustain him with supplies, he might strike a second blow, not less terrible than that of Drogheda, before either the arrival of Charles or the junction of O'Neill's army had taken place. Wexford was indeed at that time a place far superior in importance to Drogheda. Kilkenny had always been the political capital of the Confederates, but Wexford was their great port and magazine, their dockyard, foundry, source of supplies, and channel of external communication. The Council had been obliged from time to time to leave Kilkenny, but the Confederate flag had never yet been replaced on the ramparts of Wexford. The citizens were prosperous, but were not the less, but rather the more, patriotic on account of their prosperity, which, indeed, was due as much to their sturdy self-reliance and political spirit, as to any advantages of situation. Nor was Cromwell wanting in special intelligence to direct his designs thither. His information throughout this campaign was peculiarly accurate. It is boasted by one of the historians of the art and mystery of Masonry that in several critical passages of his career the brethren regarded it as a duty of their sect to assist the Protector to the utmost of their opportunities. It is not improbable that in addition to what intelligence he obtained by spies, and through the sympathies of some of the recent settlers, he was a little aided in Ireland at this time by the brethren. But with Wexford he had a direct channel of correspondence of the most fatal character to the safety of the place. This, says Carte, was "Hugh Rochfort, the lawyer, recorder of the town, who, having been a violent partisan of the Nuncio's, was now a correspondent with Cromwell by the canal of Mr. Nicholas Loftus, who had formerly lived in that country, was still owner of a good estate in it, and was at this instant a very active instrument in engaging all the inhabitants thereof to be subservient to Cromwell's purposes. Rochfort carried on the same work with greater artifice,

pretending still to be zealous for the Irish cause; and having done all he could to intimidate the townsmen of Wexford, and persuade them to capitulate, quitted the place upon Cromwell's approach, and retired with his goods and effects to the fort of Passage, letting them see by that action his own terror, and inviting them to follow his example, in a juncture when their fears might be supposed to have the greatest influence on their conduct." It is difficult exactly to qualify such conduct as that of Recorder Rochfort; but Carte's judgment of it is not altogether reasonable. In Wexford the Lord Lieutenant of the King was as little liked as the Lord Lieutenant of the Parliament. Wexford had always been on the Nuncio's side in the various Cessations and Peaces, and had always, consequently, regarded Ormond with distrust, if not detestation. One of the most zealous supporters of the Nuncio's policy among the Irish bishops was Dr. French, the Bishop of Ferns, who ordinarily resided at Wexford, eminent for his abilities, of which a graceful, penetrating, and pathetic rhetoric was not the least, his utter devotion, his high courage, and his fiery and indefatigable zeal. Dr. French, it was known, had vainly endeavoured to induce the Nuncio to withdraw the interdict which he had pronounced against all cities and towns that accepted the Peace; and, as a matter of fact, Wexford had not accepted the Peace, and was still somewhat doubtful of its duty. Certainly, within the six months that had elapsed since the Nuncio's departure, circumstances had considerably changed, and in a way that he had never contemplated. But in those times news travelled scantily and slowly; and the people of Wexford, who were asked to open their gates to Inchiquin's regiments, might be excused yet a while for doubting whether there was much to choose between the soldiers who had sacked Cashel and the soldiers who had sacked Drogheda.

In the last week of September Cromwell commenced his campaign. Again the march lay through a land pleasant as any promised to the saints of old. Not Canaan itself, seen with desert-weary eyes from Pisgah's slope, can have looked more beautiful than that fair vale which opened to their view as the turrets and spires of Dublin sank in the rear—the broad, blue expanse of sea; the fine semicircular sweep of strand; the glory of the hills, mantled with purple and variegated by rich autumnal lights; the fair map of dell, and stream, and meadow between; ahead the bold conical outlines of the Golden Spears, and the grim, black mass of Bray Head, looking to the soldier's eye like a base fit for some mighty fortress which fleets and armies might assail in vain. And here be

the entrance to Wicklow through perilous passes, with the boulder-strewn hill overhead, and the rough, shingly beach below, leading on through deep ravines and thickly-wooded glens, narrow mountain-gaps, and the rugged channels of unbridged rivers,—a country that was all one vast natural intrenched camp, where a hundred men could every now and then with ease bar the road of a thousand, and where, if other weapons were wanting, the steep declivities, which for miles together enclosed the only practicable roads, would give to the huge mountain stones, once set rolling, all the force of artillery. For three hundred years, behind these mountain bulwarks, the Wicklow clans had maintained almost unceasing war against the English authority, carrying their frequent forays to the gates of Dublin, and trapping expedition after expedition sent to destroy them in ambuscades. But now the Puritan soldier marched through Dargle and Downs, under Dunran, by the Devil's Glen, across Vartry and Ovoca, as safe as to-day's tourist. It is difficult to conceive why Ormond should have made no effort to defend the passes of Wicklow. The people were not in a condition to do anything themselves. The fighting men of the O'Byrnes appear to have been exterminated, with their colonel and chief, at Drogheda. For great part of the road to Arklow, Cromwell says the country was almost desolate. But enough of the people surely remained to act as scouts and guides. Ormond must have been certain that Cromwell in moving south was in a sense compelled to move by the coast, in order to have the advantage of being supported by his fleet; and he had accordingly occupied one or two posts, but only apparently as posts of observation. There was one garrison at Killincarrick, fourteen miles from Dublin, which instantly retreated; another, three marches further on, at Arklow, in a strongly fortified castle. This was also at once evacuated. In the course of the next day's march Cromwell reached Limbrick, just beyond the Wicklow border, which he describes as "a strong and large castle, the ancient seat of the Esmonds, where the enemy had a strong garrison, which they burnt and quitted the day before our coming thither." In five days of steady marching at the rate of about ten Irish miles a day, the army of the Parliament had traversed Wicklow, and were now across the mountains which curtain Wexford to the north and west. The great opportunity for that war of passes which O'Neill had advised Ormond to make, was lost. It was evidently the only war that Ormond was able to make, and there can be little doubt that had he disputed the Wicklow passes one by one, with all the infinite advantages that the native knowledge of

the country and native rapidity of movement would have given him, he might have easily delayed Cromwell for a month—a month of incessant struggle with a ubiquitous enemy with whom he could never come to close quarters—a month in which his provisions would be in constant jeopardy and in a desolate land yielding no forage—a month of frequent wet weather, in a country that gave no shelter; and at the end of the month, as O'Neill had said, the winter to deal with, and “the disease of the country.” Had O'Neill encountered Cromwell under such circumstances with even the force contained in the Wicklow garrisons, there can be little doubt that he would have forced him to retreat, and so postponed the war until spring; but if he had had his own army, with only a hundred gillies of the old Kilmantan septs as guides, some Wicklow gap might now be known as the pass of the Roundheads, and an Irish cairn mark the spot where General Cromwell's career came to an untimely end. Such, when he heard that the Parliamentary army had entered Wexford, may have been the bitter dreams which haunted the dying Ulster chief as he was carried along in a litter at the head of his army, now moving slowly through the flooded moors of Cavan. Wexford, though it does not offer the same opportunities for the guerilla as Wicklow, is still a county with strong military points, bounded for a considerable distance by mountains with few and difficult passes, beneath which spreads a rolling wooded country, veined by wide streams, and bisected diagonally by the broad line of the river Slaney. But there was actually no resistance organized. Through Wexford as through Wicklow Cromwell marched on velvet. Each town had a castle, and each castle held a garrison, and the garrisons only waited to be summoned to surrender. First fell Ferns; then Enniscorthy. At Enniscorthy, Cromwell says, “We summoned the castle, which was very well manned, and they refused to yield at first; but upon better consideration they were willing to deliver the place to us, which accordingly they did, leaving their great guns, arms, ammunition, and provisions behind them.” Another day's march brought the Parliamentary army, on Monday, the 1st of October, before Wexford.

Seldom does it happen in war that a town or a nation is ruined by a scruple of conscience; but such seems upon this occasion to have been in the main the case of the citizens of Wexford. The interdict of the Nuncio was always before their eyes. They had never accepted the Peace. They could not, therefore, so it seemed to them, honestly avail themselves of the aid of Ormond's army in defending the town. Two da

before Cromwell laid siege, they with difficulty agreed to accept Colonel David Sinnott as military governor. Under ordinary circumstances, Sinnott's should have been a most popular appointment. He was the head of one of the Welsh families which followed Strongbow into Ireland, and, settling in the baronies of Forth and Bargy, have ever since been one of the most peculiar elements of the Wexford population, into whose character certain traits of the strange race that have never quite mingled with theirs, seem to have gradually infiltrated, so that the Wexford peasant of the present day has a less fiery, but more condensed, character than that of any other southern peasant. Sinnott was a Wexford man, a friend of the Bishop of Ferns, and had been lieutenant-colonel of Preston's own regiment. Yet, and although Cromwell's fleet had actually arrived in the harbour, the townspeople were almost as well disposed to resist the entry of one army as of the other. Carte says, that "if Sir Edmund Butler had not luckily come himself, they would have opposed Sinnott's entrance with his men, and delivered up the town to the enemy at the first summons." Two days afterwards, however, they appear to have had no difficulty about receiving a reinforcement of 1,500; but then—these were Ulster regiments, commanded by Magennis, Lord Iveagh; and no one could suppose that the Nuncio's excommunication was intended to affect an Ulster regiment. On the 3rd of October, Cromwell summoned the place to surrender. Sinnott, quietly strengthening his defences, for three days parleyed with him as to the terms of capitulation. On the 4th Cromwell suddenly struck, under cover of his fleet, a fierce blow at the defences covering the town. A troop of his dragoons succeeded in surprising the fort at the harbour's mouth, then turned its guns on a frigate of twelve guns which lay alongside, and so captured both, as well as another smaller vessel, brig or corvette, which had just run down the river. Inland, beyond the right bank of the Slaney, between Wexford and Ross, lay Ormond's camp, gradually swelling in strength. Clanricarde had sent him 1,000 foot and 300 horse out of Connaught, and Inchiquin two regiments of Munster cavalry. The Ulster army was beginning to arrive. Ormond, always resolute and hopeful, exhibits commendable activity, and presses still more and more reinforcements on the town, hoping evidently that here the war would come at last to a conventional scientific state by way of a due, slow, and regular siege. Castlehaven also, seeing something that reminds him of the orthodox contingencies of a campaign in the Low Countries, is always in the saddle to and fro from Duncannon to Wexford, from Wexford to Ross, great in contrivances for

ferrying over troops and settling the great guns in the best possible positions up to the last moment. This last moment did eventually come on the 11th of October.

On the 10th, Cromwell had his batteries all built and mounted, and on the following morning he opened fire. He lay to the south-east of the town, where there was a strong castle without the walls; and he says he at first bent the whole strength of his artillery against the castle, being persuaded that if the castle fell, the town would speedily follow. After about a hundred shots had been fired, the Governor hung out a flag of truce and offered to treat—which, says Cromwell, in his report to the Speaker, "I condescending to, two field officers, with an alderman of the town and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions enclosed, which for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your view."

These abominably impudent propositions were:—I. That the people of Wexford should have leave to hold and practise the Roman Catholic religion. II. That the regular and secular clergy should be permitted to hold their livings and exercise their ministry. III. That the bishop should be suffered to continue to govern his diocese. IV. That the garrison should be allowed to withdraw with the honours of war. V. That such of the inhabitants as pleased to withdraw might carry goods, chattels, ships, or military stores with them. VI. That the municipal privileges of the town should not be curtailed. VII. That the burgesses should continue to be capable to hold property elsewhere in Ireland. VIII. That burgesses wishing hereafter to leave should have liberty to sell their property and have safe conduct to England or elsewhere. IX. That the inhabitants be regarded as in all respects freeborn English subjects. X. And that there be an absolute amnesty in regard to all past transactions. To these propositions Cromwell instantly gave a point-blank negative. What parts of them he considered most abominable may be inferred from his counter propositions. He would agree to allow the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers quarter for life, and leave to go to their several habitations with their wearing clothes, on engaging not to serve against the Parliament again; to the commissioned officers quarter for life, but to consider themselves prisoners of war. As for the inhabitants, he added, "I shall engage myself that no violence shall be offered to their goods, and I shall protect the town from plunder." He demanded its absolute surrender on these terms within an hour. But within the hour the town fell into his hands by an act of the most infamous treachery

recorded in all the annals of war. The captain of the castle, James Stafford, was one of the commissioners who had been sent to the Parliamentary general with Sinnott's ten propositions. Cromwell had drafted his reply, and was about to hand it to them, when his keen eye saw that in Stafford he had to deal with a caitiff capable of a villainy which would at once relieve him from any further consideration as to terms. Whether Cromwell was bound by the terms which he had drawn up, but of whose communication to Sinnott there is no actual evidence,—whether, pending a treaty for the surrender of the place with all its defences, he was justified in entering into separate treaty with one of the commissioners for the surrender of a separate fort, are questions for the military casuist. What actually happened he thus describes :—

The captain, who was one of the commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us; upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town; which, our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders and stormed it. And when they were come to the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them; and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overpressed with numbers, sank; whereby were drowned near three hundred of them. I believe in all there was lost of the enemy not many less than two thousand; and I believe not twenty of yours from first to last of the siege.

As in Drogheda, so in Wexford, Cromwell limits his statement of the slaughter wrought in the sack to the numbers of the garrison put to the sword, and does not report to the Parliament any massacre of the inhabitants. But if there were no other evidence on this point than his own despatches, any reader ordinarily conversant with the peculiar stern sardonic hints, the half utterances that are withal weighty with meaning, and the occasional abrupt suggestive reticencies of his style, would have no difficulty in inferring what took place from the following passages.

In his first despatch to Sinnott he warns him, in case he should not surrender, "where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent,"—a phrase of sufficient significance after what had happened at the last place besieged by the writer. In describing the state of the town after the sack, to the Speaker, he says, "The soldiers got a very good booty in this place; and, had not they (the towns-folk) had opportunity to carry their goods over the river whilst

we besieged it, it would have been much more. I could have wished, *for their own good and the good of the garrison*, they had been more moderate," which Mr. Carlyle interprets, doubtless correctly, "not forced us to storm them." What became of the garrison is beyond debate. A little further on is another suggestive glimpse into the condition of the town three days after the sack, helping us to infer what became of the townsfolk:—"The town is now so in your power that, of the former inhabitants, I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service. And it were to be wished that an honest people would come and plant here;—where are very good houses and other accommodations fitted to their hands, which may by your favour be made of encouragement to them." Wexford, in fact, was a Town to Let. How many of its people had swum across the Slaney, or jumped off the ramparts; how many had been killed in hot blood and in cold during those three days, who shall tell? But Cromwell did not evidently expect that many would return to challenge the Parliament's property in the houses. Of course, all that had been done had been "the gift of God"—"for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory." With an audacious blasphemy he even claims the corruption of the wretched caitiff who sold the castle gate to him as "an unexpected providence" for which God alone was responsible; and thereon adds a sentence, of which, when we take it in context with the admissions and implications of other passages, every syllable seems rank with the blood of massacre. "And, indeed," he writes, "it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that, in intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army, yet God would not have it so; but by an unexpected providence in His righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them; causing them to become a prey to the soldiers, who in their piracies had made preys of so many families, and now with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised on the lives of divers poor Protestants." The significance of this sentence, both as to its ferocity and its hypocrisy, makes it one of the most characteristic in the whole series of his despatches. He is not speaking of the garrison of Wexford here; it is the townsfolk who had become a prey to the soldier, and who had paid with their blood for their piracies and their persecution of Protestants. Their families, too, were made prey of, whatever that may mean in the Lord Lieutenant's English.

But the evidence of what passed at the sack of Wexford is not confined to a mere induction, or to that terrible tradition which for two centuries has made the name of Cromwell sound like a curse throughout Ireland—the tradition (but it is only a tradition) which tells how a crowd of women of all ages and ranks, when the alarm spread that the Puritans were on the walls, fled in their terror and despair to the foot of the great stone cross, which since the time of Saint Selskar had stood in the middle of the market-place; and how, kneeling there, clinging together, mother and daughter, uncertain whether it was shame or death that might befall them, but hoping, at least, that God would take them to Himself stainless, they saw the grim ring of merciless men, with presented weapons, close round them; and heard, while the red pike-point or the bullet's quick pang, or the dull thud of the halberd, or the heavy-shod heel did its work, words from the Word of God, words of wrath and judgment, horribly hissed at them in their agony. In all the ages that the true God had been worshipped in Wexford, the piety of its people had offered every testimony to religion except the needless tribute of martyrdom; but here was martyrdom and massacre at last—the cross spattered, its steps slippery, its base soaked with the tender blood of pious women shed in the name of the Lord of Hosts by men who called themselves Christian warriors. In the midst of this scene, for a moment a strange figure appeared, to edify the last moments of the women, and to rouse to wilder fury the savage passions of the soldiery. Father Raymond Stafford, a Franciscan friar, in his brown rope-girt habit, bare-headed, barefooted, advanced through the clash of arms and the moans and shrieks of the wounded women, bearing aloft the Crucifix; and, it is said in a record of his Order, “preached with great zeal to the infuriated enemies themselves, till he was killed by them in the market-place.” Seven Franciscan Fathers were slain in their chapel hard by, “some kneeling at the altar, and others whilst hearing confessions.” The Bishop, Doctor French, who lay ill in fever “at a neighbouring town,” probably Ross, in writing to the Internuncio at Brussels of that direful day, said: “There before God's altar fell many sacred victims, holy priests of the Lord; others who were seized outside the precincts of the church were scourged with whips; others hanged; and others put to death by various most cruel tortures. The best blood of the citizens was shed; the very squares were inundated with it, and there was scarcely a house that was not defiled with carnage and full of wailing. In my own palace, a youth hardly sixteen years

of age, an amiable boy, as also my gardener and sacristan, were cruelly butchered; and the chaplain, whom I caused to remain behind me at home, was transpierced with six mortal wounds. These things were perpetrated in open day by the impious assassins; and from that moment (this it is that renders me a most unhappy man) I have never seen my city, or my flock, or my native land, or my kindred." In another letter of the same time he says: "In that excessive bitterness of my soul, a thousand times I wished to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, that thus I might not witness the sufferings of my country. From that period, I have never seen my city or my people. As an outcast I sought a refuge in the wilderness. I wandered through woods and mountains, generally taking my rest and repose exposed to the hoar-frost, sometimes lying hid in caves and thickets. In the woods I passed more than five months, that thus I might administer some consolation to the few survivors of my flock who had escaped from the universal massacre, and dwelt there with the herds of cattle." It is easy to understand, with such illustrations as these, what Cromwell meant when he said that he believed "scarce one in twenty of the inhabitants can now challenge any property in their houses."* The massacre was not even restricted to the town. In the *Cambrensis Eversus* of Doctor Lynch it is stated that shortly afterwards there was throughout the county "an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, by which not less than four thousand souls, young and old, were atrociously butchered." The English journals of the day only published—probably were only permitted to publish—the General's despatches; but the news that reached Edinburgh, through the Ulster Scotch it may be assumed, confirms the worst charges that have been made against the Parliamentary army. After stating that Cromwell had taken Tredah and Wexford, the paragraph goes on to say, "and there sparing sex nor age, he exercised all the cruelties of a merciless, inhuman, and bloody butcher, even brutishly against nature."

"Thus," the Lord Lieutenant concludes his despatch to Parliament, "it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy. For which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory. Indeed, your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing—and that is the

* Quoted from the original in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by the Rev. Dr. Moran, in his valuable little volume on *The Persecution of the Irish Catholics* (Duffy, Dublin).

gift of God also." Bating the hideous hypocrisy of all this, it must have been indeed a source of great surprise to him to find himself master of so powerful a place on such easy terms. He much admired the town,—“pleasantly seated it is and strong,” he says, “having a rampart of earth within the wall, near fifteen feet thick.” In its forts were found a hundred cannon. In the harbour were several powerful vessels of war, one of 34 guns, another of 20, a frigate of 20 guns upon the stocks; “for her handsomeness’ sake,” writes his Excellency, “I have appointed the workmen to finish her, here being materials to do so, if you or the Council of State shall approve thereof. The frigate, also, taken beside the fort, is a most excellent vessel for sailing; besides other ships and vessels in the harbour.” With such forces and resources, it is evident that, had the town been properly defended, all the military advantages were in its favour. It had the superiority in artillery. It had the command of the river, and could have employed its vessels of war to supplement the fire of its forts. A complete investment of the place was impossible to Cromwell, owing to the character of the terrain and the limited number of the besieging army. Outside, Ormond’s army was posted in a country admirably suited for operating towards the relief of the town. The district to the west of Wexford is of a character peculiarly adapted to quarter an army whose duty it should be to harass the conduct of a siege. It rises rapidly, is very broken and excellent both for reconnoissance and for cover. To cut off Cromwell’s communications, to harass him by alerts and camisades, would have been easy from such a position; and had all these ways and means been adequately combined and vigorously used, it would have been hardly possible for him to have taken Wexford with what force he had before it. But the real forces that won his victory were within the walls—in the want of confidence that existed between the townspeople and Ormond; the certain division of opinion caused by Rochfort and his party as to the real character of Cromwell’s policy, which is evident in the whole tenour of the propositions sent out by Sinnott; the want of proper military authority and dispositions; finally, the treachery which, in an instant, placing the castle, and thereby the key of the town, in the enemy’s hands, turned all these previous elements of dissension and incapacity into a mere chaos of panic and agony. As a Wicklow bard had sung seventy years before,—

“Want of conduct lost the town,
Broke the white-walled Castle down;

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Moirs lost, and old Taltin
And let the conquering stranger in.

" 'Twas the want of right command,
Not the lack of heart and hand,
Left your hills and plains to-day
'Neath the strong clan Saxon's sway."

So closed the second act of the war. The fall of Wexford was a far heavier blow, and a far direr discouragement to the Irish, than that of Drogheda. The flower of Ormond's army had perished there. The most high-spirited, powerful, and Catholic of the Confederate towns had now been betrayed and sacked in an hour. What soldiers, what walls, could hope to stand after these? Two months had hardly elapsed since Cromwell landed at Dublin, and already along the whole line of Ulster and Leinster, from Londonderry at one end of the island to Wexford at the other, his army controlled the country and occupied the fortified towns. At this moment, the Lord Lieutenant seems to have felt himself sufficiently strong at last to declare his policy in regard to religion, and to avow his determination to exterminate the Catholic worship in Ireland. But this topic, as well as the civil and military conclusions to which he brought the war, we reserve for another article.

ART. VII.—DR. PUSEY ON MARIAN DOCTRINE.—
PEACE THROUGH THE TRUTH.

An Eirenicon. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Oxford: Parker.

A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on his recent Eirenicon. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory. London: Longman.

Peace through the Truth; or, Essays on Subjects connected with Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon. By Rev. T. HARPER, S.J. London: Longman.

WE have said more than once that we expect great benefits from the *Eirenicon*, as in other ways, so particularly in eliciting Catholic treatises which would not otherwise have been written: yet we were hardly prepared for so powerful an illustration of our thought, as F. Harper's masterly volume. The other replies to Dr. Pusey, which have hitherto appeared, have been in the pamphlet form; and have rather, therefore, dealt with that divine's general principles, than grappled with his individual arguments and citations. The Bishop of Birmingham, Canon Oakeley, F. Gallwey, Mr. Allies, have done signal service in their various ways; and Mr. Allies, indeed, has written what is throughout one most closely reasoned and consecutive treatise; yet even as to him, the above remark substantially holds. Then, again, F. Newman's historical discussion exhibits that vast patristic knowledge, and that singular power of combining, illustrating, and vivifying facts, in which the author is unrivalled; still it is not so much occupied with encountering Dr. Pusey's arguments one by one, as with drawing out a general counter-view from ecclesiastical history. But F. Harper is not content with a clear and profound exposition of Catholic dogma; he grapples with his opponent step by step, and point by point. Dr. Pusey's errors, indeed, and misapprehensions are in general so extreme and almost grotesque, that it might seem no difficult task to expose them; yet we believe there are very few writers who would do this with that union of admirable temper, unruffled patience, exemplary candour, and controversial completeness, which distinguish F. Harper.

We hail this volume with peculiar pleasure, not only as a reply to the *Eirenicon*, but also on grounds altogether different. It is of extreme importance, we are firmly convinced, that educated laymen shall have access to some more profound knowledge of their religion, than can be derived

from ordinary catechisms and books of devotion. At this moment views, most mischievous in their result, obtain currency among well-intentioned but unwary Catholics, which are at once seen in their true colours by every one possessing even an elementary knowledge of theological science; and we cannot, therefore, but wish that such elementary knowledge were more widely extended. We know well, indeed, that various admirable persons, themselves carefully trained in theology, conceive deep suspicions, as to a certain injurious effect which may be produced by the "half-knowledge" of theology. But we would submit with great respect to these excellent men, that half-knowledge is at least fifty times better than hundredth-part knowledge; and that this latter is the practical alternative. No layman, *e. g.*, can study such a volume as F. Harper's, without practically apprehending the fact that there *is* such a science—most real, profound, extensive, arduous,—as the theological; and without becoming at the same time practically aware that he is very ignorant of that science. Such a study will therefore dispose him to accept, with unquestioning docility, the unanimous dicta of theologians, and to approach the whole subject in the spirit of a learner. On the other hand, there are many laymen, who feel, indeed, the unapproachable importance of all matters connected with doctrine; but who have no other notion of what the latter is, than they have obtained from ordinary catechisms and from the light literature of the day. It is surely a task of no ordinary difficulty to preserve such men in that unreserved submission to ecclesiastical authority, which alone is reasonable under the circumstances; and which is so indispensably important, if very serious mischief is to be prevented. That several will be guided rightly along this narrow way by their Catholic instincts, by their pious practices, by their spirit of deference and humility, we thankfully admit; but many, on the other hand, will fall into the snare which lies before them. Their cleverness, their zeal, will be the very qualities which will lead them astray, because untempered and undisciplined by sufficient knowledge. Such persons are loud and self-opinionated in proportion as they are shallow and ignorant. They form the nucleus of a restless, dissatisfied, and disloyal faction, which gives nothing but trouble to the Church's authorities, and nothing but encouragement to her relentless enemies.

What we have just been saying bears intimately, as is evident, on a question which has of late excited considerable interest among Catholics; *viz.*, University education, whether in England or Ireland. We are not now, however, treating it with any such reference, but merely in connection with

Harper's book. Here is a volume directly and strictly theological, if ever there was such in the world; and it is addressed to the English reading public in general, whether Catholic or Protestant, whether ecclesiastical or lay. The writer expressly states (p. 291), that he is addressing inclusively "those to whom the subject matter is comparatively new;" and (p. 339), "souls that are earnestly and honestly seeking after truth." The *Month* of last July again, in noticing his labours, expresses itself with much emphasis. "One of the great fruits to which we have been looking as likely to result from the publication of the *Eirenicon*, is the calm and positive statement of Catholic doctrine . . . on the part of trained and practised theologians, whose works might take their place among the permanent treasures of our literature" (p. 46). We have the sanction, then, both of F. Harper and of his reviewer, for the opinion which we have expressed; and we must thank the former very heartily, for not only recognizing the desideratum which exists, but for so importantly contributing towards its supply. Nor can we doubt that his volume will meet with so much success, that he and his brother professors will speedily give to the public those further most important treatises which they conditionally promise. The present instalment comprises three essays, besides an Introduction: (1) On the Unity of the Church; (2) On Transubstantiation; and (3) On the Immaculate Conception. The former we hope to review in January; of the second a detailed account will be found in our "Notices" of the present number; while the third coincides so very opportunely with the precise point we have reached in our own controversy with Dr. Pusey, that we shall incorporate our review of it into this article.

Our controversy with Dr. Pusey stands thus. There are certain doctrines concerning our Blessed Lady, which are taught by the Church whether directly or indirectly; *i.e.* whether by way of formal decree or in her practical magisterium. We proved the *truth* of these doctrines, in proving the Church's infallibility as "testis" and "magistra;" and all that remained was to answer Dr. Pusey's objections. These are of two totally distinct kinds. Firstly, he contends that such doctrines obscure the thought of God and generate a quasi-idolatry; and to this allegation we replied at length in our last number. Secondly, he argues that they are at variance with the teaching of Scripture and of Antiquity; and it is to this objection that we now address ourselves. We are to encounter Dr. Pusey (1) on the Immaculate Conception; (2) on the Assumption; and (3) on the body of doctrine underlying that large system of Marian devotion, which the Church inculcates and promotes.

But before we enter in detail upon this task, we will make one preliminary remark as to the general bearing of Scripture and Antiquity on Marian doctrine. There are two most divergent rudimental views concerning our Lady, which may be embraced by those who speculatively accept the doctrine of her Son's Divine Personality. One of these views is very common among Protestants, and may be thus expressed; though we must apologise to Catholics for being obliged, by the exigencies of controversy, to utter words which they will justly regard as so blasphemous and revolting. "Our Lord's Mother" "was in no respect pre-eminent among women; the very supposition that she was so lessens the significance of what He did. He showed His loving condescension, as all Christians are forward to maintain, not only in assuming our nature, but also in assuming poverty and obscurity of station. In the same spirit He chose not for his Mother a saint or a heroine, but a very ordinary every-day woman: pious, no doubt, up to her light, but not so pious as thousands of Christians have been since. She lived very contentedly afterwards with her worthy husband the carpenter, and bore him several children." It is the Catholic view, on the contrary, that Mary Most Holy was invested with that full degree of grace and privilege, which was proportioned to so great and unapproachable a dignity as that of Deipara. Here is the essential conflict between the two theories; and one circumstance is at once manifest. If it were really this latter view with which the Apostles imbued the Church's mind, it would follow as a matter of course that each generation should advance on its predecessor in exalting and amplifying her various prerogatives. Earnest meditation would more and more impress on the intellect and imagination of Christians, how much is included in the idea of an Incarnate God; and how unspeakably vast and elevated are the gifts and endowments, which are suitable and proportionate to the office of His Mother.

It is the fundamental issue, then, of the present controversy, which of these two rudimental views is really divine; and, if we take Dr. Pusey's standard,—Scripture interpreted by Antiquity,—there cannot be so much as the faintest doubt. Whatever difference of detail there may be, in the prerogatives ascribed to Mary by this or that Father; for the Protestant view, as just now drawn out, no one has so much as alleged the remotest patristic intimation. The Fathers are absolutely unanimous in totally rejecting it; and if they do not speak of it with horror and execration, it is only because they did not conceive of its possible existence. Then consider the following most decisive *fact*. If the Protestant notion were correct, our Lady would

have had no share in promoting man's redemption, except as a mere physical instrument; "such as David or Judah may be considered": she would have had no active concern with it beyond the mere physical circumstance that she gave birth to the Redeemer. But let us consult the Written Word as interpreted by Antiquity. What was the first gleam of light which relieved the darkness of the Fall? How was the very first announcement of future redemption put forth, on that momentous occasion when the penalties incurred by man were judicially pronounced? The one person explicitly mentioned by God, as Satan's future antagonist, was not Jesus but Mary.* This is no private judgment of ours; nor any invention of modern Rome: it is the one patristic interpretation of Gen. iii. 15.† At a later period of our article we shall speak at greater length on the extraordinary significance of this passage; but we have here said enough on it for our immediate purpose.

Since then Mary, as the Redeemer's Mother, was destined from the first to play so very prominent, so singularly influential a part, in the Church's whole conflict with Satan,—and since the Fathers accepted this as the undoubted sense of Scripture,—there was every reason (as we just now observed) to expect confidently what has in fact taken place. As Christian thought and meditation have expanded from age to age, so has there been a corresponding increase in the ascription of every high privilege to the Deipara, and a more detailed apprehension of her office in co-operating with the work of redemption. S. Bernardine, S. Alphonsus, Venerable Grignon de Montfort, are as far advanced beyond S. Proclus and S. Cyril (see F. Harper, pp. 412, 413) as these are beyond S. Irenæus and S. Justin;‡ but it is only because they have more adequately unfolded that rudimental idea, which was conveyed in the Prot-evangel of Genesis. Eve undoubtedly was not the federal head of her posterity, and her offence therefore was not man's ruin; but this single reserve being made, it is difficult to exaggerate

* "*Inimicitias ponam inter te et Mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius.*" (Gen. iii. 15.) The question between "*Ipse*" and "*ipsa*" is absolutely irrelevant to our present argument.

† "The parallelism" of Mary to Eve "is the doctrine of the Fathers from the earliest times." (F. Newman, p. 35. See F. Harper also, p. 345.) We have observed no attempt whatever made by any of F. Newman's Anglican critics, to call in question his patristic comment on this text.

‡ It is not quite certain, as we gather from F. Harper's remarks, that the passages attributed to S. Ephrem Syrus, which he quotes (pp. 403-410), are genuine. Whoever wrote them, as F. Harper truly observes, almost anticipated the whole modern development of Marian doctrine. We commend them to the careful consideration of patristic Anglicans.

the prominence of her personal action in bringing about the Fall. "Mary"—such in effect was God's pronouncement—"shall bear a part in man's redemption, altogether parallel to that borne by Eve in his destruction. As the first Eve came into direct conflict with Satan and was overthrown, so shall the second Eve come into conflict with him and be victorious. The natural mother of mankind occupied a secondary, indeed, but most prominent part, in inflicting on each one of her children the miseries of concupiscence, of ignorance, of sin; and so their spiritual mother shall occupy a secondary, indeed, but most prominent part, in *relieving* each one of them from the result of those miseries. As the former was the co-enslaver of all men, so shall the latter be their Co-Redemptrix from slavery."* The very strongest expressions which Dr. Pusey has quoted from S. Alphonsus and Montfort are no more than the legitimate interpretation of this Divine announcement; or rather—as for ourselves we love to think—are considerably short of its legitimate interpretation. Nor can we personally fail to cherish the hope—so dear to Montfort and to Faber—that in future ages Mary will be far better known by Catholics, even than she is now; and Jesus by that means more effectively and more tenderly loved.†

The growth of Marian doctrine within the Church has been signally evinced, as in other ways, so inclusively in that dogmatic definition which will be the chief glory of Pius IX.'s Pontificate. Our first task in the present article is to defend that definition against Dr. Pusey's objections; or rather to place before our readers the general substance of what F. Harper has urged in detail and at length. On the 8th of December, 1854, the great Pontiff now happily reigning decreed as follows:—

* On this phrase, "Co-Redemptrix," we spoke in our last number (pp. 179, 180), and F. Harper speaks in p. 338. Here, however, it may be well to make one distinct explanation. That the Blessed Virgin was redeemed by her Son, is a truth which cannot be denied without actual heresy. Yet, as Dr. Pusey points out, it is a recognized phrase in many portions of the Church—we think it a very excellent phrase—to say that she was our Co-Redemptrix; by which is meant that, having been redeemed herself, she co-operated most closely and intimately with our Lord, by sympathy, by congruous merit, by impetration, by suffering, in redeeming others. Salazar explains this more fully and beautifully than any other writer whom we have seen; and we quoted some of his words in July, p. 180. Pius IX. does not himself call Mary "Co-Redemptrix;" but in the Bull "*Ineffabilis*" he does call her by the still more emphatic appellation, "*parentum reparatricem; posterorum sacrificatricem.*"

† See p. 189 of our last number.

"In honour of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity, for the glory and ornament of the Virgin Mother of God, for the exaltation of the Catholic Faith and the spread of the Christian religion, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by Our Own, we pronounce and define, that the doctrine, which maintains that the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her Conception, was, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in regard of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of the human race, preserved free from the stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and is therefore to be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful. Wherefore, if any should presume to think in their heart otherwise than has been defined by us (which God avert!), let them know and understand well, that they are condemned by their own judgment, have suffered shipwreck concerning the faith, and have forsaken the Unity of the Church."

Since that day the whole Catholic Episcopate has assented to this definition; and therefore even on Gallican principles it is infallible.

But before we consider what is the doctrine here defined, we must briefly inquire what is the precise proposition ruled by the Church concerning that doctrine. Pius IX. decrees, of course, that every Catholic is bound to believe the Immaculate Conception, with the same firmness of faith with which he believes the Trinity; and that he who doubts the one can no more be called a Catholic than he who doubts the other. So far there is no question. But further, the Pope declares that the former doctrine "has been revealed by God." Now there are very many ways in which the Apostles may have taught some doctrine as revealed to them by God, distinct from the particular method of *formal and scientific statement*; and so far again there is no difficulty whatever. The difficulty to which we refer consists in this. It has been held by many theologians that a doctrine may be defined as of faith, which was not itself taught by the Apostles, but which results *by way of logical consequence* from one which they did teach.* Of such a doctrine, they continue, one may truly say that it was re-

* For instance, Bellarmine. "Id solum est *de fide* quod est à Deo revelatum *mediatè* vel *immediatè*. . . Conciliorum decreta . . . tunc solum faciunt rem *de fide*, cùm explicant verbum Dei aut *inde aliquid deducunt*." (De Purgatorio, l. i. c. 15, n. 11.) Viva. "Potest à Pontifice definiri *de fide* aliqua conclusio descendens ex unâ præmissâ *de fide* at alterâ moraliter evidente." (Questio prodroma de thesibus damnatis, n. 9.) See also Perrone de *Univ. Conceptu*, pars 2, c. 1.

vealed by God; because it was revealed by Him "implicitly" or "mediately," as the conclusion is revealed in the premiss. The question then which we would ask is this. Has the Church defined that the Apostles actually taught the Immaculate Conception as revealed by God? or is it consistent with the definition to suppose that this doctrine, without having been actually taught by them, is a legitimate consequence nevertheless of what they did teach? We have been a little disappointed at F. Harper not expressly treating this question; though he implies throughout the former alternative. See *e.g.* pp. 349, 418. For ourselves we can but express with much diffidence the bias of our own opinion.

We incline to think that no doctrine can be defined as of faith—or its contradictory, therefore, condemned as heretical—unless the Apostles actually taught it as revealed by God. This opinion seems rendered far more probable than the other, by the circumstance that the Church so often infallibly censures some tenet as "erroneous;" for she pronounces by that censure, as is generally admitted, that such tenet would lead by legitimate consequence to heresy. Now, according to the opinion which we are now advocating, the distinction is most clear between these respective censures of "heretical" and "erroneous." By condemning a tenet as "heretical," the Church decides that its contradictory was taught by the Apostles as revealed by God; whereas by condemning a tenet as "erroneous," she only decides that its contradictory is the legitimate consequence of some doctrine thus taught. But according to the opinion which we oppose, it is difficult to see any difference of meaning whatever between the respective censures "heretical" and "erroneous." This, then, is one strong reason for our opinion. But we should further add that the Bull "*Ineffabilis*," which contains the definition, is worded throughout (as it seems to us) on the implication of the Apostles having themselves taught the Immaculate Conception; and we think also that the faithful generally have been instructed to receive the definition in that sense. Lastly, Dr. Murray, no ordinary authority, has incidentally expressed the same opinion in his work on the Church, d. 17, n. 10-18.

Still we are not aware that the Church has spoken unmis-takeably on the subject. Suppose, therefore, there were some Catholic who holds the doctrine as of faith; but who regards it as merely a legitimate inference from Apostolic teaching, infallibly guaranteed as a true inference by the Church's definition: we do not see that he would deserve any censure. But we sincerely hope that F. Harper, or some other equally

competent theologian, may, before long, give methodical attention to this whole matter.*

Next as to the doctrine itself, which has been defined. The Church declares that "the most Blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her Conception . . . was preserved free from the stain of original sin." As F. Harper points out, no one can apprehend the true meaning of this statement, who does not first understand what is that "stain of original sin," which all other human persons have inherited from Adam. This, then, must be our first inquiry; an investigation of the Catholic doctrine on original sin. It will be found that (as might have been expected) all the more essential particulars of this doctrine are absolutely fixed and determined; but it will also be found that there are certain questions, not altogether trifling, which are freely debated among theologians of different schools. F. Harper (pp. 292—316) gives a singularly clear and powerful exposition of that particular theory which he embraces himself. And from his point of view he is quite right in taking this course; for those who hold his theory are generally of opinion, that no explanation, different from theirs, will enable the controversialist to encounter quite satisfactorily certain specious anti-Catholic objections. For ourselves, however,—i.e., for the present writer—it so happens that we belong, in some respects, to a different theological school;† and our own plan will therefore be somewhat different from his. We shall endeavour to place before our readers an outline of doctrine on original sin, which may be sufficiently definite for our purpose, while, nevertheless, it may be one which Catholics of every school will be willing to accept.

Original sin is called a "macula;" *habitual* sin is also called a "macula;" and we think that much light will be thrown on the former, if we first consider the latter. Let us begin by making the imaginary supposition, that man had not been raised into the supernatural order; and let us further suppose

* We are not unmindful of the fact, that in our number for July, 1864 (p. 82), a different opinion was expressed on this matter. But Dr. Ward, in republishing that article, omitted the passage; having been led to doubt his original opinion by the considerations mentioned in the text.

† This is no fit occasion for attempting any kind of argument on these questions, which have very little connection with Marian doctrine as such. The present writer, therefore, will merely say (1) that he cannot follow F. Harper on the relations between "*natura pura*" and "*natura lapsa*;" (2) still less can he admit that the Church has decided in favour of F. Harper's view, by censuring Baius's 55th proposition (p. 293); nor (3) does he think that S. Augustine ever uses the word "*peccatum*" to express a morally virtuous act of the natural order (p. 313, note).

that he had nevertheless as clear and full a knowledge of God's Existence as he now possesses. Under such circumstances I have committed my first grave sin.* My sin is now done and over; but my *state*, my *habitual condition*, has lamentably deteriorated. In particular I now suffer under two unspeakable miseries: (1) the "*reatus culpæ*," for I am under God's grave displeasure; and (2) the "*reatus pœnæ æternæ*," for I justly deserve, nay, am under sentence of, eternal punishment. This is the condition of "*habitual sin*." It is a *condition*, not an *act*; but I have fallen into that condition through my own free and deliberate act. Further, we may well suppose God to have promised that, on my eliciting an act of genuine contrition, He will forgive me. This being so, I proceed to make the requisite act. Immediately my condition of "*habitual sin*" is at an end: I am no longer under God's grave displeasure, nor under the sentence of eternal punishment. Yet even now certain evil effects or "*pœnalities*" of my sin remain: thus (1) I am still under a debt of temporal punishment; and (2) my past sin has increased my proclivity to evil.

According, however, to God's present appointment, there is a further particular to be taken into account. Man has been raised into the supernatural order; he is visited by supernatural auxilia; and at Baptism he has been clothed with that supernatural gift, which is called "*habitual grace*." Now, whether it be by God's free and most congruous appointment, or whether it be from the very necessity of the case,—for on this theologians differ—so it is, that habitual grace cannot co-exist with God's grave displeasure. I have been baptized, we will say, in infancy. So soon as I commit my first grave sin, that sin is mortal; it kills habitual grace; and I fall into the state or condition of "*habitual sin*." On the other hand, so soon as I have made the necessary act of supernatural contrition—or so soon as I have approached the sacrament of Penance with due dispositions—habitual grace at once re-enters. In the case, then, of all baptized persons,† there are three different attributes indissolubly united with each other at any given moment: either all three are together present, or all three are together absent. Every baptized person is either a "*peccator*;" *i. e.*, (1) destitute of habitual grace; (2) involved in the *reatus culpæ*; and (3) involved in the *reatus pœnæ æternæ*:—or else he is a "*justus*;" *i. e.*, clothed in habitual

* As distinct from *venial*. For obvious reasons we avoid the phrase "*mortal sin*."

† In fact, in the case of *all* persons; but this cannot be explained till *original sin* is considered.

grace, and exempt from both of those two reatus. Yet even a "justus" may still be liable to certain pœnalities in retribution for past acts of sin. Lastly, "habitual sin" means precisely the *condition* of a "peccator," whenever that condition has been brought about by the man's own past sin.

So much on habitual sin. Now consider me at the very moment when I have completed my first mortal sin after Baptism. It is imaginable—whether or no it is under any circumstances possible—that God shall create a man who is in every single respect my fac-simile. His soul and body in the first place would be precise counterparts of mine; and so far there is no appearance of perplexity. But further—and this is the relevant matter—his *condition* also is (by hypothesis) a precise counterpart of mine. In other words, he is destitute of habitual grace; he is under God's grave displeasure; and he is under a just sentence of eternal punishment. Moreover, besides this, he lies under certain pœnalities on which we need not enlarge. Yet at last, there must always remain this one ineffaceable difference between him and me; that I have been brought into this condition by my own sin, whereas he has been created in it by Almighty God. Now this will give a good idea of what is meant by "original sin." Not in consequence of *their own* past sin, but in consequence of *Adam's* past sin, all human persons (putting aside our Blessed Lady) on their first creation are "peccatores." (1) They are destitute of habitual grace; (2) they are in some sense under God's grave displeasure; (3) they are under the just sentence of a punishment which is to last for ever, whether that punishment be positive or negative.* These three particulars are integrating parts of "original sin." But over and above original sin itself, men have been punished for Adam's sin by certain pœnalities, which remain even when original sin is remitted. And these pœnalities are indeed most serious; for they include not merely mental and bodily anguish, and death, but the far more serious miseries of concupiscence and ignorance. Lastly, Adam's *personal* sin is sometimes called "*peccatum originale originans*;" and the *state* or *condition* of original sin, in which we are created one by one, is called "*peccatum originale originatum*."

The doctrine, then, of the Immaculate Conception, as defined by the Church, is neither more nor less than this: that the Mother of God was never for one instant a "peccatrix;" that when her soul was created, it was at once

* For ourselves we heartily follow F. Harper in the latter alternative. See pp. 305—308.

(for the sake of Christ's foreseen Merits) clothed in habitual grace; and that she began existence, therefore, as "justa." The doctrine in no way denies that she sinned *in Adam*, as did the rest of his posterity; on this question we shall speak separately in a later part of our article. Nor does the doctrine deny that she was placed under certain pœnalities in consequence of Adam's sin; viz., sorrow, bodily suffering, and death (see F. Harper, p. 334). It does not deny that she lay under a prospective sentence of original sin, from the moment of Adam's sin to the moment of her own creation; it only denies that such sentence (if it existed) was ever put into execution.

Now, as F. Harper has pointed out (pp. 319-321), it is impossible to read the Eirenicon, without seeing that its writer utterly misapprehended the Catholic doctrine. But F. Harper does not seem aware, that "habemus confitentem reum;" that Dr. Pusey addressed a letter to the *Guardian* newspaper of January 24, from which the following is an extract:—

"I understand that Roman divines hold that all which is defined is that the soul of the Blessed Virgin was infused into her body, and was preserved both from guilt and taint of original sin for the merits of our Lord, by Whom she was redeemed, and that nothing is defined as to the 'active conception,' i. e., that of her body. In this case the words 'in primo instante conceptionis sue,' must be used in regard to the Blessed Virgin in a different sense from that in which S. Thomas uses it of our Lord. The immaculateness of the conception would then differ in degree not in kind from that of Jeremiah, who was sanctified in his mother's womb."

The Catholic who sees this letter will at once ask with amazement, what imaginable interpretation could Dr. Pusey have affixed to the Papal decree, when he wrote the Eirenicon. Our readers will find his own explanation in the Eirenicon, p. 148; and in another sentence which F. Harper quotes in p. 324: but we confess ourselves, after all, unable even to conjecture what *is* the strange tenet he ascribed to Catholics. Did Mary exist then as a person, before her soul was created? or was it created, before it was infused into her body? or was Mary in original sin, before there was any such person as Mary? But whatever this strange tenet may be, Dr. Pusey is even now far from certain that the great majority of Catholics do not hold it; for even in his *Guardian* letter he will commit himself to no further proposition, than that this indescribable and unimaginable tenet has not been actually "defined."

Dr. Pusey, it will have been observed, virtually urges that S. Thomas uses the word "conception" in a different sense

from Pius IX. This remark is by no means new; on the contrary it has been made again and again by Catholic writers, for the purpose of showing that in S. Thomas's time the point at issue was incorrectly apprehended.* But for the last four hundred years (to speak much within the mark), all such misapprehensions have entirely ceased; nor was it possible for Dr. Pusey to have read with care one single work, great or small, on either side of the controversy, without learning what both parties *meant* by the "Immaculate Conception." At the time, then, when he permitted himself to speak so confidently and so severely against the Church's doctrine, he had not taken the one obvious and most easy method for ascertaining what that doctrine is. He ascribed to the Church some portentous tenet, which every Catholic would repudiate; and called his volume, forsooth, an "Eirenicon."

In fact, the distinction unanimously made by later writers, between the "active" and "passive" conception, appertains to the very grammar of the subject; and yet Dr. Pusey has totally failed to grasp it. The "active conception" is related to the "passive," just as "producing" is related to "being produced." Take our Lord's Miraculous Conception. The "active conception" was the Holy Ghost's miraculous agency; while the "passive conception" was the first existence of that Sacred Humanity, which resulted from the said agency. Mary's "passive conception," then, was her first existence as a human person; and it could not, therefore, possibly take place, until her soul was infused into her body. "The first moment of her conception" had not, and could not have, any other meaning, than "the first moment of her soul's creation."

Almighty God then commands that the doctrine, now explained, shall be received with faith no less firm and unreserved, than the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Incarnation; because it comes before Christians guaranteed by the self-same authority. We have nothing here to do with *proving* this conclusion; because it is established by every argument, which shows that the Church in communion with Rome is the one Catholic Church. Here we have only to meet the objections made by Dr. Pusey against the doctrine—whether derived from Scripture or from Antiquity. And, first, for those general expressions of S. Paul, to which Dr. Pusey vaguely refers. They are recited by F. Harper in p. 329.

Rom. iii. 23—"Omnes peccaverunt et egent gloriâ Dei."

* See for instance Perrone's note at the beginning of part 1, c. 3, in his admirable little work on the definableness of the Immaculate Conception.

It is perfectly clear to our mind from the context, that the "omnes" here expresses "all adults who did not live by faith;" and that "peccaverunt" refers to actual mortal sin.

Rom. v. 12. This verse undoubtedly seems, on the surface, to imply that all men sinned in Adam, and were sentenced for that sin. "Εφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον" should be translated indeed, no doubt, as F. Harper translates it,—“in that,” or “forasmuch as,” all sinned. Still the meaning is absolutely identical with the well-known Vulgate version, “in quo omnes peccaverunt;” for when fully drawn out the sense is, “forasmuch as all sinned *in Adam*.” These words undoubtedly demand (and shall presently receive) our own attention, holding, as we are disposed to do, that Mary did *not* sin in Adam; but as against the Immaculate Conception, they have not the very slightest force. F. Harper understands them as easily, and applies them to our Blessed Lady as unreservedly, as does Dr. Pusey himself. Precisely the same remark may be made on Rom. v. 18, and on 1 Cor. xv. 22; which latter F. Harper has accidentally omitted.

2 Cor. v. 14—“If” Christ “died for all, then” without Christ “all were dead.” The one obvious sense of these words is admitted by every Catholic without exception. Most assuredly, without Christ Mary was dead: she owed her sanctification exclusively to His merits.

Dr. Pusey argues also, not only from the language, but from the silence of Scripture. As regards Marian doctrine in general, we shall have much to say in a later part of our article on the silence of Scripture; but as regards this particular dogma, two brief replies amply suffice. Firstly, Scripture does in one place (Gen. iii. 15) manifestly imply it, as shall be afterwards set forth. But, secondly, Catholics altogether deny Dr. Pusey's assumed premiss; Catholics altogether deny that a doctrine must be contained in Scripture, in order to its definition. But this, of course, is not the place for a discussion on the Rule of Faith.

We proceed, then, to Dr. Pusey's objections from Antiquity; and under this head we need do little more than refer to the admirable treatment which those objections have received from F. Harper. Our thesis is, that the Apostles taught the Immaculate Conception, whether explicitly or implicitly; and our contention is, that no single fact adduced by Dr. Pusey tends to invest this thesis with any kind of improbability. But one previous explanation must be made, in accordance with something which has already been said, as regards *this word* “implicitly.” We shall never so use the word as to say that the Apostles taught a doctrine “implicitly,” if we only

mean that they taught a *premiss*, or *premisses*, from which that doctrine is legitimately *deduced*; we shall only apply the word to what they *actually* and *immediately* taught. They taught a doctrine "explicitly," if they taught it in the way of direct and formal statement; they taught it "implicitly," if they impressed it on their disciples in some way different from this. Take the following illustration:—A friend of mine, whom I have always known most intimately, dies; and I am desirous that my children, who have never seen him, shall cherish his memory, and be well acquainted with his character. Some particulars of that character, indeed, are fully implied in certain anecdotes which I recount; but, not content with this, I explain to them such particulars as accurately and precisely as I can. Other particulars are profoundly impressed on their mind, by a number of vivid and illustrative facts which I have told them; but I do not attempt any *analysis* of these particulars. Lastly, other features of his character are really made known to my children through various acts and speeches of his which I recount to them; but these features do not hold at all a prominent place, in the mental picture which they form of him. The truths, then, which I have taught my children concerning his character, are divisible into three classes: of the first, my teaching has been both "explicit" and "emphatic;" of the second, "emphatic," though only "implicit;" of the third, not "implicit" only, but also "unemphatic," yet indubitably actual and immediate. The bearing of this on Apostolic teaching is obvious: we would only explain that whatever the Apostles taught *explicitly*, by that very circumstance they taught *emphatically*. We maintain, then, that the Apostles not merely knew the Immaculate Conception, but imparted it as divinely revealed; that the picture of our Blessed Lady, impressed by them on the intellect and imagination of the Church as having been divinely testified, was utterly inconsistent with any notion, that she had once been under God's displeasure and a child of wrath. But we are prepared to admit that their inculcation of this doctrine was neither explicit nor even emphatic; that their main urgency and stress were laid on verities still more central and paramount.

We are now, therefore, to consider how far any historical argument, urged by Dr. Pusey, militates against this proposition. We wish, indeed, he had stated in his letter to the *Guardian*, whether his fresh discoveries on the doctrine's true sense have modified his opinion of its divergence from Antiquity. But as he has been silent on this head, we suppose we must infer that he still regards it as an "insoluble difference between

the modern Roman and the ancient Church " (p. 121). Now, in order to appreciate this statement, it will be necessary to contemplate the "ancient Church" at two different periods; and we will begin with that which elapsed, between the Apostles' death and the public appearance of Pelagius. On what ground does Dr. Pusey hold that the Fathers of that period disbelieved the Immaculate Conception? We are not aware of any answer that he will make, except that not one of them mentioned her exemption from original sin.* But does he merely mean by this, that not one of them expressly and distinctly declared that exemption? or does he mean that not one of them implied it? If he intends the former, his argument is suicidal. Let him give any exposition of the doctrine of original sin, which he shall consider scientifically accurate and sufficient; and let him then name any Father, before the rise of Pelagius, who expressly stated that doctrine as applicable to mankind in general. Dr. Pusey will doubtless reply, that before the Pelagian controversy arose, there was no occasion for any Father to state expressly the Church's doctrine on original sin. The legitimate appeal, he will add, is not to what they expressly state, but to what they imply and manifestly hold. So far we fully agree with him. But we would earnestly suggest, that if the absence of express patristic testimony disproved the apostolicity of the Immaculate Conception, it would equally disprove the apostolicity of original sin. And, further, we would point out that those Fathers who do not expressly and definitely mention original sin at all, could not by possibility expressly mention our Lady's exemption therefrom.

Dr. Pusey will, no doubt, maintain that the pre-Augustinian Fathers embraced implicitly that very doctrine on original sin, which the Church afterwards defined; and that they exhibit this belief in various parts of their writings. Every Catholic, we need hardly say, will be fully prepared for such a conclusion, and will view with pleasure the evidence which Dr. Pusey can adduce in its favour. But did these Fathers imply, we ask him, not merely that mankind in general, but

* We avoid in our present article the question of our Lady's freedom from actual sin, because we find with extreme pleasure by the *Union Review* of last July (p. 395), that Dr. Pusey himself admits that exemption. It is well known that one or two Fathers speak strangely on the subject; and we cannot too unreservedly commend F. Newman's most full and candid treatment of their language (pp. 131—144). But it is one thing to say, that on this or that occasion she was betrayed into a slight infirmity; and a very different thing indeed to say that she was once the enemy of God and a child of wrath.

that the Most Holy Virgin in particular, was once an enemy of God and a child of the devil? Most certainly he adduces no such passage; we never saw any such passage adduced; we entirely disbelieve that any such passage exists. Yet it is important to point out that even if several such passages were producible, no kind of difficulty would hence accrue to the Catholic controversialist: for nothing is more readily imaginable, than that a doctrine which the Apostles taught, indeed, but taught implicitly and unemphatically, should in this or that particular time have faded from the consciousness of some particular portion of the Church. You will ask in reply, "But can it have *totally* faded? must there not be *some* echo in later times of Apostolic preaching?" This is the very point at which we are aiming. Let Dr. Pusey assume, if he pleases—though such a notion is totally unfounded—that this or that pre-Augustinian Father implies a denial of the Immaculate Conception: still it is absolutely certain that a series of Fathers from the first implied its affirmation; and this is the argument on which we are now to insist.

It is "the doctrine of the Fathers from the earliest times," says F. Newman (p. 35)—and he demonstrates it to be the doctrine of S. Justin, S. Irenæus, and Tertullian—that Mary is the Woman divinely prophesied, as Satan's direct and immediate enemy in that great scheme of redemption which God was announcing. Can these Fathers have imagined, that the person thus marked out began her existence as the enemy, not of Satan, but of God? as under just sentence of eternal banishment from His vision? as stained (to use F. Harper's expression) with the mark of diabolic victory? We suppose the very idea was never suggested to them: but had they been asked the question, no one, surely, can doubt that they would have answered it in the negative, and that, too, with amazement and disgust.

Passing to the third century, F. Harper quotes the following from S. Hippolytus: "The Lord was without sin, made according to His human nature of *two incorruptible woods*, i. e., of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost" (p. 402). S. Hippolytus then calls her "incorruptible" in the same breath in which he calls the Holy Ghost Incorruptible. What would have been his wonder at the notion that she was once a "peccatrix"! Observe also, in this early Father, that closely united mention of the Holy Ghost and the Blessed Virgin, which so shocks Dr. Pusey in the Venerable Grignon de Montfort.

We will not quote the most impressive passages attributed to S. Gregory Thaumaturgus; because F. Harper intimates

(p. 404) some doubt of their genuineness: and we will proceed, therefore, to S. Dionysius of Alexandria. F. Harper mentions that his letter was written by the authority, and as the expression of the doctrine, of the great Antiochene Council (p. 405). He calls our Lady "a virginal paradise"; and declares that Christ "preserved her incorruptible and blessed from head to foot." No sober man will consider it possible that the Saint can have written thus strongly and unreservedly, had it occurred to him as an opinion imaginably existing among Catholics, that she had once been in bondage to corruption, and under the curse of God.

This implicit belief in the Immaculate Conception, so far from terminating with the three first centuries, exhibited itself on the contrary with continually increasing significance, prominence, intensity. Abundant proof of this proposition is furnished by F. Harper (pp. 405—416); and his summing up at the end is amply warranted by the extracts which have gone before. We will place before our readers this most beautiful and forcible passage, putting into italics those portions of it to which we would invite particular attention.

"Who can be so blinded with prejudice as not to perceive in these quotations, borrowed from successive centuries, an Apostolic tradition, *which is as far removed from the least heterodox conception of Mary professed by Protestants, as heaven is from earth?* Voices reach us from Syria—from different parts of Africa,—from Mesopotamia,—from Phœnicia,—from Milan,—Constantinople,—from Jerusalem,—from the shores of the Tiber,—from Mount Sinai,—from Rome,—from Lyons,—which, one and all, conspire in ascribing to Mary an immaculate purity of soul, mind, and body:—*a solitary pre-eminence in God's creation of grace.* The similitudes which they employ, have a wondrous identity. Types are borrowed everywhere from the Old Testament of all that is most holy and most singular in Divine Benediction. The expressions which all these Fathers concur in adopting,—the ideas which they spread in every place of their habitation,—contain within them the germ, at least, of the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception. *She is that virgin earth, out of which Adam was formed:*—earth, which was still fresh from the solemn blessing of its Creator;—earth, which had not as yet been condemned because of Adam's sin, to bring forth thorns and thistles. *She is the incorruptible wood, out of which the great ark of our salvation was formed.* No blasting breath of the Fall had rotted it; no worm of concupiscence had pierced its virginal incorruption. *She is the fleece of Gideon, watered with celestial dew, while the rest of the earthly creation was withered up with a drought of grace.* She mounts, with the acclaiming voice of Eastern and Western Church, above Angels and Archangels; above Thrones, Dominations, and Principalities; above Powers and Virtues; above Cherubim and Seraphim. Doctors of East and West place Her on the *pinnacle of creation.* The tongue of Patriarchs and Doctors fails them, when they would attempt to sound Her praises. Examine the picture well, take in its background, study

each finishing stroke of the pencil. And then put before you, as the original, *one who has been blighted, (let it be but for an instant, it matters little,) with the curse of original sin.* The trail of the serpent has been upon her soul; she has been once at enmity with God, 'a child of wrath,' deprived of sanctifying grace; the dark mark of Adam, omen of evil, on her. Who would be able to repress a smile when he heard that she was like to the incorruptible wood of the ark; like to the virgin earth of innocent Paradise; or higher, beyond power of created idea or speech, than Angels, Cherubim and Seraphim? What a triumph to the devils! What a dishonour to the choirs of heaven! What an insult to the Divine Son of Mary!—a triumph to the devils, because one who had once been stained by their mark of victory was raised to the highest rank in creation; a dishonour to the sinless Angels, because their constituted Queen had once been subject to the taint of sin; an insult to the Son, because an infamy to the Mother. *The idea then of her Immaculate Conception was latent, yet living in the consciousness of the Church.* But for a time She, guided as ever by the Holy Spirit, was occupied with the definition of more important mysteries. She was indelibly fixing in Her creed the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, and of the Incarnation, amid the terrible conflict of sects and heresies. She needed a time of religious peace and stillness, that She might be able to fix the place of the Bright Morning Star in the new Heaven. Yet the Divinely-revealed idea was there, and soon began to show its stem above the earth" (pp. 416-418.)

It is well known that the first Father who expressly treated of original sin, was S. Augustine; and Dr. Pusey is, of course, very desirous of showing that he included our Blessed Lady in his general doctrine. Even had he done so, there would have been nothing to surprise Catholics. What the Apostles taught unemphatically in the first century, may well have been forgotten in Africa before the fifth. Nay, even had the true Apostolic impression by no means been effaced from the African Church, it was not at all unnatural that, in the ardour of conflict against a most detestable heresy, S. Augustine should have failed in giving due weight to a tradition, which, as all admit, had never at that time been reduced to an express and scientific shape. It is, therefore, the more remarkable, and testifies more strongly to the strength of this tradition, that (as F. Harper has satisfactorily shown) he did not really run counter to it at all. Indeed, more than this may be said. So far from being insensible to the implicit but living tradition on Mary's sinlessness, he was (we believe) the first writer who gave to that tradition a definite and formal expression. We refer, of course, to the following most widely-celebrated passage:—

"Except, therefore, the Holy Virgin Mary, about whom, on account of the honour of the Lord, I will not allow the question to be entertained, *when sins are under discussion*;—for how do we know what increase of grace was

bestowed on Her, to enable Her to overcome sin in every way, Who merited to conceive, and bring forth Him, Who, as is plain, had no sin;—with the exception therefore, of this Virgin, if we could gather together all those male and female saints, while they were living here below, and could ask them whether they were without sin; what answer do we think that they would give?"—Quoted by F. Harper in p. 364.

Dr. Pusey, indeed, attempts to wrest this passage from its indubitable sense, and would limit it to Mary's exemption from actual sin. But firstly consider the words merely in their own light. S. Augustine held it inconsistent with the Lord's due honour, to suppose that His Mother even for an instant yielded to one passing emotion, which was at variance with the most perfect resignation and humility. Surely the Saint must have thought it very far *more* inconsistent with the Lord's due honour, to imagine that His Mother had once been His enemy; had once been under a just sentence of eternal banishment from His Presence.

The same conclusion follows no less irrefragably from considering the circumstances of the time, and the point really at issue between S. Augustine and his antagonist. This is most admirably shown by F. Harper from p. 364 to p. 368. Julian was dwelling on the exemption of so many saints from *actual* sin, as a proof against S. Augustine's doctrine on *original* sin. "Undoubtedly," answers S. Augustine in effect, "I admit one of your instances, but I will admit no other. The Lord's Mother, I grant, committed no actual sin; and in regard to her, therefore, I cannot maintain that she was involved in the original stain of our nature." This last clause is undoubtedly requisite, in order to give S. Augustine's words any intelligible meaning.

But then, rejoins Dr. Pusey, S. Augustine cannot have meant this, because he frequently speaks of our Lady as having been born (much more therefore conceived) in original sin. On this assertion F. Harper joins issue; and examines every single Augustinian passage adduced or adducible by his opponent.* Nothing can be more complete than Dr. Pusey's

* We are bound to place before our readers the following from a note of F. Harper's, that they may duly estimate Dr. Pusey's incredible carelessness of quotation. "Dr. Pusey has confounded in his references two perfectly distinct works of S. Augustine; *i. e.*, his finished work against Julian in six books, and his unfinished work, which is also in six books. The first and third of his quotations are made from the latter . . . the second from the former. There can be no mistake in our supposition. For he cites the 122nd chapter of the 4th Book: whereas in the perfect treatise there are only 16 chapters of the 4th Book; but there is the 122nd chapter of the 4th Book in the opus imperfectum, which contains the passage quoted by us,

overthrow. By far the strongest expression which he cites, is the phrase "*caro peccati*" applied to our Lady. The true reading is here by no means certain (p. 371, note); but the most superficial reader of S. Augustine is well aware that with him "*caro peccati*" would naturally signify, "flesh derived from Adam in the ordinary way of natural descent."

Two of the passages adduced by Dr. Pusey (those numbered by F. Harper 7th and 8th, in p. 370), instead of having any force against the Immaculate Conception, tell decidedly in its favour; the latter of the two very strongly so indeed. (See F. Harper, pp. 372, 373.) At the same time we frankly confess, in agreement with our author, that they show S. Augustine to have been entirely of F. Harper's mind, in attributing to our Lady the "*debitum proximum contrahendi originale peccatum*": a question on which we are presently to speak.

From the first-quoted Augustinian passage, a most important inference may be drawn against Anglican controversialists; nay, and would follow, even if Dr. Pusey's most unreasonable interpretation of it could be admitted. It is absolutely certain from it, that when S. Augustine uttered various universally-sounding propositions,—on "all Adam's posterity being infected with sin" and the like,—he never intended that those propositions should include the Mother of God. And since all the Church's definitions against the Pelagian or semi-Pelagian heresy have been drawn up under S. Augustine's influence—many of them in his very words—in regard to them also a similar conclusion follows.

Dr. Pusey's other historical objections against the Immaculate Conception are so miscellaneous and so incredibly weak, that it is not worth while to pursue them. We will, therefore, but refer our readers to F. Harper's crushing reply: pp. 350—364; and pp. 376-384. In the following passage that author thus moderately sums up the net result of his opponent's argument from Antiquity:—

"And now let us pause for one moment to look back upon the nature of Dr. Pusey's proof. His object, we must repeat, was to demonstrate that this dogma has no foundation in Antiquity. It is of course difficult enough to prove a negative. Still, after all, there is a species of moral evidence possible to this class of propositions. If the Oxford Professor could have constructed a catena of Fathers,—representatives of Apostolic tradition in successive cen-

and usually brought forward by the adversaries of our Lady's Immaculate Conception. *This confirms almost to evidence our suspicion, that he has been carelessly copying second hand, without informing his readers.* However, to make our argument complete, we have added some passages from the complete work against Julian, to which he might have referred, if he had known them" (p. 369, note).

turies,—all of whom plainly declared that our Lady had been born in original sin, no one would have denied that he had in great measure made out his case. But, as a fact, what is the proof that he affords us of his assertion? Melchior Canus, a MS., and two Fathers, one of the Western, the other of the Eastern Church. These are the sum total of his authorities. Melchior Canus changes into Erasmus;* the MS. cannot of course be put in evidence; and the two Fathers, when their words are carefully examined, and collated with the context and other passages in their writings, are so far from justifying Dr. Pusey's charge, that they help to disprove it. Now it is not our business to find fault with the meagreness of his proof. *It is true that, by consulting Piazza or Peronne, he might have indefinitely swelled the proportion of his note. But we have no right to interfere with this self-elected poverty, if he deemed it expedient to adopt it.* We have, however, a just right to complain of the way in which he has simply ignored the labours of our greatest theologians, who have proved that the doctrine has a very solid foundation in Antiquity. Either he did not know of the works of Suarez, Vasquez, De Valentia, Piazza, Perrone, &c.; and in such case he was not justified in making so sweeping an assertion. Or he did know of their works; in which case nothing can excuse him from intemperate rashness. The only proper course open to him was, either to have shown that the abundant evidence produced by these theologians failed to sustain their cause, or to have abstained from pronouncing judgment on the question at all. *If grave subjects like these,—dogmas of the Catholic Church,—were to be treated in such sort by theological writers generally, we might as well destroy the erudition of centuries at once.* For it would become simply useless. Controversies would be ever repeating themselves; and Divine Theology, the Queen of Sciences, would never 'grow to the full knowledge of the Son of God,' because it would be ever going round in a circle, like a blind horse at its grindstone" (pp. 37-56).

In our preceding remarks we have not attempted to *prove* the Immaculate Conception. That doctrine has been defined by the Roman Catholic Church; and an article on Marian doctrine is not the proper place for establishing the infallibility of that Church. We have but professed, then, a reply, under F. Harper's guidance, to Dr. Pusey's objections, whether taken from Scripture or from Antiquity. But, in fact, our conclusions have not been only negative; they have been also importantly positive. It has been seen (1) that there is one text of Scripture (Gen. iii. 15) which points irresistibly to the doctrine; and (2) that patristic dicta, from the very first, afford the strongest presumption of its Apostolicity.

Mary, then, never contracted original sin. But now we take a step further, and inquire whether she incurred the

* We incline to think that Canus more completely denies all patristic evidence for the doctrine, than F. Harper (p. 363) is willing to admit.—
[Ed. D. R.]

"*debitum proximum*" of contracting it. This is a perfectly open question among Catholics; and here, to our great regret, we part company with F. Harper. He maintains that she did incur this "*debitum proximum*"; nay, and speaks with a certain severity of those who think otherwise (p. 337): whereas for ourselves we more than incline to the opposite opinion. But before discussing this question, we must consider precisely what it involves. We would beg our readers, therefore, to re-peruse from p. 463 to p. 466 of this article; and we will add a few further explanations, supplementary of what has there been said. God made "a virtual compact with Adam as progenitor and moral head of the whole human family" (F. Harper, p. 300). The interests of Adam's posterity were most closely bound up with his own. If he obeyed God's Precept, his descendants were to be immaculately conceived, and to retain original justice. But if he ate the forbidden fruit, they were to bear a large share in the consequences of that sin; one by one, as they came into existence, they were to be destitute of habitual grace, lying under God's wrath, meriting eternal banishment from His Presence, and visited with various other miseries. Adam did eat the forbidden fruit. At that very moment, to use the recognized phrase, his descendants "*sinned in him*;" *i. e.*, they were at that moment, in retribution of his sin, sentenced to a prospective punishment, analogous to what they *would* have endured had they personally sinned. Or, to use equally recognized theological words, they incurred the "*debitum proximum contrahendi originale peccatum*." The precise question at issue, then, is this. Did the virtual compact with Adam include *all* those descended from him in the ordinary way of nature? When he transgressed the precept, did *all* these sin in him? Did *all* these incur the *debitum proximum*? Or was there one memorable exception? Was Mary, through Christ's merits, exempted from any share whatever in the prospective sentence? It is of faith (as we have seen) that in her case this prospective sentence never became actual; that she was sanctified at the very moment of her creation. We are now to inquire whether even prospectively she incurred that sentence.* For brevity's sake we will call the doctrine, which gives a negative answer to this inquiry, the doctrine of her "*immunity*."

Those who maintain this immunity, rest their case chiefly on the singular dignity of the Deipara, and on the most active and intimate share ascribed to her by Scripture in the great

* It will be explained presently that, beyond all question, she incurred the "*debitum remotum*" of original sin, by her natural descent from Adam.

work of man's redemption. This, therefore, will be our most appropriate place for considering more carefully than we have yet done, the Protevangel of Genesis: for we believe that not Protestants only, but a large number of Catholics, have never sufficiently weighed the extraordinary significance of this prophecy. We have said something on this text in p. 459, and will here put it down in full. "*Inimicitias ponam inter te et Mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius:*" Ipse "*conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus*" (Gen. iii. 15).^{*} Such was the first promise of redemption given by God in the very moment of pronouncing doom. Who is the Woman here spoken of? Both F. Newman and F. Harper assure us, that the Fathers understood Mary as the Woman; and Dr. Pusey also himself is of the same mind. But, in fact, we do not see how any other sense can be even suggested. The Woman is either Mary or Eve. But if she were Eve, who are "the Woman's seed"? "Her carnal posterity," of course; *i. e.*, the mass of mankind, the world. Either, then, you must hold that God placed an eternal enmity between the devil and the world—a somewhat astounding hypothesis to the devout Christian—or else you must look to Mary as the prophesied Woman. It should further be added, as F. Newman points out, that there is S. Paul's inspired authority for that parallelism between Adam and Christ, which vividly suggests the further parallelism between Eve and Mary.

Who are Satan's "seed"? All evil spirits and evil men; those who followed his evil example; those who constitute that kingdom of which, in some sense, he is the ruler. So far there can be no second opinion.

Whom, then, are we to understand by Mary's "seed"? In the first place, undoubtedly, her Divine Son; for to Him reference is immediately made as to one already mentioned—"Ipse." But we must include others besides Him, or else the latter part of the first clause will not be duly opposed to the former. If Satan's seed include all evil angels and evil men, then Mary's seed must include all good angels and good men.

Two parties, then, are mentioned by God, between whom He will place irreconcilable "enmities": these are the respective parties of evil and good; they who fight under the respective banners of the devil and of God. The one party, receiving its

^{*} In the latter clause we have agreed with Dr. Pusey in giving the masculine reading "*Ipse*" as more probably the true one. See F. Harper's overwhelming reply to Dr. Pusey, from p. 339 to p. 350, on the argument which the latter attempts to draw from this masculine reading.

name in the prophecy from Satan, includes all evil angels and evil men. The other party, receiving its name in the prophecy from Mary, includes, firstly, the Incarnate God; and secondly, all good angels and good men. Montfort has horrified Dr. Pusey, by drawing out from this prophecy a very small part of its full purport. "God has never made or formed but one enmity; but it is an irreconcilable one, which shall endure and develope even unto the end. It is between Mary, His worthy Mother, and the devil; between the children and the servants of Mary and the children and instruments of Lucifer." —(*Eirenicon*, p. 168; Montfort, p. 30.) If even this statement appears to Protestants so extravagant, what would they have said had Montfort, or some other "Marian" writer, done fuller justice to the words of Almighty God? We mentioned in our last number (p. 197) how shocked is Dr. Pusey by Montfort speaking of "souls which are born of God and of Mary;" but what if Montfort had expressed that which God expresses in this prophecy? if he had pointed to Mary as the one predicted enemy of Satan? to Christ and good Christians as jointly constituting her seed? to Christ and good Christians as agreeing with each other in this, that He and they are alike born of God and of Mary? We see not how the following conclusion can be evaded. If the scene recorded in Genesis were a real announcement of redemption, then the whole body of Protestants, with Dr. Pusey at their head, denounce, as corrupt and anti-Christian, that very doctrine which God Himself revealed as the foundation of Christian hope. His first promise of a Redeemer was (as it were) imbedded in His promise of a Co-Redemptrix.

Another inference. If the evil angels are among the serpent's seed, then (as we have seen) the good angels must be counted among the Woman's seed. Now Christ is, of course, counted among the Woman's seed, in that she is literally and precisely His Mother. But on what possible view can angels be counted among her seed, unless it be intended that she is to have some very signal supremacy in that kingdom of which they are members?

So far we have addressed our reasoning on this text to Protestants as well as Catholics. We are now to use it against our Catholic opponents; and our first argument for Mary's immunity is the following. When Almighty God uttered this memorable prophecy, He was solemnly pronouncing judgment on mankind in consequence of the Fall. According to our opponents, then, at the time when He named her as the very representative of holiness and of redeeming power, He was passing on her a prospective sentence of sin and death; at the

moment when He proclaimed a perpetual enmity between her and Satan, He was branding on her by anticipation the mark of Satanic victory; at the moment when He was naming S. Michael and the whole heavenly host as among her "seed," He was excluding her from the inheritance of future glory. The fact that He intended (if we may so speak) by a subsequent decree to reverse that sentence, does not at all interfere with the fact that (according to F. Harper's theory) He was now pronouncing it. And it is this fact which must appear, we think, on reflection so strange and so incredible.

As on this particular part of our argument our opponents are Catholics, they will agree with us in attaching the greatest weight to the solemn words addressed by Pius IX. to the whole Church, in the very act of defining the Immaculate Conception. We would draw their attention, then, to the following extract from the Bull "*Ineffabilis*;" and we would ask them whether the whole drift and bearing of such words be not utterly out of harmony with the opinion, that God once visited Mary with a prospective condemnation to sin and death. The Holy Fathers and writers of the Church "*professed that the Most Glorious Virgin was the cause of redemption to the parents of mankind, of life to their posterity, (parentum reparatricem, posterorum vivificatricem), elected before the world was (a sæculo electam) prepared for Himself by the Most High; . . . and therefore they affirmed that the same Most Blessed Virgin, through grace, was exempt from all stain of sin . . . and having been united with God by a sempiternal covenant (sempiterno fœdere cum Illo conjunctam), had never been in darkness, &c., &c.*" Take one only of these extremely strong phrases. It is surely difficult to see how He can have united her with Himself by a sempiternal covenant, if He had made her alienation from Him in any sense dependent on Adam's transgression of the precept.

We next come to a more general argument; the Apostolic view of Mary's greatness. There has never been written, we think, a more masterly and more faultless specimen of Scriptural exegesis, than F. Newman's application of Apoc. xii. 1—6 to our Blessed Lady (pp. 57—66.)* Such, then, was S. John's

* Every one possesses F. Newman's pamphlet; but his "*Essay on Development*" is not so readily accessible. Our readers therefore will thank us for reprinting the paragraph of that work, in which he treats the same argument. "The parallel between 'the Mother of all living' and the Mother of the Redeemer may be gathered from a comparison of the first chapters of Scripture with the last. It was noticed in a former place, that the only passage where the serpent is directly identified with the evil spirit occurs in the twelfth chapter of Revelations; now it is observable that the recognition

view of his sovereign mistress and tenderly loved mother: "a Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet." What words can be more significant, as expressing a place at the very summit of creation? And in this vision, again, as in the prophecy of Genesis, Satan contends directly against her, and but indirectly against her Son. Nor was this Apostolic teaching forgotten in subsequent ages: on the contrary, if our readers would obtain some adequate conception of primitive doctrine concerning the Mother of God, let them again study that magnificent passage of F. Harper's, which we extracted in pp. 472, 3. But we would earnestly submit to his deliberate judgment, whether his argument would not legitimately extend farther than he is now willing to admit. We will adopt his own words, with the variations requisite for our purpose. "Examine the picture well," we will say; "take in its background; study each finishing stroke of the pencil. And then put before you as the original one" who for four thousand years lay under a prospective sentence of sin and death; who by God's just judgment forfeited her inheritance of sanctifying grace; whose condemnation was not reversed till the very last moment, when it was on the point of being executed by her coming into existence as a peccatrix. "What a triumph to the devils! what a dishonour to the choirs of Heaven! what an insult to the Divine Son of Mary!—a triumph to the devils because one who" had been actually and literally overthrown by their triumph, "was raised to the highest rank in creation; a dishonour to the sinless angels, because their constituted Queen had" been justly sentenced to the forfeiture of grace and glory; "an insult to the Son because a" prospective "infamy to the Mother." Surely it may be said that "the idea" of her immunity, no less truly than that "of her Immaculate Conception, was latent yet living in the consciousness of the Church."

when made, is found in the course of a vision of a 'woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet:' thus two women are brought in contrast with each other. Moreover, as it is said in the Apocalypse, 'The dragon was wroth with the woman, and went about to make war with the remnant of her seed,' so it is prophesied in Genesis, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her Seed. He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise His heel.' Also the enmity was to exist, not only between the serpent and the Seed of woman, but between the serpent and the woman herself; and here too there is a correspondence in the Apocalyptic vision. If then there is reason for thinking that this mystery at the close of Revelation answers to the mystery in the beginning of it, and that 'the Woman' mentioned in both passages is one and the same, then she can be none other than Mary, thus introduced prophetically to our notice immediately on the transgression of Eve" (pp. 384, 5.)

And here let us once more turn to the momentous Bull "*Ineffabilis*." "The Ineffable God," proclaims Pius IX., regarded Mary "with so great love *in preference to all other creatures*, that He took pleasure in her alone with most earnest affection (*propensissimâ voluntate*). Wherefore He so wondrously loaded her with grace *before all the angelic spirits*, . . . that she possessed that fulness of innocence and sanctity, than which *no greater beneath God can in any manner be understood* (*quâ major sub Deo nullatenus intelligitur*) . . . And truly it altogether became her that . . . being altogether free from the stain of original sin, *she should achieve a most ample triumph over the ancient serpent*." Surely the spirit and tendency of such expressions is adverse in the highest degree to the supposition of her non-immunity. For on that supposition she was signally *inferior* to the angelic spirits, in having undergone a prospective sentence of God's wrath; and moreover, in one important respect, did not triumph over the ancient serpent at all, but, on the contrary, was overthrown by his victory.

Indeed, that the "*debitum proximum*" involves a certain real personal ignominy, seems to us manifestly implied in the very expressions which are universally recognized, and which S. Paul sanctions. Of those who incurred this *debitum*, he says that they "*die in Adam*," as opposed to "*living in Christ*;" nay he virtually affirms, as we have seen, that they "*sinned in Adam*." Such words cannot surely be understood, with any show of reason, otherwise than as expressing a certain real brand and degradation. But let this conclusion once be admitted, and our argumentative victory is assured. For to say that the Mother of God suffered prospectively, and that indeed for four thousand years, under a real brand and degradation, would be as unspeakably repulsive to our opponents as to ourselves.

To our mind, we must say, these arguments appear so strong, that their very strength may ingeniously be turned against the conclusion which they indicate. "Since the doctrine of Mary's non-immunity," it may be objected, "is so harsh and incredible *in itself*, there must be some very powerful *theological reason*, which has kept back so many great doctors, so many of her ardent lovers, from embracing it." But we answer readily, that the theological reason is immediately producible, which, in fact, had such great weight over their convictions. It is a vital article of faith, that she was *redeemed* by her Son; and it does not readily appear how this doctrine can be reconciled with that of her immunity. On a similar principle, as F. Newman mentions

(p. 142), Origen held that she committed actual sin; because otherwise "she would not be one of the redeemed:" "and in the middle age," he adds, "the great obstacle to the reception of the Immaculate Conception was that, unless she had been in some sense a sinner, she would not have been redeemed." In proportion, however, as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (1) was rightly apprehended, and (2) was seen to be altogether consistent with her redemption, all argumentative difficulty was overcome. And similarly, in proportion as a clear conviction gains ground, that this further doctrine of her immunity is no less thoroughly reconcileable than the former with her having been redeemed, we cannot but anticipate that this doctrine, also, will obtain wider and wider prevalence within the Church. Indeed, there cannot be a better illustration of the principle on which legitimate doctrinal development is ever advancing.* Now this it is which theologians of later centuries have been effecting with greater or less success. They have been labouring in behalf of those, who cannot bear to think that Mary sinned in Adam; and have devised various methods, whereby such persons may gratify their pious instincts, and do justice to the obvious drift of Scripture and Antiquity, without any detriment to the great doctrine of her redemption.

The difficulty to be encountered is, of course, this. "God's decree of redemption was dependent on His prevision of Adam's fall; and consequently Mary's exclusion from the original pact with Adam, could not possibly have been due to the Redeemer's foreseen merits. But if not, then (on the hypothesis of her immunity) she was not truly redeemed." And there appears at first sight one most obvious way of solving this difficulty; viz., to accept the theory of those theologians, who hold that the decree of the Incarnation was *not* dependent on the prevision of Adam's fall. But on consideration it will be found, we think, that one insurmountable difficulty stands in the way of this solution. It will throw much light, however, on the state of the question, if we begin by stating this attempted solution at its best advantage.

It is held, then, by the Scotist school, and by many other theologians also, that, in virtue of the existing decree, the Son would equally have become Incarnate, even though Adam had not fallen; but that in that case He would have come Impassible and Immortal. According to this doctrine, the grace enjoyed

* F. Harper in various parts of his volume refers to this question of development in a most satisfactory manner. See *e. g.*, pp. 67, 202, 218, 243, 383, and elsewhere.

by the Angels—the grace originally enjoyed by our first parents—was entirely due to Christ's foreseen merits; and, according to this doctrine, we may most easily hold that through those same merits Mary was excluded from the pact with Adam. To this explanation, indeed, one objection may be made, which is at once met by a most obvious reply. "No one would say," argues the objector, "that the Angels were redeemed by Christ, though they owe their grace to His merits; for what was that penalty from which they were redeemed? In like manner, though it were true that Mary owed her immunity to her Son's foreseen merits, it would not thence follow that she was *redeemed* by her Son." We answer that there is a broad difference between the two cases. The Angels were under no "*debitum remotum*" of contracting original sin, for they were not descended from Adam at all. But Mary was one of that very class—Adam's descendants in the way of nature—whose future state was made dependent on Adam's faithfulness. For Christ's sake, then, she was exempted from a danger, which impended over the whole class whereof she was a member, excepting only herself. To be thus exempted for the sake of His merits, is, in the truest sense, to be redeemed by Him; nay, it is a higher redemption than any other. "Prevention," says F. Harper very pointedly, "is better than cure;" and the Bull "*Ineffabilis*" declares, on the same principle, that by her Immaculate Conception she was "*redeemed in a sublimer manner*" than the rest of mankind. If, then, to be *preserved* from sin is a sublimer redemption than to be *cleansed* from it;—by parity of reason, to be *exempt* from its sentence is a still sublimer redemption than the mere *remission* of that sentence.

Nothing, in every other respect, can be more faultless than this reasoning; but the theory is vitiated, we fear, by one fatal flaw. According to Scotists themselves, God's decree of Christ's *death* depended on His prevision of Adam's fall. Now the Church, in her collect for the Immaculate Conception, declares that Mary was redeemed by her Son's *death* ("*Qui ex morte Ejusdem Filii Sui prævisâ eam ab omni labe præservâsti*"). Again, it would seem very venturesome, and at variance with the stream of tradition, to exclude her from the number of those (Apoc. v. 9) who were "*redeemed to God by the Lord's Blood.*" The fundamental difficulty, therefore, so far remains unsolved.

It would be absolutely impossible in one article, even were the present writer sufficiently well informed, to recount the various theories which have been devised by Catholic theologians, for explaining our Blessed Lady's redemption from

the "*debitum proximum*" through her Son's foreseen sufferings and death. It amply suffices, however, for the purpose of our present argument, if we mention only one which appears to us unexceptionable. For this purpose, then, we will take Lugo's ("*De Incarnatione*," d. 7, s. 3, 4). And, in order to explain it, we will premise that no one supposes God to have informed Adam in accurate detail of all the various evils which would result from the Fall; but only to have made him generally understand, that his sin would inflict fearful injury on his posterity. The question, therefore, does not relate to God's counsels as divulged to Adam, but as existing in themselves. According to Lugo, His decree concerning Adam might have been thus expressed: "I am free, if Adam sin, to send into the world a Redeemer—the Incarnate Son. I exempt, therefore, from my present pact with Adam that Woman—if there be any such—whom I may choose as Mother of God." Then, on foreseeing the Fall and decreeing consequently the Redeemer, He chooses Mary for Christ's sake, out of all other women, to be the Mother of God, and so to have been exempt from the compact with Adam. According to Lugo's view, then, the matter stands thus: That the Deipara, *as such*, was not included in the pact with Adam, this is *not* due to Christ's merits; but that Mary *in particular* was chosen to be Deipara, this *was* exclusively due to her Son's foreseen passion. She was in the strictest sense, therefore, *redeemed* by Him, from incurring that sentence in which she would otherwise have been involved.*

It will have been understood, of course, that this part of our argument is purely negative. We started by giving (as we think) extremely strong grounds, for the doctrine of our Blessed Lady's immunity; but it is objected that, had she possessed that immunity, she could not be really redeemed. If any one imaginable theory can be devised, which harmonizes the doctrine of her immunity with the doctrine of her redemption, the objection is peremptorily refuted. Where one such theory can be devised, probably a hundred such can be

* Lugo gives an illustration of his theory in n. 38; but perhaps a still better is given by F. Compton Carleton, S.J. A general practises, towards some mutinous troop, the reverse process to decimation; he condemns nine-tenths to death, reserving to himself the power of naming the exceptions. Before he has begun to consider who these exceptions shall be, you hear of what has taken place, and hasten to entreat him that A B shall be one of the number exempted. He grants your request, purely from consideration to your merits. Every one would admit that A B owes his life entirely to your intercession. Why? The original exemption of one-tenth was not due to your intercession at all; but that A B is *included in that number*, he owes entirely to you; and this is enough. The application is obvious.

devised also; and it is very probable we may find hereafter that the true theory is distinct from any one of them.

One final remark under this head. For ourselves we incline most strongly to follow Salazar's opinion, that had Adam not fallen, Mary would not have existed; that in decreeing the Incarnation, God also decreed her creation as Deipara; that for the sake of her Son's foreseen merits, He enriched her with every excellence of nature and of grace. Let this opinion be adopted, and it will follow, according to Lugo's explanation of her immnity, that she never even *hypothetically* incurred the debitum proximum. We mean that she was never prospectively sentenced to a maculate conception, even on the *hypothesis* of her not being chosen as Deipara; for had she not been chosen as Deipara, she would not have existed at all. And there is some confirmation of Salazar's opinion, in the fact that, according to Catholic tradition, a certain miracle was wrought towards her active conception, as towards that of S. John Baptist; because both her parents were much advanced in years.

Another objection against our Lady's immunity has been derived from various texts of S. Paul already mentioned—viz., Rom. v. 12 and 18; 1 Cor. xv. 22. Now, firstly, let us even suppose that there is nothing in S. Paul's context, permitting an exception of Mary from these universal propositions: still our present opponents, being Catholics, could not urge them reasonably against us. "In many things we offend all," says S. James; and S. John, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." Moreover, the Council of Milevi (Canons 6, 7, 8) expresses itself with great severity, against those who shrink from interpreting these and many similar Scriptural expressions in their obvious sense. Yet the Council of Trent declares Mary's freedom from actual sin; while as to original sin, it expressly states that she is not included in the general decrees put forth on that doctrine. The Church herself, then, teaches that such general propositions are to be understood with one exception. And her general tradition indeed from the first, as no Catholic can fairly doubt, has been that which found expression in S. Augustine's celebrated passage, and which excepts her from every general proposition connecting mankind with sin.

But now, secondly, as the Jesuit theologians of Würzburg very strikingly point out (*De Pecc. Orig.*, n. 127), there is no need of travelling beyond S. Paul himself, to see of how little account is this objection. "S. Paul," argues the objector, "describes those who sinned in Adam as precisely coextensive in number with those who have been redeemed by Christ.

Mary was redeemed by Christ; therefore, according to S. Paul, she sinned in Adam." But even if Mary were totally out of the question, it would still be manifestly untrue that all sinned in Adam who were redeemed by Christ; for Eve was redeemed by Christ, and yet did not sin in Adam. It cannot by possibility, then, be maintained that S. Paul's universal propositions admit of no exception; and if he certainly did not include the first Eve, why are we to take for granted that he included the second?

F. Harper rests his objection to our Lady's immunity chiefly on the authority of Suarez; and God forbid we should say one word to depreciate that truly illustrious and revered name! The lovers of Mary in particular owe him the deepest gratitude; for the whole body of Marian doctrine had never before (we believe) been drawn out with a fulness and accuracy commensurable with that exhibited in his second volume on the Incarnation.* But it is a mere truism to say that no theologian, however eminent, is infallible. S. Alphonsus assuredly knew Suarez's opinion, and was the very last man to undervalue his authority; yet he does not hesitate to say, "I adhere to the opinion" of Mary's immunity, "as more glorious for my Mistress" ("Glories of Mary, Sermon on the Immaculate Conception," 3rd point). Truly, if we do not disparage S. Thomas the prince of theologians, by confessing that he wrote unsatisfactorily on the Immaculate Conception;—neither do we disparage Suarez his illustrious successor, by confessing that he wrote unsatisfactorily on the "*debitum proximum*." In both cases it should be remembered, that in no one thing is doctrinal growth more rapid and more remarkable, than in the greater and greater clearness with which Catholics perceive, how much is implied in the Scriptural and patristic dicta on Mary's enmity against the kingdom of sin. In the later of those two treatises which F. Harper quotes, Suarez, while firmly adhering to his original opinion, implies that the question has been far more actively ventilated of late, than it had been when he wrote his earlier work; and we may add that the effect of this increased ventilation became very manifest in subsequent centuries.

Lugo does not expressly state to which side he adheres. If he believed the immunity, we have his singularly great name to place against Suarez's. To us it appears rather more

* F. Harper (p. 325, note) mentions the touching story of our Lady's appearance to F. Guttierrez, thanking him for Suarez's essay on her merits. We do not understand from F. Harper that this essay touched on the "*debitum proximum*."

probable, from his tone, that he inclined to Suarez's view; but even if this were so, we can draw two important inferences from his significant reticence. Firstly, the opposite current in his time was so strong, that he did not venture openly to oppose it. "The opinion," he says, "denying" the *debitum proximum* "has been at this time received by *many* (*pluribus*) who argue for it (*probant*) at length, and adduce in its favour many authors, ancient and modern;" but "it is no part of my intention," he explains, "to dispute on this point" ("De Incarn.," d. 7, n. 25). Secondly, we ask what brought him across the question at all? He was very keen for the anti-Scotist doctrine on God's motive in the Incarnation; and he was led to write his two sections, because he felt that a vast prejudice would be created against his opinion on that subject, if it were once thought inconsistent with the doctrine of Mary's immunity. This fact shows how great in his day was the prevalence and influence of the doctrine we advocate. Moreover, we have at all events his most express authority for holding, that it is thoroughly reconcilable with that of her redemption. We may add, that two considerable scholastics, Coninck and Hurtado, follow exactly the same course as Lugo; while Raynaudus, who wrote very soon after Lugo and who himself agreed with Suarez, says that the opposite opinion is entertained by "*innumerable* moderns" (*innumeri recentiores*).

The theologians of the last two centuries include no name, which stands at all so high as that of the earlier scholastics; and we have none, therefore, to allege, so strong as those adduced by F. Harper. There seems no doubt, however, that the large majority of these theologians are in favour of the immunity; among whom may be included Viva, Arriaga, Eusebius Amort, S. Alphonsus, Ortega, Sardagna, Duval, the Jesuit theologians of Würzburg:—all of great authority.* While even at the earlier period we may cite Da Ponte, Salazar,†

* All these writers speak explicitly except Amort and Sardagna. The former, in his last paragraph on original sin, says, "*Nolim tueri quod B. Virgo contraxerit debitum proximum incurrendi peccatum originale.*" The latter professes in his text only to state the arguments on either side; but every one will see that he holds the immunity. And in the index at the end of his volume, he thus sums up: "*Maria habuit debitum remotum contrahendi originale peccatum, non tamen debitum proximum.*"

† We cannot sympathise with the tone of F. Harper's comment on Salazar, p. 337; nor can we observe that any of the scholastics who mention him speak of him otherwise than most respectfully. Instead of wishing, with F. Harper, that he had not "tried his hand at theology," we heartily wish he had written a great deal more on it, if he had continued to write as well.

Salmeron, Vega, Granado, and others. It is very safe, therefore, to say, and it is all we wish to infer, that if our readers are impressed by the theological arguments above adduced for our Lady's immunity, there is no objection whatever, on the ground of authority, against their embracing the conclusion to which those arguments point.

One remark in conclusion. In both the passages cited by F. Harper, Suarez expressly states that there is no unsoundness whatever in believing Mary's immunity, if her redemption by Christ's death be also believed; nor, indeed, does either F. Harper or any other theologian accuse this doctrine of unsoundness. Now, many good Catholics follow S. Alphonsus's advice—we endeavour to follow it ourselves—of ascribing to the Mother of God every privilege, resting on any solid ground whatever, which *can* be ascribed to her without theological unsoundness. All such persons, therefore, will embrace the doctrine of her immunity from the "*debitum proximum*."

We now pass to the doctrine of her Assumption. Under this doctrine, strictly so called, are not included, of course, the various circumstances mentioned by tradition as accompanying the event, but the event itself: the fact that Mary's body was not permitted to see corruption, but, on the contrary, was speedily reunited to her soul and raised into heaven. Dr. Pusey complains (p. 150) that on Roman Catholic principles this doctrine is no less certain now, than the Immaculate Conception was before it had been defined. But we think that he has under-stated the matter, as we said in April (p. 430); we maintain that the doctrine of the Assumption, as being everywhere taught by Pope and bishops, is infallibly guaranteed as true.* Even apart from the Church's authority, we cannot imagine any Catholic to ponder on the other Marian doctrines, and then to doubt that this is their legitimate consequence and completion. We have nowhere seen this argu-

* We have very great pleasure in quoting from F. Harper the following strong corroboration of everything which we advanced on this subject in April. Dr. Pusey "complains that '*any doctrine being taught everywhere at this present moment was to be a proof of a Divine tradition that it had been always*' (implicitly at least) '*taught*,' i. e., that it had been always contained, at least virtually, in the sacred deposit of the Faith. Yet *who would suppose otherwise, who really and honestly believes in the infallibility of the Church?* Would the Holy Spirit—the Spirit of the truth—allow the whole Church to go wrong, for one moment of time, in Her collective doctrinal teaching? For that moment, the mystical Body of Christ is involved in error. For that moment, the gates of hell have prevailed. For that moment, our Lord's solemn promise has been broken" (p. 390). See our own remarks in April, pp. 422—426.

ment so powerfully enforced, as it was some years ago by F. Newman :—

It was surely fitting then, it was becoming, that she should be taken up into heaven and not lie in the grave till Christ's second coming, who had passed a life of sanctity and of miracle such as hers. . . . It would be a greater miracle if, her life being what it was, her death was like that of other men, than if it were such as to correspond to her life. Who can conceive, my brethren, that God should so repay the debt He condescended to owe to His Mother, for His human Body, as to allow the flesh and blood from which it was taken to moulder in the grave? Do the sons of men thus deal with their mothers? Do they not nourish and sustain them in their feebleness, and keep them in life while they are able? Or who can conceive that that virginal frame, which never sinned, was to undergo the death of a sinner? Why should she share the curse of Adam, who had no share in his fall? "Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return," was the sentence upon sin; she then who was not a sinner, fitly never saw corruption. She died then, my brethren, because even our Lord and Saviour died; she died, as she suffered, because she was in this world, because she was in a state of things in which suffering and death was the rule. . . . Her departure made no noise in the world. The Church went about her common duties, preaching, converting, suffering; there were persecutions, there was fleeing from place to place, there were martyrs, there were triumphs; at length the rumour spread through Christendom that Mary was no longer upon earth. Pilgrims went to and fro; they sought for her relics, but these were not; did she die at Ephesus? or did she die at Jerusalem? accounts varied; but her tomb could not be pointed out, or, if it was found, it was open; and instead of her pure and fragrant body, there was a growth of lilies from the earth which she had touched. So inquirers went home marvelling, and waiting for further light. And then the tradition came, wafted westward on the aromatic breeze, how that when the time of her dissolution was at hand, . . . the Apostles were suddenly gathered together in one place, even in the Holy City, to bear part in the joyful ceremonial; how that they buried her with fitting rites; how that the third day, when they came to the tomb, they found it empty, and angelic choirs with their glad voices were heard singing day and night the glories of their risen Queen. But, however we feel towards the details of this history (*nor is there anything in it which will be unwelcome or difficult to piety*), so much cannot be doubted, from the consent of the whole Catholic world and the revelations made to holy souls, that, as is befitting, she is, soul and body, with her Son and God in heaven, and that we have to celebrate, not only her death, but her Assumption.—(Discourses to Mixed Congregations, pp. 396-9.)

The Church then teaches infallibly the doctrine of the Assumption: yet she does not teach it as *of faith*; its denial would be theologically unsound, but would not be heretical. A Catholic, then, has no call whatever to maintain that the Apostles actually taught the doctrine, but only that they taught premisses from which it legitimately results. Dr. Pusey

is pained, indeed, by the reflection, that at some future time it may possibly be defined as of faith; and Suarez tells us that no Catholic in his day even doubted of this possibility.* But as there is no thought at present of any such definition, we need not discuss the question before it practically arises. All then that would here remain for us to do, would be to meet the objections against the doctrine raised by Dr. Pusey, whether from Scripture or from Antiquity. But he raises none such. He merely (p. 150) calls it a "bold conception;" and recites, with a kind of querulousness but without attempting to answer them, such arguments in its favour as we have quoted above from F. Newman.

The body of Mary, then, so far enjoys the same privilege with the body of Jesus, that it has never been permitted to see corruption. Some remarks, however, of Dr. Pusey, in p. 171, induce us to protest against an accusation there contained; for he alleges that the Church encourages those who press, to a truly monstrous extent, this similarity of circumstance between the Blessed Virgin's body and her Son's. A young ecclesiastic, named Oswald, went the extravagant length of maintaining that Mary's body—and by concomitance, therefore, her person—are co-present with our Lord's in the Eucharist. Oswald's work was promptly put on the Index, and the author "laudably submitted himself:" but long before his time, as appears from a statement of Benedict XIV.'s which we shall presently cite, the same tenet had been condemned by ecclesiastical authority as "erroneous, dangerous, and scandalous." The instinct of a good Catholic would have anticipated this condemnation. From Oswald's tenet two consequences immediately follow: viz., (1) that in Communion Catholics receive Mary as well as Christ; and (2) that in the very act of worshipping the Sacred Host, they should pay the homage of hyperdulia to the former as well as of latria to the latter. We have not a syllable to say, then, in behalf of so shocking a notion, as that our Lady's body, or any part of it, is co-present in the Eucharist. No one approved writer has ever approached to any such language; nor has Dr. Pusey the slightest vestige of foundation, for supposing that the Church has been slow or neglectful in repressing it wherever it may have appeared. It is really unworthy of him to lay stress (p. 169) on "the authority of one staying at Rome," in regard to "a belief existing among the poorer people there;" without giving his opponents any means what-

* *De Incarnatione*, tom. ii. d. 3, a. 6, "Nullus dubitat quin tandem possint definiri."

ever of encountering and grappling with so shadowy and indefinite a statement.*

The fact is, that Dr. Pusey has confused this tenet with another which differs from it in every relevant particular. Various Catholics have held that a certain portion of matter, which *once* belonged to the Blessed Virgin, *now* belongs unchanged to her Son; and is therefore, of course, present in the Eucharist. To this F. Faber apparently inclines, who cites in its behalf a vision of S. Ignatius. Either this or some similar tenet was accepted, as Dr. Pusey's quotations evince, by Cornelius à Lapide; by Salazar, who also quotes S. Ignatius; and probably by several others whom Dr. Pusey has not seen.† But the radical distinction between this tenet and the preceding is manifest from the fact, that this latter does not tend ever so remotely to the two practical consequences which we deduced above from the former.‡ Now let us in the first instance assume, that the Church has pronounced no decision one way or another on this second tenet. We speak with extreme diffidence; but the bias of our own private opinion would be this:—Firstly, we should see nothing in this tenet at all unwelcome to an orthodox Catholic; but very much the contrary. Secondly, however, we are not aware of any evidence for it which can be accounted sufficient. Do you consider that this portion of matter remains unchanged by a natural law? or by a miracle? If the former, we reply that

* F. Harper (p. lxiii.) animadvertes very justly on Dr. Pusey's habit of "filling up lacunæ" of argument "with hearsay and private reports, which can tell upon the credulous, but escape the possibility of exposure."

† Mary of Agreda is one of those who held this. She mentions "*illam partem Carnis et Sanguinis quæ in Isto Sacramento est, sicuti de meis visceribus illam accepit Sanctissimus Filius meus.*"—(*Mystica Civitas*, p. 3, n. 117.) In the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, t. 6, pp. 2075, 2117, 2154, some criticisms of this chapter are quoted, which, as it seems to us, do not represent this part of her doctrine quite fairly. It is true that she counsels a special genuflection in honour of this particular portion of flesh; but (as every one may see who reads the chapter) it is not the worship of hyperdulia as to Mary, but the worship of latria as to Christ, which she considers its due.

‡ À Lapide says, as quoted by Dr. Pusey himself, "that flesh of Christ, before it was detached, *was* the own flesh of the Blessed Virgin." Salazar adopts S. Ignatius's view, that as, according to Aristotle, the flesh of mother and son is one and the same, in receiving Christ's flesh we receive His Mother's. But of course neither S. Ignatius nor any one else ever thought that the same flesh belongs *at the same time* to mother and son; and S. Ignatius therefore cannot by possibility have meant anything more extreme than what we state in the text. And so Salazar concludes "*Eucharistia . . . modo jam insinuato, Deiparæ carnem et sanguinem quodammodo includit.*" Mr. Rhodes has done excellent service (see *Weekly Register* of Aug. 11) in calling attention to F. Faber's most valuable and thoughtful remarks in his work on the Blessed Sacrament, pp. 514—516.

on the contrary such a fact would be in direct opposition to the laws of nature; if the latter, we ask for evidence of the miracle. We are not aware of any evidence, except that S. Ignatius was led to this tenet by pondering on a physical opinion of Aristotle's, which every one now knows to be false; and that he afterwards considered himself to have received at Mass a "spiritual perception" in accordance with the same tenet.* It will have been observed, too, that S. Ignatius himself did not regard this unchangedness of matter as occurring by miracle, but in the ordinary way of nature. If no evidence beyond this is producible, surely it is a most precarious foundation for belief in so amazing a reversal of physical laws. Yet, thirdly, if there were ground for holding the tenet in question, the pious inferences drawn by Salazar and à Lapide seem to us apt and congruous. If it were indeed true that Catholics receive in the Eucharist flesh which once was Mary's, it may well be supposed that by this means they are drawn towards her by a certain special sympathy and attraction. It should finally be added—since F. Harper speaks severely of Salazar as a theologian,—that he in particular had no other responsibility in the matter, beyond cordially accepting the doctrine of his holy founder, S. Ignatius.

There seems, however, much reason for thinking, that even this second opinion has been authoritatively censured. F. Newman very opportunely reprints (pp. 156—159) a section from Benedict XIV.'s work on canonization. F. Faber† understands this able and most learned theologian, as merely saying that the monstrous tenet of Mary's co-presence was condemned; but Benedict XIV. certainly impresses us as making a similar statement concerning this second opinion also. See particularly his first paragraph. We need hardly say that, for ourselves, we have no doubt whatever of the opinion fully deserving any censure which may have been passed on it by a Roman congregation; that had it been condemned in their time, S. Ignatius, Salazar, and à Lapide would have heartily rejected it; and that had F. Faber considered it to have been condemned, he would have rather died than given it the slightest countenance.

It is of course, however, abundantly possible, since we differ from so very great an authority as F. Faber, that our interpretation of Benedict XIV. is totally mistaken. It is also possible, even if we rightly understand him, that *he* may

* Quoted by F. Faber on the Blessed Sacrament, p. 514.

† On the Blessed Sacrament, p. 515.

have misapprehended the doctrine which was condemned. The condemned work advocated a certain "cultus towards the Deipara in the Sacrament of the altar;" but S. Ignatius's opinion would not have even tended to introduce any such cultus. We wish one of our more learned readers would find a copy, either of Zephyrinus's work or of its condemnation; for much light would thereby be thrown on the present subject. So far, however, as Dr. Pusey is concerned, no fresh light is needed. S. Ignatius, Salazar, à Lapide, Faber, are as far removed as Dr. Pusey himself, from upholding any true co-presence of our Lady in the Blessed Eucharist.*

We have now considered in order three different doctrines: viz. (1) the Blessed Virgin's exemption from original sin; (2) her immunity from the debitum proximum of incurring it; and (3) her Assumption. We proceed, lastly, to that body of doctrine, which underlies the Marian devotion practically inculcated on Catholics by the Ecclesia Docens. We are as far as possible from wishing to underrate, for controversial purposes, the extent and prominence of that devotion. On the contrary, we hold that the Church accounts the habitual and (as it were) unintermittent thought and remembrance of the Most Holy Virgin, as an invaluable means of grace, and as giving extraordinary help to the true love of her Son.† Dr. Pusey, on his side, denounces such devotion as quasi-idolatry, and as miserably obscuring the thought of God; while he denounces also the doctrine on which that devotion is built, as contrary to the teaching of Scripture and Antiquity. The former of these two objections we considered at length in our last num-

* The *Union Review* (Sept., p. 514) says that we defended in July certain writers, who have said things "quite as offensive" as this tenet of Oswald's. *What writers! What things! We are amazed.*

† What can be stronger than the practical exhortation with which Pius IX. concludes his definition of the Immaculate Conception? Dr. Pusey serviceably quotes it in p. 180; but we substitute our own italics for his:—"Let all the sons of the Catholic Church, most dear to us, hear these our words, and with a yet more ardent zeal of piety, religion, and love, continue to worship, invoke, pray, the most blessed Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, conceived without original stain, and to *flee unto this most sweet Mother of mercy and grace, in all perils, distresses, necessities, and doubtful and anxious circumstances.* For nothing is to be feared, nothing despaired of, when she is the Captain, she the Author, she propitious, she protecting, who, bearing a motherly mind towards us, and *having in hand the affairs of our salvation, is anxious about the whole human race;* and having been made by the Lord Queen of heaven and earth, and exalted above all the orders of Angels and Saints, standing at the Right Hand of her Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, does by her Mother's prayers most potently impetrate, and find what she seeks, and cannot be frustrated."

ber; and here we can but briefly recapitulate what we there addressed to Dr. Pusey.

You maintain, we said in effect, that with Roman Catholics Mary is interposed as a kind of barrier between God and the soul; but on the very same principle it might quite as reasonably be said, that with all Trinitarians the Sacred Humanity is interposed as such a barrier. You point to numberless instances, where a Catholic in trouble turns his first thoughts to Mary; and in reply we point to numberless instances, where an Anglican in trouble turns his first thoughts to the Sacred Humanity. The former fact, you think, proves that such a Catholic loves Mary better than God; if so, the latter fact proves that such an Anglican either loves the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity more than the First, or else loves the created nature more than the Uncreated Person.* Both conclusions are monstrously false: the simple fact being, that human nature is weak; and that men fix their mind therefore far more readily and easily, on what requires less effort, and is more level to their natural range.†

Positively we urged in substance this. The mind has a most real capacity for apprehension and love of the Infinite: but however intensely that capacity be exercised, there still remains a very large residue of affection for finite objects. Now it is the Church's end, that her children's hearts be anchored in the invisible world; that they measure all earthly things by a heavenly standard. This great end then is most inadequately promoted, unless their love for the finite, as well as for the Infinite, find great scope in their religious exercises. And more particularly it is of inestimable value, that that unspeakably tender and powerful feeling—a child's love towards its mother—be allowed a hearty vent on such a being as Mary. Lastly, their love of finite heavenly persons reacts most powerfully on, and indefinitely intensifies, their love of God; and gives to that love an otherwise untasted quality of tenderness and passionate devotion. There is no adequate protection, therefore, against that miserable snare of worldliness, which in these days is so formidable and so subtle a danger, except hearty and unintermitting devotion to Blessed Mary and all Saints; for otherwise that love of finite objects, which cannot possibly be eradicated, will find its exclusive

* Since the present article was in type, a very candid and intelligible reply to this argument has appeared in the *Union Review* of September. We answer it in our "Notices."

† "Ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per Hunc in invisibilem amorem rapiamur."

gratification in this visible world. Nor is this a mere ingenious fancy devised for the occasion; on the contrary, never was there a theory more irresistibly borne out by facts. One must not, indeed, judge individuals, but classes; for individuals are not unfrequently, from misapprehension, better or worse than their speculative opinions. Let us look, then, at classes. Since the Reformation there has always been a number of Catholics who have been shy of the more "extreme" devotions. Whether you take the more earnest and zealous of these; or, again, the more earnest and zealous of Protestants; no fact is more generally conspicuous, than the union of a real desire to obey and please God with a certain strange and perverse worldliness of judgment. Take nationalism; or naturalism; or intellectualism; or respect for worldly greatness; or any other of the prevailing antichrists. It has its chief supporters, of course, among men altogether indecent and irreligious; but who are those more pious persons, who shrink from meeting it with the unquailing resistance and the frank defiance which are its due? They will commonly, we believe, be found among those, who are scant and sparing in their language on the worship due to Mary Most Holy, to Angels, and to Saints. Dr. Pusey observes (p. 181) that "that portion of the Roman Church which is most devoted to the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, is most persuaded of the personal infallibility of the Pope." This is no accidental coincidence; it is the same phenomenon, which always has been and always will be presented. Those are the very same habits of thought under which, on the one hand, a man shrinks from the tender, unintermitting, eager worship of Mary; and under which, on the other hand, he is cold and disloyal to the Vicar of Christ. She is the especial foe to worldliness in heaven, and he is its especial foe on earth.

Our present argument, however, concerns not the devotion itself, but the implied doctrines on which it is based. On two former occasions we have drawn out a list of such doctrines, which, though of course incomplete, yet seemed sufficient for our purpose. We will, therefore, once more reprint it.

In order to appreciate Dr. Pusey's various propositions, it is very important that we briefly and generally explain, what are those doctrines concerning her, which we maintain to be authoritatively, and therefore infallibly, taught by the Church. They are, we think, such as these:—(1.) That her merits are incomparably greater than those of any other created person. (2.) That, accordingly, she occupies a place in heaven incomparably nearer to her Son than any other. (3.) That she is intimately acquainted with the thoughts, the character, the circumstances, of all who invoke her aid; and well knows what is really for their greatest good. (4.) That she has incomparably greater

power than any other created person, towards promoting that good. (5.) That to unite ourselves with Mary in the contemplation of Jesus, as is done, e.g. by those who duly recite the Rosary, is a singularly efficacious means for vividly apprehending His Divine Personality and His various mysteries. (6.) That the unremitting and most loving thought of her has an efficacy, peculiarly its own, in promoting a tender and practical love of Him. (7.) That that temper of mind is most acceptable to Almighty God, in which the thought of Jesus and of Mary is inseparably blended. (8.) That regular and repeated prayer to her cannot be omitted by a Catholic, without putting his salvation into grievous peril. Other propositions might be added to these; and the proof which we would allege, of such propositions being really contained in the Church's authoritative teaching, is this:—If any one of them were denied, the exhortations impressed on Catholics throughout Christendom, with full approbation of Pope and bishops, would be baseless and indefensible; influential religious habits, whose growth is sedulously fostered by ecclesiastical authority, would be founded on a delusion; the Church would have in fact made a mistake, unspeakably serious, in that very matter—the training of souls for heaven—which is the one ultimate end for which she was endowed with infallibility.

Dr. Pusey will be the last to deny that such doctrines as these are practically and magisterially taught by the Roman Catholic Church. Since, therefore, as we argued in April (pp. 422—425), the Church is *infallible* in her magisterium, it follows that these doctrines are infallibly true.* At the same time let it be carefully observed, that the Church does not teach this body of doctrine as *de fide*, though she teaches it with infallible authority; we are, therefore, in no way called on to maintain that the Apostles actually inculcated it, but only that they inculcated principles from which it is legitimately deduced. The importance of this explanation will appear as we proceed. Dr. Pusey, on the contrary, thinks that this body of doctrine is actually *disproved*, both by the language and by the silence both of Scripture and of Antiquity. Here, therefore, are four different matters to be considered in

* In p. lxxvii. of his Introductory Essay, F. Harper has some admirable remarks on the authority of the Church's practical teaching. "It is precisely this practical system—this universal conviction—this development of the Tridentine Canons, as Dr. Pusey means it,—which is the *expression, or rather actuation of the Church's present indwelling vitality*. Dead ideas alone can be hidden up in manuscript; living ideas grow, and show fruit. It is precisely in and through this vast practical system—in proportion as it is universal—that the Holy Ghost is working, directing, *leading the mind of the Church by degrees into all the truth*. Mere formula—mere written definitions, by themselves—are bodies that have either lost animation, or are waiting for it. In the Church they are the *expression of her perfected consciousness*, on the particular subject of that revealed dogma, about which they treat. They live in her spirit, and grow with her growth. Like all things else that have an undecaying life, they can never decrease, but must ever increase."

reference to Marian doctrine: firstly, the language of Scripture; secondly, the silence of Scripture; thirdly, the language of Antiquity; and, fourthly, the silence of Antiquity.

As to the language of Scripture, we must begin with once more briefly recurring to the Protevangel of Genesis. We refer our readers to p. 459 and p. 478 of our present article. And we infer from what has there been said, that when first God promised a Redeemer, there was another doctrine declared by Him with equal emphasis; viz., the office of His Mother as Co-Redemptress. The unceasing contest between Christ and Satan, is a contest concerning the sanctification and salvation of each individual soul. But it is that very contest, in which the Protevangel represents Mary as taking so very prominent and leading a part: hence she is predicted as taking a most prominent and leading part, in the sanctification and salvation of each individual soul. This is precisely what Dr. Pusey denies, and what "extreme" Catholics so earnestly maintain.

We next turn again to the remarkable vision in the Apocalypse (xii. 1—6): see F. Newman's comment, as adduced in p. 480 of this article. She was seen by S. John, as "clothed with the sun and the moon beneath her feet." Nothing less can be inferred from such glowing words, than that, apart from her Son "Who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron" (v. 5), she possessed quite incomparably the noblest and most elevated place in His Kingdom. But His Kingdom is the Kingdom of grace, and its end the sanctification and salvation of souls. Hence Mary, next to her Son, possesses incomparably the noblest and most elevated place in sanctifying and saving souls.

We have quoted from the beginning, and from the end, of Scripture. We now turn to that intermediate portion of it, the four Gospels, where we should naturally expect the most direct testimonies concerning her office and prerogatives. It is the universal conviction, we believe, of Protestants, that so far as the Gospels speak of her at all, it is invariably in a tone of disparagement. Nothing more shows the blindness of traditional prejudice than such a mistake; but before entering on individual passages, we will dwell on the general fact of Christ's relations to her, as exhibited in the Gospel narrative.

And first, it continually escapes notice, how truly remarkable it is that He had a Mother at all. There would have been no greater miracle than was in fact wrought (rather indeed a less one), had He appeared at once on earth, *e.g.* as an infant; and had some pious woman been com-

missioned by God to foster Him in His earlier years. Let us suppose that the two facts became known to us successively. Firstly, we hear that God has become Incarnate for our sins: and when we have had time to ponder duly on this, we learn the further fact, that He has been borne for nine months in the womb of a Virgin Mother.* Our immediate impression would assuredly be, that this Mother is associated with Him in His redeeming office by some most close and mysterious union.

Again, it in no respect follows from the mere fact of His having a Mother, that she should have been privileged with such unspeakable familiarity of thought and communion with him. She might have died, *e.g.*, soon after His birth. How different was the fact! Of the thirty-three years which He passed on earth, thirty were passed in the closest and most unreserved intercourse, first with Mary and Joseph, afterwards with Mary alone. The Apostles were taught by Him collectively and (as one may say) formally; with none of them is He represented as cultivating that uninterrupted domestic intimacy, which characterized His relations with His Mother and His foster-father. That Catholic instinct, which places S. Joseph next to the Blessed Virgin in heaven and as raised far above all other Saints, is but the legitimate inference from what Scripture declares.†

In considering next those individual facts which illustrate Mary's high prerogatives, we come first to the angelic salutation: "*χαῖρε κεχαρισμένη*," "Ave gratiâ plena." Can any instance be named of a Divine message brought to some creature, in which the salutation is nearly so honourable or so indicative of dignity?

(2.) Immediately after the Annunciation, she went to visit Elizabeth. We know not whether Protestants in general accept the Catholic belief, that S. John Baptist was cleansed from original sin, at the moment when he "leaped" in Elizabeth's womb; but Dr. Pusey undoubtedly accepts it. He admits, then, that the first miracle wrought by our Lord was wrought through His Mother's mediation; and that the precise moment chosen for its accomplishment, was when the voice of Mary's salutation sounded in Elizabeth's ears.

(3.) Who was Elizabeth? "Among the sons of women, no greater hath arisen than John Baptist." Elizabeth was chosen to be his mother, and that by a certain miracle. Great was she then undoubtedly in office and in dignity;

* The "Te Deum" commemorates these mercies as separate, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem, non horruisti Virginis uterum."

† See F. Sweeney's very forcible remarks in his lectures, vol. iii., p. 154.

yet she seemed penetrated with a sense of our Lady's singular condescension in coming to visit her. "*Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me?*" And this speech is the more remarkable, because God Incarnate was also present at the same moment; and yet Elizabeth speaks explicitly, not of His visit, but of His Mother's.

(4.) The shepherds of Bethlehem, the Magi from the East, came to adore the newly-born God. They found Him resting in His Mother's arms, as on His appointed throne. They anticipated that very form of worship, which Catholics have retained and Protestants rejected. "It was one of her greatnesses and benedictions, that her Son thought fit to manifest Himself in an age and condition, which obliged Him to manifest her with Him."*

(5.) The Incarnate God "was subject to" Mary and Joseph (Luke ii. 51). We dwelt on this statement in our last number, pp. 185, 186. Its extraordinary force is manifest, from the horror and indignation expressed by Protestants, when later Catholic writers use the very same phrase.

(6.) Then, as His first miracle had been performed through her mediation, His first *public* miracle was performed at Cana through her intercession.

(7.) That Mary, at all events, was a tender and affectionate Mother, no Protestants have ventured to deny; nor consequently that the contemplation of her Son, dying in unimaginable Agony, was the keenest of sufferings. Yet she placed herself at the very foot of the Cross, where she could most keenly taste that suffering and drink the cup to its very dregs. Surely in no other way can you do justice to the spirit and significance of this fact, unless you suppose, with Catholics, that she was thereby fulfilling to the very last her august office of Co-Redemptress; and filling the measure of that com-passion, which availed congruously to the sanctification and salvation of mankind.

(8.) Nor must the remarkable phrase "*Mulier*" be forgotten, twice addressed to her by her Son. It recalls at once the "*inimicitias inter serpentem et Mulierem*;" and is strikingly analogous to our Lord's own title, "The Son of Man"—"The Seed of the Woman."

But we must now consider in turn certain texts, which Protestants are fond of alleging on the opposite side; which they regard as indicating a certain harshness and disrespect in our Lord's demeanour to His Mother. And, firstly, they

* Quoted from the Cardinal de Bérulle by Nicolas "*Plan Divin*," vol. ii, p. 14.

cite Luke ii. 49, "*Quid est quòd me quærebatis? nesciebatis quia in his quæ Patris Mei sunt oportet Me esse?*": urging as a manifest fact, that He rebuked Mary and Joseph for seeking Him. Good God! Their proper course then, it seems, on discovering His absence, was to return home without taking further trouble, and console themselves for His loss as best they might! In addition to the manifest unreasonableness and disgusting odiousness of such a notion, the sacred text directly conflicts with it. For he did, in fact, at once leave Jerusalem; He returned with them to Nazareth; He remained subject to Mary during eighteen more years. Our Lord's words, then, cannot by possibility mean what Protestants suppose; though we quite admit that it is a matter of some little difficulty, to understand what they do mean. We submit with diffidence the following explanation of the whole event. By His thirty years' subjection to His "parents," He inculcated forcibly the ordinary rule of obedience to parents: by remaining behind at Jerusalem, He illustrated the necessary exception—the obligation of neglecting filial ties where God summons to His service. He could not have emphatically inculcated this, had He acquainted Mary and Joseph with His intention: because they would, of course, have at once humbly acquiesced; whereas the whole lesson was to turn on His acting without their consent. "But He inflicted thereby cruel pain on His Mother." Well, that is for Protestants to explain no less than Catholics; for, however disparaging their thoughts of her, they will not believe that her Son inflicted pain on her for no adequate reason. Catholics, however, reply very easily, that His Mother's sufferings were implied by her office of Co-Redemptress. It was included in that bond of anguish which united Jesus and Mary, that He was ever inflicting cruel pain upon her, and greatly intensifying His own grief by the infliction. "How is it that ye sought Me"—He tenderly asks them—"among your kinsfolk and acquaintances?" (v. 44). "Did you think that I would leave you for *them*? There was but One for whom I would leave you; it was in His House that you should at once have looked for Me." Not even His Mother at the time fully understood His meaning in the brief words He used (v. 50); but she pondered them and compared them with His other sayings (v. 51), until she rose by degrees to an ever fuller knowledge of His counsels and decrees.

John ii. 4:—"Quid Mihi et tibi mulier? nondum venit Hora Mea." The Protestant interpretation of this verse is simply revolting. His Mother makes a request, which is unbecoming, and irreconcilable with the due order of His provi-

dence. Our Lord grants indeed this request, but rebukes her for making it. Why, such an interpretation ascribes to her a power, the very supposition of which would horrify S. Alphonsus or Montfort; the power of obtaining by her prayers a miracle, which is unbecoming and irreconcilable with the due order of God's providence. And this interpretation is given for the purpose of protesting against "superstitious Mariolatry"! Here, then, as before, it is clear that the Protestant interpretation is monstrous; but here, as before, it is by no means equally clear what the passage actually means. One great difficulty is this: not only our Lord consented to work the miracle, but His Mother at once *understood* Him to consent (see v. 5). The words, then, above quoted, must be interpreted in accordance with this unquestionable fact: and this is certainly no easy task. Now firstly, even if He said no more than S. John records, it must be remembered that His Mother, who had now lived during thirty years for the one end of contemplating and loving Him, understood well every proverbial expression that fell from His lips; nay every inflection of His voice, and every aspect of His countenance. Words then which, as they stand on paper, are most mysterious, when spoken by that well-known voice, and illustrated by countenance and gesture, may to her (though not to others) have at once carried with them their true meaning. Then, secondly, one or two supplementary explanations will be to every one obvious on reflection. "What have I to do with thee?"* sc. "in such matters as these?" Again, "Mine hour is not yet come," sc. "for having to do with thee in such matters." We submit, then, to better judgments the following paraphrase:—"Woman—thou who wast announced under that name by My Father as Co-Redemptrix with Me of the world—what fixed relations are there as yet between Me and thee in this matter of working miracles? I most willingly grant thy pious and congruous petition. Had it not been pious and congruous, thou wouldst never have preferred it. Still, Mine hour is not yet come of receiving thy sweet petition for every miracle and every grace which I grant. This fresh joy I shall obtain, when thou shalt enjoy the vision of My Father in heaven."

Matt. xii. 46-50; Mark iii. 31-35; Luke viii. 19-21. The incident of his Mother and brethren seeking to see Him, and of His reply. Now there is no foundation whatever for the argument built by Protestants on this reply, unless it be supposed

* Cardinal Wiseman has shown clearly that this is the force of "*Quid Mihi et tibi.*" He has also shown that this phrase in itself implies no kind of harshness or disrespect.—*Essays*, vol. i., pp. 93-98.

that His Mother desired Him to be interrupted in His discourse, in order that He might speak with her. Never was there a supposition more simply gratuitous.* The whole context shows that His gentle rebuke was addressed to one or more of the bystanders; who announced the arrival of His mother and brethren, and who expected, as a matter of course, that He would suspend His teaching for a brief enjoyment of their society. He replies in effect that He recognizes no kinsman after the flesh; that all without exception are dearer to Him, in proportion as they better fulfil His Father's Will; that by His act of preaching He is raising up to Himself fresh kinsmen, in converting souls to God; and that such work may not be interrupted by any regard to carnal relationship. It may be asked, undoubtedly, with much show of reason, why He did not take occasion, by her name being mentioned, to proclaim her unapproachable greatness in His Kingdom; and this question shall be carefully answered under our next head,—the *silence* of Scripture. We admit fully, then, that He did not on this occasion speak, as he might imaginably have spoken, in her honour; but we totally deny that His words tended ever so remotely to her disparagement.

Lastly, Luke xi. 27-8. "Beatus venter qui Te portavit et ubera quæ suxisti . . . Quinimmò beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud." The remarkable thing here, as against the Protestant argument, is, that the woman was directly and primarily expressing her admiration of Jesus; and but indirectly and secondarily of His Mother, whom she did not know. "Happy must be the mother," she said, "of such a Son." If the text proved anything to the purpose, it would prove that admiration of our Blessed Lord is here discountenanced and reprovèd. Perhaps, indeed, Unitarians use it for that purpose; certainly they have far more reason to do so, than Anglicans to adduce it against the worship of Mary. Both Anglicans and Catholics, however, most easily reply, that it is not admiration which is here reprovèd, but *barren* admiration. Evidently this woman, instead of entering into herself and pondering on our Lord's practical lessons, thought of nothing but His external grace and persuasiveness.† To reprove this then was the direct bearing of Christ's language. But who can doubt that a further sense was also

* "Fieri potuit ut bono animo et convenienti modo illum quærent, casu autem accideret ut alii astantes et audientes Christum importunè alloquerentur."—Suarez de Incarn., vol. ii., d. 4, s. 4.

† This is substantially F. Sweeney's explanation in an admirable passage. Vol. iii., p. 174.

intended?—that He referred to His Mother's unparalleled excellence in "hearing God's word and keeping it"?—that He pronounced her more blessed in that than even in her Divine maternity?

We may thus, then, sum up our answer, to the objections which Protestants derive from the language of Scripture. The Gospel narrative contains certain broad and general facts, which corroborate most powerfully the Catholic view on Mary's exalted dignity. Further, there are eight individual passages pointing in the same direction. Protestants, on their side, adduce four texts. Of these, the two latter, in their simple and obvious interpretation, imply no disparagement whatever to Our Lady: while as to the two former, our case is even stronger; for the Protestant interpretation of them is simply monstrous and intolerable. Lastly, the texts from Genesis and the Apocalypse involve, at all events, the full Marian doctrine as now taught within the Church; even though they do not point (as we think they do point) to a still further and richer development of that doctrine. So far, therefore, from any *objection* being justly founded on the language of Scripture, that language supplies Catholics with extremely strong positive arguments for their belief.

But we believe that Protestants in general lay far greater stress on the *silence*, than on the *language*, of Scripture; and to this point, therefore, we next proceed. On this silence two objections are founded, totally distinct from each other, and which require an investigation totally distinct. Firstly, it is asked why in the Gospels there is so little mention of Mary; and, secondly, why in the Epistles the faithful are never urged to her invocation. And there is one remark, at all events, which has been often made, and which is equally applicable in the case of both objections. When there is question of a *man's* writing, a very cogent argument may often be drawn from his *silence* on this or that particular; because we may be indefinitely acquainted with all the various motives which can conceivably actuate him. But nothing can be more precarious than such an argument in case of *God's* Word; since He may have innumerable reasons unknown to us and unsuspected. Even though we were obliged to confess ourselves incapable of explaining the silence of Scripture, the objection drawn from that silence would still be worth very little.

Now first as to the Gospels. Putting aside altogether the case of Our Lady, the most cursory view of them will show that they are pervaded by a certain mysterious law of silence. Nothing whatever is recorded of our Blessed Lord's life in

Egypt; only one incident is told, from His beginning to live at Nazareth down to the commencement of His public ministry; hardly anything of His most momentous communications with the Apostolic college during the great Forty Days. Will Protestants say, then, that he neither spoke nor acted during those long intervals? or that the acts and speeches of God Incarnate were trivial and insignificant? If they cannot say either of these things, let them cease to build on the silence of Scripture concerning His Blessed Mother.

Yet if the task be done with sobriety and reverence, it cannot but be profitable to examine this very remarkable silence. And on commencing this examination, there are two different difficulties which present themselves. (1.) Why do we hear so little concerning that portion of her life, which was spent apart from her Son, before His Incarnation and after His Ascension? (2.) Why do we know so little of those most momentous colloquies, which must have proceeded between Jesus and Mary, during the thirty years throughout which their intercourse was so close and uninterrupted?

In answer to the former inquiry, let it be asked what was the place which Mary was intended to hold, in the spiritual life of an interior Christian. He is to cultivate the habitual and unintermitting thought of her; and yet that thought is to be subordinate and ministrative to the central and paramount thought of her Son and her God. Now let that further be borne in mind, which we urged in our last number. What is meant when one says that each different Saint has a *character* of his own? S. Paul, *e. g.*, had his own very pronounced character; S. Peter his; and so of the rest. It must mean, at all events, that certain qualities very perceptibly and prominently predominated over the rest. Now does not this further imply that there was a certain want of complete harmony? a certain imperfection of temperament? On the other hand, our Saviour, as exhibited in the Gospels, has no "character;" no one quality predominates unduly over any other; He is the very image of the Infinitely Perfect God. In like manner Mary has no special "character" of her own, any more than her Son has; she is the "*Speculum Justitiæ*;" the faultless mirror of complete and harmonious sanctity. This being so, let us consider what must have resulted, had a series of her separate acts and words been reported, with the same distinctness of detail wherewith the Gospels recount her Son's. Instead of His minister she would have been His rival. Contrast, *e. g.*, the case of S. Paul. We know almost as much of his life and his personal characteristics as of Christ's; yet the notion is preposterous, of there being the slightest

danger of one rivalling the other. Why so? Because S. Paul's character is so unmistakeably human; so absolutely heterogeneous from his Master's. But, on the other hand, if Mary be what Catholics believe, in what single respect would her words and actions have differed from her Son's, as regards the practical impression they would have made on our mind? Not more, we will venture to say, than our Lord, as exhibited by S. Luke, differs from our Lord as exhibited by S. John. The result (unless some miracle were wrought to counteract it) must have been disastrous. On the other hand, as the matter has in fact been appointed, we cannot fix our thoughts on her earnestly and in detail, without being led on to contemplate her Son. Her joys, as contemplated by Catholics, were in His Presence; her dolours in His Passion; her exaltation in His Resurrection and Ascension.

But it will be replied, and truly, that this argument cannot apply to the innumerable colloquies between Jesus and Mary; for that in *them* the latter's subordination would be always emphatically manifested. Here, then, we introduce a different consideration altogether. Putting aside for the moment our Lady, we will return to the great Forty Days, during which He "appeared to" the Apostles "and spake concerning the Kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3). Now if you consider that the Apostles' eyes were now (as one may say) opened; that the Atonement was accomplished; that the miracle of the Resurrection had been visibly wrought; that our Lord's final departure was at hand; it is evident that the instructions He then gave must have been of an incomparably more elevated and sublime character than those of the earlier period. And yet no part of them is recorded. How do Protestants explain this? There is one most obvious answer to be given. From the very fact that those instructions were so mystical, so unearthly, so transcendental, they would be unintelligible to ordinary readers; and, indeed, in all probability would be open to most injurious misapprehension. It was the Apostles' business, as time went on, to translate them, as it were, into the language of ordinary men; and accommodate to the *captus* of each individual disciple the marvels learned from their Risen Saviour.

But if the discourses addressed to Apostles were so raised above ordinary apprehension, what shall be said of His intimate and familiar colloquies with Mary and Joseph? Extravagant is the very thought of taking them down in a record and exhibiting them to the world, if Mary and Joseph be really such as Catholics believe them. As well might you think of unfolding to mortal men the mutual conversation of Angels in *heaven*.

Then it is firmly held by all Catholics, that our Risen Lord's first appearance was to His Mother ; and Protestants taunt us with the silence of Scripture on this interview. Yet consider what that interview was. The Redeemer and the Co-Redemptress meeting for the first time, after redemption has been accomplished ; the Mother enjoying her Son's presence, on the first occasion of her life when she could think of Him with unmixed joy. What profanation in the very thought of putting into words the ineffable sweetness, tenderness, peacefulness, of that unparalleled scene !

You are led then, *à priori*, to expect just what in fact you find : that it is our Lord's public life, and that alone, which shall be recorded in detail and with abundant particulars. What He then said and did was made level to the apprehension of ordinary men. "Blessed were their eyes, for they saw ; and their ears, for they heard" : and of the same blessedness Christians are made partakers in every age, by studying the record of what then took place.

We consider, then, that the silence of the Gospels not only gives no advantage to Protestants against the Church, but, on the contrary, gives the Church an extremely strong argument against Protestants. On the Catholic hypothesis the whole thing is most intelligible ; but what explanation of the fact will a Protestant give ? He will maintain, we suppose, that so little is recorded concerning Mary, because she said and did so little which *deserves* record. A strange view concerning her who uttered the "Magnificat" ! But let us grant it him for argument's sake : how will he explain the silence of Scripture, not concerning Mary, but concerning her Son ? concerning all His marvellous actions and words during thirty years out of thirty-three ?

We next proceed to the silence of the Acts and Epistles on Marian invocation. "If devotion to the Blessed Virgin," asks Dr. Pusey, "were so essential to salvation, how could it be that God, in His last and final revelation of Himself, is so wholly silent about it ?" (p. 119.) Well, at all events there could have been no devotion to her (in the present sense) before her Assumption ; and Dr. Pusey should have considered, therefore, how many books of Scripture were written before that event. Still it is quite certain that neither Christ nor His Apostles are recorded in Scripture as having in any way publicly proclaimed her singular pre-eminence among redeemed souls ; and this might undoubtedly have been done before her Assumption no less than after it. For a moment, however, as before, we will put aside the particular question of our Lady, and consider a broader aspect of the case.

The one central doctrine of the Gospel is the Incarnation. Moreover, there is no doctrine which is more certainly and undeniably contained in Scripture. Those who study carefully the New Testament text, will be amazed to find how constantly, and in how surprising a variety of ways, this truth is implied and wrought, as it were, into the context. Yet, on the other hand, you may see on the surface that it is very far more often *implied* than *expressed*. There is a small number of well-known texts which do express it. But our Blessed Lord Himself speaks of "Thee, the Only True God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent;" as though the latter were not "the Only True God:" and it is for the more common practice of the New Testament writers to speak similarly. A still more remarkable circumstance is this. Since the Incarnation is the central doctrine of the Gospel, it follows that the one spiritual and devotional practice, characteristic of Christianity, is the *addressing latria to Christ*. Now Protestants dwell with such emphasis on the silence of Scripture concerning *Marian invocation*, that one would expect to find the New Testament in every page counselling or exhibiting *prayer to Christ*. But what is the fact? Of course, both the few texts which distinctly declare our Lord's Divine Personality, and the innumerable texts which imply it, alike *imply* that He is suitably worshipped with latria. Again, it is the one legitimate sense of Heb. i. 6, that God proposed Him to the Angels as so to be worshipped. Then S. Stephen says, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and S. Paul, "Lord, what wouldest Thou have me to do?" but they were both at the time seeing Jesus with their bodily eyes. (Acts vii. 55, 58, 59; ix. 6.) The question we ask is this. *In how many passages of Scripture is prayer to Christ Invisible either practised or expressly counselled?* In Acts i. 24, where prayer is offered to "the Lord" before election of the new Apostle, "the Lord" may very probably be Christ. Again in 2 Cor. xii. 8, where S. Paul recounts his having prayed against the "*stimulus carnis*," the following verse makes it pretty clear that Christ is intended: but then, as He immediately answers, it would seem that He was visibly present with S. Paul on each occasion. And how many other such passages are to be found? We will not venture to assert a negative; but we will at least beg Dr. Pusey to supply a list of such texts. It is quite certain, at all events, that they are extremely few; while it is equally certain, as we have said, that such prayer is the one characteristic worship of Christianity. Let him explain to us the reason of this truly remarkable silence; and we will assuredly explain to him the silence, which is not one whit

more remarkable, preserved by Scripture on Marian invocation.

We have already observed, that to argue from the silence of *God's Word* is a most precarious course; and if we could assign no reason whatever for the above phenomenon, such a fact would disturb us very little. Petavius, however,* throws out some such suggestion as the following; though at the fag end of an article devoted to a totally different subject, we can, of course, attempt no more than a most brief indication of his view. Consider the singularly difficult task to be encountered by the Apostolic Church. Her converts had either been Jews or Polytheists; while she had to inculcate the doctrine of a Trinity. There was evidently the greatest danger lest, on the one hand, Polytheists might misapprehend such a doctrine as yielding some sanction to their ancient blasphemies; and lest Jews, on the other hand, whose greatest glory had been a jealous upholding of Monotheism, might be alarmed and repelled by fancying that this fundamental verity was denied. The success of her efforts in overcoming this difficulty was so signal, that subsequent Christians are tempted to overlook its existence; but on reflection you will find that you can hardly exaggerate its seriousness. By what means did the Apostles encounter it? On the one hand, they really taught that Christ is the Father's True and Substantial Son; a truth which includes, of course, really His Divine Personality. But on the other hand, they did not attempt a full and exhaustive analysis of this doctrine; and still less (which is our immediate point) did they proceed to give it its due and legitimate shape and proportion, in the daily and habitual worship of Christians. That they themselves abounded in prayer to Jesus, no Trinitarian will doubt; but neither for ourselves do we doubt that, from the moment of Mary's Assumption, they abounded also in prayer to Mary. What we are here saying is merely, that there is hardly one iota more of Scriptural evidence for the former of these facts than for the latter.

Now, if Dr. Pusey will not accept this explanation, we have a right to call on him either to substitute some other, or else to withdraw that argument against Marian devotion which he builds on the silence of Scripture. But if he do accept such an explanation, he must see at once that whatever assistance it may give him in his controversy with Unitarians, it gives far greater assistance to the Catholic in his controversy with Anglicans. If in the case of these neophytes there was serious danger to the purity of their faith, by their being

* We have been unable at the moment to recover our reference.

called on habitually to worship the Eternal Son of God;—how immeasurably greater, by their being counselled habitually to worship a creature! It was, of course, absolutely necessary for the whole body of heathen reminiscences to become effaced, before Christians could be safely initiated into the fulness and sweetness of Marian devotion. We fully concede, then, to Dr. Pusey's above-cited objection, that the early converts endured a very great spiritual privation, in that their direct worship of Jesus was so sparing; and in that there was apparently no direct worship of Mary at all. But we say that this privation, however deplorable, was under circumstances inevitable. Every age has its own peculiar blessings, and its own peculiar disadvantages. God adjusts His providence and His grace to the circumstances of each period; nor will Dr. Pusey advance one step towards gaining the privileges of the first century, because he may choose thanklessly to throw away those of the nineteenth.

The same consideration will account for the Queen of the Apostles not having appeared during her earthly life on the public ecclesiastical scene. It is firmly held by Catholics that during this period she had supreme influence over the Apostolic counsels;* but it was impossible, without the greatest danger, that the general body of converts should be made acquainted with her office of Co-Redemptress. And on similar grounds, the fact is most easily intelligible, which we admitted in the early part of this article;—viz., that the Apostolic teaching of her Immaculate Conception, though actual, was unemphatic.

We have now, therefore, sufficiently considered (1) the language, and (2) the silence of Scripture, concerning Marian doctrine. Our next argument was to have been on the language of Antiquity; but what has been said on this head in the earlier part of our article will abundantly suffice.

Lastly, then, we are to speak on the silence of Antiquity. And we very readily admit at starting, that many centuries elapsed before Marian invocation assumed a regular and systematic shape, at all parallel to that which now prevails. But, firstly, so far as regards the ante-Nicene period, it is a very grave and intricate question how far direct prayer to *our Lord* was at that time common. The present writer has not the requisite knowledge for any precise statement of facts on this matter; but we may usefully draw attention to some

* F. Newman refers with assent to this (p. 65) where he implies that the silence of the New Testament on our Lady may perchance be ascribed to her own humility, and her influence with the Scripture writers.

remarks made a few years ago in the *Home and Foreign Review*. That Review, with all its remarkable ability, was often in the habit of making far too sweeping assertions; and the article, from which we are about to quote, shows to our mind more than one indication of unsound doctrine. By all means, therefore, let the following statement be examined by learned men; we only give it for what it may be worth. The author is replying to a Protestant controversialist, who thus speaks of Marian devotion:—"There is nothing of the sort in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, that is in the second century. There is nothing of the sort in Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyprian, Methodius, Lactantius, that is in the third century." The author of the article replies in effect, that the same identical statement might be made with equal truth concerning "*the invocation of Christ as Almighty God*."* It is perfectly certain indeed, that the ante-Nicene Fathers held truly and sincerely the revealed doctrine on our Lord's Divine Personality; but it is no less certain that they held it with more or less imperfection and inaccuracy of analysis, and without fully carrying it out to its legitimate devotional position. "It required century after century," says F. Newman (p. 92), "to spread out the doctrine in its fulness, and to imprint it energetically on the worship and practice of the Catholic people, as well as on their faith. Athanasius was the first and great teacher of it."† Now it is very plain that the Holy Ghost could never have permitted any large prevalence of Marian devotion, until the fundamental doctrine of the Incarnation was adequately impressed on the mind of Christians; because deplorable confusion must have thence resulted. But that doctrine once placed in clearest and fullest light, there was an opening quite different in kind from any which had hitherto existed, for the sustained and habitual worship of our great Co-Redemptress. This has nowhere, we think, been so well explained, as by F. Newman in his "Essay on Development:"—

The Arian controversy opened a question which it did not settle. It discovered a new sphere, if we may so speak, in the realms of light, to which the Church had not yet assigned its inhabitant. . . .

The Nicene Council recognised the eventful principle, that, while we believe and profess any being to be a creature, such a being is really no God to us, though honoured by us with whatever high titles and with whatever homage. Arius or Asterius did all but confess that Christ was the Almighty; *they*

* *Home and Foreign Review* for April, 1864, pp. 658-9.

† See also *Essay on Development*, p. 399.

said much more than S. Bernard or S. Alphonso have since said of Mary; yet they left Him a creature and were found wanting. Thus there was "a wonder in heaven:" a throne was seen, far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory; a title archetypal; a crown bright as the morning star; a glory issuing from the Eternal Throne; robes pure as the heavens; and a sceptre over all; and who was the predestined heir of that Majesty? . . .

The vision is found in the Apocalypse: a Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. *The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith, unless the blasphemers of her Son came up to it.* The Church of Rome is not idolatrous, unless Arianism is orthodox (pp. 405, 6).

We must maintain, then, most confidently, that the particular form, assumed by Marian devotion in early times, is in no respect whatever a measure of its legitimate scope and extent. Let Dr. Pusey consider the following fact. It was not till the mediæval period that detailed lives of our Lord came into circulation; and that there fully existed what we now call devotion to the Passion. Yet Dr. Pusey will be forward in admitting, that such developments as these were intended by God from the very first. He cannot, therefore, object, on *a priori* grounds, to the opinion that a similar development was equally intended on the honours paid to Mary. Our positive reason, of course, for firmly holding this, is the Church's infallibility in her magisterium; we are now only urging, that the comparative silence of Antiquity constitutes no kind of argument, against the truth of what Holy Church now infallibly teaches. Marian devotion, for obvious reasons, would be both far later in starting, and far later in arriving at maturity, than the due worship of Christ; nor has Dr. Pusey, therefore, any right to be astonished at Montfort's and Faber's opinion, that even yet it is far from having exhausted its due and legitimate growth. Nor must it be forgotten, that (as we urged in our last number, p. 169) this devotion itself has powerfully reacted on the higher worship, and has most efficaciously assisted Catholics to apprehend rightly the doctrine of the Incarnation. By worshipping Mary as Christ's Mother, they can never forget that He is man; by constantly approaching Him through her mediation, they can never forget that He is God.*

To conclude. Pius IX. (as we have seen) exhorts the faithful to "flee," "with a yet more ardent zeal," "unto this sweet

* It may have occurred to more than one of our readers as not slightly remarkable, that we were obliged in our last number to criticize Dr. Dollinger (1) for his silence concerning our Lady (p. 249), and (2) for his most unworthy language concerning our Lord (p. 250).

Mother of mercy and grace, in all perils, distresses, and necessities." The worship of Mary may of course, as we said in our last number, be imaginably wrong in *kind*: but every one would infer from such words as the above, that it cannot possibly exceed in *degree*; that it cannot too intimately pervade our whole habits of thought, and our whole interior life. And since the Ecclesia Docens is our one infallible guide to heaven, we know with infallible certainty, both that the doctrines which underlie this devotion are true, and that the devotion itself, in the shape sanctioned by the Church, cannot be too heartily and unintermittingly practised. Here, then, is a matter at issue between Catholics and Anglicans, which no one on either side can fairly deny to be of incalculable importance. Dr. Pusey, as Anglican champion, raises two great classes of objection against the Church's teaching. Firstly, he maintains that it quenches love for Jesus and for God; to which we replied in our last number that, on the contrary, it tends in quite a singular degree to feed that love, and to invest it with an otherwise untasted quality of tenderness and reality. Secondly, he contends that the Church's teaching on the matter is disproved by Scripture and Antiquity; and to this objection we have now replied. We have maintained that Scripture and Antiquity cannot be legitimately alleged against the worship of Mary, unless they can be legitimately alleged against the worship of Jesus; that there is no statement or fact adduced from them, which is not fully reconcilable with the Catholic theory; and that Scripture in its obvious sense points to an even fuller development of Marian devotion than has yet been reached.

And we have had peculiar pleasure in adopting F. Harper's admirable title, "Peace through the Truth," as expressing the true position of every good Catholic in this controversy. Hard, indeed, must be the heart, and unchristian the spirit, which does not yearn for religious "peace:" the only question that can be even raised on the matter, concerns the divinely appointed means of promoting it. We urge, in company with F. Harper, that God sanctions no method for forwarding "peace," which does not uphold the supreme authority of "the truth." The Apostles left with the Church a priceless deposit of dogma. Devout Christians in every age have contemplated that dogma, both with the warmest affection of heart and the keenest investigation of intellect; and there have thus arisen two vast doctrinal developments, powerfully reacting on each other, the devotional and the scientific. The spotless purity of these developments in all their fulness, so far as the Church has expressly or practically sanctioned them,

is guaranteed by the promises of God, and secured by the watchful and unintermittent Agency of the Holy Ghost. It cannot, therefore, but be most displeasing to God, if any Catholics, for the sake of conciliating externs, seek to disavow or explain away any part of what He has infallibly taught as true. For non-Catholics, the only path to Christian unity is the path of humble retraction and submission.* For Catholics, the only method of promoting peace is to exhibit, vindicate, recommend, the paramount claims of truth.

* To prevent misconception, however, of our meaning here, we will reprint a paragraph from our number for last April. "A candidate for reception," we said, "will perhaps speak thus: 'These constant prayers to Mary are quite external to my previous experience, and I shrink altogether from plunging into them headlong. Yet I see that the Church sanctions them, and I have no doubt, therefore, that they are pleasing to God. By degrees I shall probably understand and practise them myself.' To say the least, there is nothing reprehensible in this;" on the whole, indeed, it is probably the most healthy state of mind for a convert. "At the same time such a man, when once he has become a Catholic, will probably advance very far more speedily than he had thought possible, in sympathy even with the more extreme forms of Marian doctrine" (p. 436).

Notices of Books.

Analecta Juris Pontificii, Livraison 62.

WE wish to notice the first paper contained in this livraison of the "*Analecta*," because of its close bearing on a theological question which is now of extreme importance—the extent of the Church's infallibility. It is admitted by all Catholics, that all instructions issued by the Pope *ex cathedrâ*,—i. e. in his capacity of Universal Teacher,—and accepted by the Episcopate, are infallibly true: consequently the whole question turns on this; what are those cases in which the Pope speaks *ex cathedrâ*? Now it is certain from the "*Quantâ Curâ*" and its appended Syllabus, that instructions may really be *ex cathedrâ*, which *in form* are addressed to local churches or to individual bishops; but it is a matter of some difficulty to determine what documents of the kind possess this authoritative character. We suggested with much diffidence, that every Papal pronouncement on doctrine, *which is published by the Pope's order*, is intended by him (and therefore is) *ex cathedrâ*. (See October, 1865, p. 386; Dr. Ward on Doctrinal Decisions, p. 128.) Another suggestion, by no means inconsistent with the former, but simply additional to it, is contained in that paper, reprinted in the "*Analecta*," to which we began by drawing attention. It is called "*Epistola Gratulatoria*, &c." The editor of the "*Analecta*" speaks of it in the highest terms, and inclines indeed to ascribe it to no less a personage than Benedict XIV.* If he wrote it at all, he wrote it when he was Pope; and its occasion was the following.

Several priests in Portugal had been in the habit of requiring penitents, as a condition for Absolution, to reveal the name of their accomplices in sin. On July 7, 1745, Benedict XIV. addressed the Apostolic Letter "*Suprema*" to the bishops of Portugal, gravely reprehending this practice and the doctrinal error which it implied. This was followed in June, 1746, by the Brief "*Ubi primum*," and in the following October by the Brief "*Ad eradicandum*." The "*Epistola Gratulatoria*" was written in the interval between the first and last of these three pronouncements. An objection had widely prevailed, that Benedict XIV.'s original censure, having been merely addressed to the *local Church* of Portugal, was *not ex cathedrâ* and infallible. The passage to which we

* We quote from an earlier paper in livraison 29. Circumstances, says the writer, "make us suspect that Benedict XIV. was no stranger to the '*Epistola Gratulatoria*;' we do not dare to say that it may be attributed to him; it is not unworthy of him" (p. 1202).

would draw attention replies to this objection, and is literally translated as follows :—

“I would inquire of these chatterers what it is to define *ex cathedrâ* ; for from their way of speaking I suspect that they do not know : and I will say briefly. The Pontiff is *then* said to define *ex cathedrâ*, as often as, in his capacity of the Church's Supreme Pastor and Universal Teacher, he proposes and appoints something to be observed, avoided, or believed ; and informs and instructs all Christ's faithful concerning some dogma. But now these sciolists foolishly prattle (*nugantur*) that I have fallen upon Scylla, and they turn round on me, because, as they say, the Holy Father directed his letter, not preceptive but monitory, not [*as intended*] *for the Universal Church, but for the kingdom of Portugal alone, and to its bishops*. I am covered with humiliation because men, commonly accounted learned, are not ashamed of being as foolish as the multitude (*apud indoctos desipere*), and to intersperse their articulate words with *these foolish whispers*. How far astray are they led by their boastfulness and obstinacy ! When the Holy Father teaches the bishops of Portugal concerning dogmata and the necessary administration of Sacraments, *does he not also instruct the Universal Church ?* Is the Faith, is the necessary ministration of the Sacrament of Penance, is the necessity of the Sacramental sigillum, *one thing in Portugal, another thing in other parts of the world ?* Because the Holy Father addresses his rescripts to these or those bishops [in particular,] in that he knows *them* to need his admonition or teaching, *is he not to be counted as having addressed them to all who need the same admonition and teaching ?* The Apostle teaches us of one Body, one Spirit, one Faith, one Baptism, and consequently one Sacrament of Penance which John had proclaimed. Therefore one and the same obligation of the Sacramental sigillum which is urged (*commendatur*) on some bishops *should be accounted as prescribed to all*. This necessity of the sacred sigillum is perceived [at once] as appertaining, not to discipline, which it will be lawful to observe differently in different provinces, but to *Christ's institution* ; to the intrinsic substance of the Sacrament ; to the universal benefit of the faithful ; and consequently to *infallible dogma*.”

Now we need not necessarily understand this to mean, that the Pope is promised infallibility whenever he officially instructs some local Church in Christian doctrine. But the following view at least is indubitably advocated : “Whenever a Pope, writing officially to some local Church or individual bishop, brands any practice or tenet *with a theological censure*, he is understood by that very fact to teach *ex cathedrâ*.” And, whoever may be the author of this “*Epistola Gratulatoria*,” an extremely strong confirmation of such a view is derived from the following circumstance. The Brief “*Ad eradicandum*,” which was undoubtedly issued after the “*Epistola*” had appeared, contains the following passage :—

“We are not ignorant that in other places also complaints of penitents have been heard, concerning the importunate inquiries of certain confessors concerning the names of accomplices and other information, according to the practice mentioned and condemned in Our [previous] Apostolic Letter. [Nor are we ignorant] that the erroneous opinions of certain doctors on this head,—and [again] the wrong interpretation and application of [what has been said by] other doctors who are themselves right thinking—which was mentioned in that letter, [still] find favour with some ; and are not considered to have been sufficiently exterminated by the aforesaid letter : concerning which it has been temerarily denied by some that it possesses the force and authority of

a general definition and law, on the ground that it was addressed to the peculiar circumstances (*opportunitatem*) of Portugal, its kingdoms and dependencies, and only published for them. Therefore We, *motu proprio*, and from certain knowledge, by the tenour of this *Our General Sanction*, and from the plenitude of Our Apostolical Power confirming and corroborating Our [previous] letter, decree and declare that the above-mentioned practice was reprobated and condemned by Our Apostolic authority *in itself*, and for all places and times, and so ought to be accounted."

Here Benedict XIV. declares *ex cathedrâ*, in terms which cannot be mistaken, that an Apostolic Letter, addressed formally not to the Universal Church but to the Bishops of Portugal, was nevertheless issued *ex cathedrâ*, and possessed "the force and authority of a *general definition*." A similar inference is deducible from another of his utterances; viz., a letter which he wrote to the Archbishop of S. Domingo, and which stands n. 113 in the first volume of his "Bullarium." The following is an extract:—

"We have occupied some time in examining the books of Our private library, in order that We might answer the question proposed by thee, which We do in Our present Letter; *not however with the authority of that Apostolic See* which We undeservedly occupy, but merely as sustaining the character of a private doctor. . . . For the question did not seem to Us to need the oracle of a Pontifical decision."

He thus concludes:—"Now at length, in ending Our Epistle, *We resume the part of Supreme Pastor*, that We may impart to thee Our Apostolic Benediction, and besides may admonish thee" of certain ecclesiastical misconduct. Nor do we see what conclusion can possibly be drawn from the letter, except that Benedict XIV. considered himself fully competent, as Pope, had he judged the matter of sufficient importance, to have answered the question *ex cathedrâ* and by an infallible "oracle," even while directing his answer formally to the Archbishop alone.

His great work on the Canonization of Saints was written, as every one knows, before he was Pope; but his name as a theologian stands so high, that his volumes are of very great authority. We will extract from them, therefore, the following passage on a somewhat similar question:—

"Concerning works written by those Supreme Pontiffs whose Beatification or Canonization is on hand, it may reasonably be doubted whether these are subject to the law of revision. . . . Either the question concerns works written by those servants of God before their Pontificate, and then they are all without exception to be examined; . . . or else it concerns works composed afterwards. In this latter case works *which have the force of law, or which concern the affairs and government of the Universal Church*, are to be distinguished from works which have not this character. For in works of the former class *revision has no place*; since they issued from the Pope, either as teaching *ex cathedrâ*, or as being Supreme Governor and Pastor of the Church. But the case is otherwise in regard to works of the second class, as having been composed indeed by a Pope, but composed by him as a *private individual or a private doctor*" (l. 2, c. 26, n. 4).

And he adds that such was the course adopted in the processes of S. Pius V., B. Gregory X., Innocent XI., and Benedict XI.; the only Papal processes which have taken place, since "judicial order" was first intro-

duced into causes of Beatification and Canonization. In his opinion, therefore, nay apparently in the Church's judgment, pronouncements officially put forth by the Pope, not as Universal Teacher, but as Supreme Governor and Pastor, are in some most special sense under the Holy Ghost's overruling guidance; and do not proceed from him as "a private doctor." On the other hand, the author refers (l. 1, c. 43, n. 2) to a certain "*concio*" pronounced by Pope Sixtus V., in "the last consistory held for the canonization of S. Didacus;" but considers that this "*concio*" did proceed from him as from a private doctor.

Benedict XIV. published his work "*de Synodo Diœcesanâ*" when he was Pope. In the last paragraph of his Preface to that work, he explains that he has written it merely as a private doctor. "Wherever," he says, "nothing has been defined with Apostolic authority, either by the Roman Pontiffs, Our Predecessors, or by Ourselves in the Bullarium or elsewhere, and generally in all those things to which no weight has been added from the Church's public authority, we intend [herein] to define nothing nor put any thing forth as authoritative [decretorium]."

Our readers will have observed that the "*Epistola Gratulatoria*" contains a very intelligible and serviceable definition of the term "*ex cathedrâ*." We have spoken before now (January, p. 262; Dr. Ward on Doctrinal Decisions, p. 193) of the misapprehension to which several Ultramontane theologians have been exposed, who have said that the Pope never speaks *ex cathedrâ*, unless he expresses or implies an *anathema* on the condemned tenet. Some careless readers have understood them to mean, that the Pope is not infallible in pronouncing censures lower than that of heresy. There cannot, however, be a greater mistake: for, on the contrary, it was the admitted principle of Ultramontanes and Gallicans alike, that the same authority which is infallible in condemning tenets as heretical, is no less infallible in condemning tenets as theologically unsound in any degree. This fact has been shown by Dr. Ward—we venture to think conclusively—in the preface to his work on "*Doctrinal Decisions*," pp. xviii—xxvi. But the controversy between Ultramontanes and Gallicans turned *directly* on the question of *heretical* tenets; and the latter party challenged the former to explain, what they precisely meant in confining the Pope's infallibility to his declarations *ex cathedrâ*. Ultramontanes replied that no Pope could ever be considered to condemn *ex cathedrâ* any tenet as heretical, unless he expressed or implied an *anathema* on that tenet.

At the present time, however, as we have several times observed, the question between Ultramontanes and Gallicans has become of little comparative importance; while the *extent* of the Church's infallibility is certainly among the most momentous theological issues of the day. It has become, therefore, we think, in the highest degree desirable, to drop all reference to an "*anathema*" in defining the term "*ex cathedrâ*." This has been one reason of our drawing attention to the "*Epistola Gratulatoria*;" which does so proceed in its definition of the term. On the same account we will conclude with a reference to Phillips, the great contemporary German canonist. He contributes an article on "the Pope" to Goschler's "*Dictionary of Catholic Theology*," and we translate the following from the French translation of that work (Paris, Gaume):—

"A decision *ex cathedra* exists when the Pope, in or out of Council verbally or by writing, gives to all faithful Christians, as representative of Jesus Christ, in the name of SS. Peter and Paul, or in virtue of the authority of the Holy See, or in other similar terms, *with or without threat of anathema*, a decision relative to dogma or morals."

The only defect, we think, still adhering to this definition, is its not expressly stating, what Phillips evidently intends; viz., that "a decision" may be really "*given* to all faithful Christians," without being *formally addressed* to them. We should add that in his most admirable work on "*Droit Ecclésiastique*" (French translation, vol. ii. p. 243), he gives a very similar definition, though perhaps not quite so clear.

Tractatus de Ecclesiâ Christi. Auctore Patricio Murray. Vol. iii. fasc. 2.
Dublin: M'Glashan.

WE are extremely happy to find that Dr. Murray has completed at length his work on the Church. "*Exegit monumentum ære perennius.*" We venture to predict that, in proportion as it becomes better known, it will be esteemed in Catholic seminaries as of decidedly greater value, than any other treatise which has hitherto appeared on the subject. At the same time, in order to appreciate its merits, you must understand the purpose for which it was written. At the present critical juncture of thought, for instance, it is most important that an argument should be elaborated in favour of the Church's divine authority, resting on no larger basis than that accepted by modern liberals. Let all be conceded, for argument's sake, against the integrity and authority of Scripture, which even the Tübingen school maintains,—there would still remain sufficient historical proof (1) that the Church of the Apostles was divinely commissioned; and (2) that the Roman Catholic Church is its lineal successor. This was apparently implied in that admirable article on the "*Ecce Homo*," which the *Month* published in June; and it is a truth of extreme moment. But all such things as these are wholly external to Dr. Murray's design; who has not professed to write on a new subject, but to treat the old subject as fully and forcibly as he could. He addresses his arguments accordingly (1) to those who hold the integrity of Scripture, and its substantial truth both historical and doctrinal; (2) still more to the old-fashioned Protestants, who retain firm belief in plenary inspiration; (3) still more again to those who regard patristic testimony with assent and reverence; (4) most of all to his own co-religionists, who are in many ways inestimably benefited by studying the deep harmony of their own doctrine with the Written Word and with Christian Antiquity.

Dr. Murray's peculiar merits seem to us such as these. (1) He is emphatically orthodox, most unreservedly and devotedly loyal to the Holy See. (2) He never allows himself, from fear of argumentative difficulties, to state in controversy a less high and full doctrine, whether on Papal Supremacy or other kindred points, than is implied by heartily loyal Catholics in their

domestic discussions. (3) He is most careful to weigh the precise and exact force of the various propositions which he lays down ; and both thinks and writes with quite exceptional clearness. (4) He fairly confronts all the questions bearing on his theme, which are freely debated among Catholics ; and decides between them with unimpeachable fairness and judgment. (5) In his Scriptural argument he never adduces a detached verse ; but in every case is careful that his readers should seize the full light thrown on each passage by its context. Moreover, he has studied the best accessible commentators, whether Catholic or Protestant ; and gives in each case a firm and solid judgment of his own (at times differing from that more commonly received) on each passage. (6) A similar remark holds on his patristic citations ; which of course, even more than Scripture, require to be considered in their context. (7) His list of objections is immeasurably longer than in any other work on the subject with which we are acquainted ; and contain many far more specious than those recounted in ordinary text-books. Indeed, he has diligently studied all the ablest English anti-Catholic works, with the view of making this list as complete as possible. Then (8) he treats each objection with an accuracy and fairness which leave nothing to be desired ; and instead of his argument suffering in any respect by this candour, on the contrary it greatly gains ; for he is obliged, as it were, to put forth all the more forcibly the strength of his own view. In a work which contains so large a variety of matter, it would be absurd to say that we agree with every individual statement, or think every individual objection satisfactorily answered ; but even on the few occasions where he does not carry us with him, we never fail to be struck with his great sincerity and earnestness of thought.

The concluding fasciculus will not be published, we fancy, before November ; but he has been kind enough to forward us the sheets as they have been successively printed, and we have thus been enabled to read as far as the end of his disputations "*de Summo Pontifice*." In the remaining part of our notice we shall confine ourselves to these disputations, because we hope to make great use of the treatise as a whole, both in January and in April. In January we are to encounter Dr. Pusey on the question of Ecclesiastical Unity, and in April on that of Papal Supremacy and Infallibility. On the former of these subjects that truly admirable essay of F. Harper's, which stands first in his volume, will be of extreme service ; and in both articles we shall make frequent reference to the very important pamphlets published by the Bishop of Birmingham and by Mr. Allies. But Dr. Murray, as having gone over the whole ground in scientific order, will be a still more valuable assistant than the rest.

He begins of course with exhibiting S. Peter's Primacy ; and shows afterwards that the Roman Pontiff is his successor. The three first Scriptural arguments are, as was to have been expected, from Matt. xvi. vv. 18, 19. Dr. Murray shows that "*Petrus*" and "*Petra*" were uttered by Christ as the same word. He shows this (1) from the Chaldaic tongue in which Christ spoke ; (2) and (3) from the context ; and (4) from the confession of "almost every Protestant commentator," as Dr. Bloomfield (one of them) admits. He shows also the same thing indirectly, by exposing the absolute futility of any other interpretation. Since then, he argues, God appointed

S. Peter (for in this text He promised so to appoint him) the Church's one secure protection, against all which could tend to overthrow her from her foundation, He appointed him the Church's ruler and head. This argument is powerfully developed by the author with incidental appeals to Scripture and to common sense (p. 375, &c.).

His second argument concerns the "Keys." Dr. Murray shows that this word "key" is universally used in Scripture to express "authority;" and points out that among the ancients, and especially the Easterns, the tradition of a city's keys was a recognised symbol of imparting *power* over it (p. 383, &c.).

Thirdly, the power of "binding and loosing." Is this the same metaphor with that of the keys, or a totally different one? No Catholic has hitherto spoken clearly on this question: but Dr. Murray holds that the metaphor is altogether changed; and his arguments are very conclusive. What then definitely is this power of binding and loosing? It is the power of exercising supremely and without appeal every authority which God has given to the Church at all. S. Peter (or S. Peter's successor) cannot increase the number of sacraments, or impart the privilege of baptizing validly in milk, because no ecclesiastical authority whatever has this power. But the Church *can* define dogmata; enact laws; impart indulgences; inflict censures: and since the Church can do these things, S. Peter and his successors can do them supremely and without appeal. Moreover, notwithstanding the *neuter* (quodcunque) the power here promised is directly over persons as well as things; and Dr. Murray establishes this by a copious induction of Scripture texts, in which *neuter* words are used to designate *men* (p. 388, &c.).

His fourth argument is from the long passage in S. Luke (xxii. 23—32) where Christ prays for the indefectibility of S. Peter's faith, and assigns to him the office of strengthening his brethren. The author's remarks on the word *συνίσταναι* are excellent: we are not sure that we quite follow him on the word *ἐπιστήφας*, but the question is unimportant. From this passage he forcibly deduces, that to S. Peter (or his successor) and to him alone, is assigned the function of spiritually strengthening all Christians, specially as regards purity of faith (p. 396, &c.).

His fifth argument is founded on Christ's admonition to S. Peter, "feed my lambs, feed my sheep." He gives a very interesting sketch of the duties which devolve on a literal shepherd, and applies them to the spiritual pastorate here conferred. He adds a striking list of Scriptural passages on the word *ποιμαίνω*. He adds that the first five arguments, in addition to their separate strength, derive a greatly increased force from the repetition of the same thing in so many different shapes (p. 400, &c.).

His sixth argument is from the exhibition of S. Peter's Primacy in the facts of the New Testament (p. 411, &c.). His seventh from the doctrine, implied in Scripture, that the Church has one supreme ruler on earth, for none other has ever been suggested except S. Peter or his successor (p. 420, &c.).

Then follows a most careful examination of the objections adduced by Protestants against the preceding doctrine; and he pays particular attention to Barrow, who is considered by Tillotson and others the most effective of all controversialists on this particular question (p. 422, &c.).

Assuming, then, S. Peter's Primacy, Dr. Murray proceeds to consider the Papal succession in the same office. And he truly observes that, as against Protestants, there is no question here to be considered, except whether S. Peter left any successor at all : for no one has ever suggested any other, except the Roman Pontiff. He begins with pointing out (p. 538, &c.) the undoubted fact, that S. Peter did preach the Gospel at Rome, and die there ; but he justly warns his readers (p. 536) that Protestants are totally mistaken in thinking, that when they argue for the contradictory of this statement, they are really touching the doctrinal point at issue.

How came Rome to be appointed the Primatial See ? Did God, *e.g.*, as Perrone supposes, give S. Peter a certain power of determination ? Dr. Murray (p. 552) holds it as far more probable, even as certain, that God himself designated Rome for that place of dignity and pre-eminence. This, however, is an open question among Catholic theologians : the point at issue with Protestants is, whether S. Peter had any successor at all ; nor can anything be more irrefragable than Dr. Murray's proof of the affirmative answer from Scripture and the Fathers (p. 553, &c.). Under the latter head he considers most candidly, but with a most conclusive result, the well-known passages from S. Irenæus and S. Cyprian (pp. 559—565). He also does justice (p. 577, &c.) to the perfectly unanswerable argument, derived from the position assigned to the Pope in the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Under the "answer to objections" he has some admirable remarks (p. 615, &c.) on the causes why the Primacy was far less prominently exercised in the three first centuries ; and he has also a very interesting discussion (p. 672, &c.) on the reasoning, common among Anglicans, derived from various circumstances of the Nicene Council. He shows it, *e.g.*, to be not less than morally certain that Hosius presided as representing the Pope ; and he exposes the strange notion that the Nicene Council professed to give the Pope a power over other bishops which he did not before possess. He also discusses at length (p. 711, &c.) the cases of S. Victor, S. Meletius of Antioch, and Apollinaris.

We have left ourselves space for no farther comment on Dr. Murray, except as regards his exposition of Papal infallibility (p. 787, &c.). The Pope, of course, possesses this infallibility, only when he speaks as Universal Teacher. There is not, however, says Dr. Murray, any particular form, which distinguishes these infallible pronouncements from others. Sometimes the Pope teaches the whole Church through an Encyclical ; as in the "*Mirari vos*," the "*Quantà curâ*," and very many others : sometimes through a Constitution beginning "*ad perpetuam rei memoriam*," or the like. But whatever the form of a doctrinal document issuing from the Pope—even though in form it be addressed to a local Church or an individual bishop,—Dr. Murray implies (n. 119, p. 784) that he utters it as Universal Teacher if he commands its publication. And Dr. Murray further expresses distinctly his judgment (n. 115, p. 782) that "if in any public writing," officially put forth, the Pope "simply defines some proposition to be heretical, *scandalous*, &c., or another to be revealed, *certain*, &c.,—by that very fact, and from the very nature of the case, he is addressing the Universal Church." In the earlier fasciculus of this volume, Dr. Murray had spoken so very clearly on the distinction between a Pope's doctrinal instructions and his *obiter dicta*

—and also on the Church's infallibility in pronouncing minor censures no less than in pronouncing that of heresy—that on the present occasion there was no need for doing more, than referring generally to what he had already elaborated.

Yet we must, in conclusion, express with great deference, yet with some confidence, a difference of opinion from Dr. Murray, on a somewhat important matter of terminology. Very many theologians have written, as though there were no medium between a Pope speaking, on one hand, as Universal Teacher, and his speaking on the other hand, merely as a private doctor. Dr. Murray feels most very justly that serious misapprehensions have resulted from this circumstance; for in fact, as is very obvious, the Pope again and again speaks as Pope, while yet not speaking precisely as Universal Teacher. He is teaching doctrine to some local Church; or speaking as the Church's Ruler; or warning, threatening, admonishing. A new expression, then, is really called for; and we would suggest the phrase "Papal" or "official" pronouncements. But Dr. Murray uses the phrase "*ex cathedrâ*" to express every single utterance put forth by the Pope as Pope (n. 113, p. 780). We think that the phrase "*ex cathedrâ*" is so consecrated by universal usage, as synonymous with "in the capacity of Universal Teacher," that most serious confusion would result from this new use of language. It is literally true, *e.g.*, that Dr. Murray represents the Pope as *fallible*, in various of his utterances "*ex cathedrâ*." Any Catholic in the world, who heard this statement without explanation, would take for granted that Dr. Murray is a Gallican; instead of being (as he is) the most unreservedly loyal and orthodox of all imaginable Ultramontanes.

The author has passed very far too lightly over *objections* to Papal infallibility; apparently from having advanced so far towards the end of his volume, as to have no sufficient space.

Peace through the Truth. Essay the Second on Transubstantiation. By Rev. F. HARPER, S.J. London: Longmans.

IN our third article we have spoken on the singular value and seasonableness of F. Harper's volume. We shall here confine ourselves to the Essay on Transubstantiation therein contained; in which indeed, his exposure of Dr. Pusey's mistakes and (we must really say) ignorance, is even more complete and triumphant than in either of the two others.

The nature of F. Harper's subject required an introductory philosophical exposition. Nothing can be more complete than this exposition, as a foundation for his reply to Dr. Pusey; and F. Harper has exhibited himself as most thoroughly conversant with the Aristotelic philosophy, in itself, and in the co-relation of its respective parts. He has explained most clearly what theologians have meant respectively by "substance" and "accidents;" and also what they have meant in saying that the bread and wine are substantially changed. At the same time we confess to a certain doubt whether he has

not studied Aristotelism more profoundly *in itself* than in its relation to other philosophies; and in its relation also to those phenomena and those grounds of reason, on which all philosophy, as such, ultimately rests. And we decidedly think that he does not excel in adapting philosophical truth to ordinary intelligences. His constantly repeated illustration *e.g.* drawn from a little child, does not (it seems to us) serve the purpose of an illustration at all. But the Essay's substantial value is in no degree impaired by such philosophical defects, in whatever degree they may be supposed to exist.

In connection with philosophy, there is a question of extreme importance touched by F. Harper's reviewer in the *Month*, but which it would have carried F. Harper too far to have adequately treated. He has acted, therefore, wisely in omitting it; though we hope that in some future volume he may make it the theme of a separate essay. It is this. There is no doubt whatever, that the Church can pronounce infallibly, and has again and again so pronounced, on philosophical truth; because of its intimate connection with theological.* But even in her strictly theological definitions many philosophical tenets are implied; and, as our author most truly remarks, "the peripatetic philosophy was the intellectual mould in which the theological science of the Church was cast" (p. 134). It will be doing much service to the cause both of natural and supernatural truth, if some fully competent writer, such as F. Harper, will draw out a list of those philosophical doctrines, which are implied in the Church's various theological definitions, and which claim therefore the Catholic's acceptance as infallibly true. Our own impression on the matter is, that there has here been some exaggeration on *both* sides.

We pass from philosophy to theology proper. The author starts (p. 129) with an important contrast between the essentially different principles, on which the Catholic and the Anglican formularies should be respectively interpreted. The end of the thirty-nine articles was to *include*; and to inquire into their true sense, is to inquire how many divergent opinions they were *intended* to include. But the Tridentine decrees were intended to *define*; and to inquire into their true sense, is to inquire what is that precise doctrine, in its fulness and integrity, which they were *intended* to define. It is quite imaginable that Dr. Pusey might in the first instance have applied himself to this latter question, and ascertained what is the full doctrine taught under the name "Transubstantiation." And he might then have argued, that by that inevitable process of word-torturing, which every one must employ with those unhappy thirty-nine, their expressions might be screwed into conformity with this full and definite doctrine. Had this been Dr. Pusey's course, F. Harper's Essay would involve no condemnation of it. But instead of *so* proceeding, he has adopted, as the very principle of his attempted harmony, a view which every loyal Roman Catholic must repudiate with indignation. He pretends that the Roman Catholic Church herself has no definite or consistent

* Take, *e.g.*, the following decree put forth by the Council of Vienne under Clement V. "Defining . . . that whosoever henceforward shall have presumed pertinaciously to assert, defend, or hold, that the rational soul is not by itself and essentially the *form* of the human body, *be accounted as a heretic.*" Denzinger, n. 409.

teaching on the subject ; that the very meaning of the word "substance" has changed ; and that the heresy of Consubstantiation, which he embraces himself, may be held by a Roman Catholic. He actually makes the astounding assertion (p. 133) that "according to the doctrine of the schoolmen substance was equivalent to matter." It is surely known to any tyro in philosophy, except Dr. Pusey himself, that every material substance, according to the scholastic philosophy, consists of two essential parts, viz., matter and substantial form ; as distinct from *accidental* forms, or accidents.

Dr. Pusey alleges further, that "the remaining of the substance of the elements after consecration was an open question till the beginning of the fifteenth century." It is impossible to imagine anything more complete than F. Harper's reply to this amazing utterance. He begins with Berengarius, that heretic against whom were directed the Church's first decisions on the subject. Dr. Pusey thinks that he was condemned for denying the Real Presence altogether, and not precisely for denying Transubstantiation. On the contrary, as F. Harper shows, the Berengarians were divided into two classes, both accounted heretical : (1) those who did deny the Real Presence, and who are called by Guitmond "*umbratici* ;" and (2) those who admitted the Real Presence, but who held with Dr. Pusey that the substances of bread and wine also remain ; who thus "blended Christ with the bread and wine," "and so conceived a new heresy ;" as their contemporary Guitmond observes (p. 161). And Berengarius himself was obliged by the Church to affirm "*a substantial conversion* of bread and wine into the true Flesh and Blood of Christ."

From Catholic writers contemporary with Berengarius, F. Harper proceeds to those Catholics of a later date whom Dr. Pusey cites in his own favour. These are in number seventeen. Fifteen of them, as F. Harper shows, are directly against him ; a sixteenth (Nicholas of Cusa) by no means in his favour ; the seventeenth, Peter d'Ailly, who does incline to hold what Dr. Pusey thinks, himself nevertheless accepts Transubstantiation, as more accordant with the Church's mind. Vasquez pronounces him a theologian "without distinction or erudition" (p. 190). What was it then which led Dr. Pusey into so wild a misconception ? *In three different instances Dr. Pusey quotes arguments as those of the author, which the author only cites to be refuted in the same chapter.* In the other cases Dr. Pusey totally misapprehends the point at issue. For instance. While all Catholics of course denounce Consubstantiation as heretical, it is still debated in the schools with perfect freedom, whether it be or be not an actual contradiction ; so that God Himself could not accomplish it. S. Thomas pronounces for the affirmative ; Scotus, Suarez, and others for the negative. Theologians, then, who merely stated that Consubstantiation is intrinsically possible had God willed it, are actually cited by Dr. Pusey as testifying that God *did* will it. Then Durandus, and a few others not mentioned by Dr. Pusey, held either transformation or transmutation ; against whom S. Bonaventura says (p. 178), "let us rather hold the Catholic opinion that *the whole* bread is converted into the Body of Christ." But, as F. Harper points out in a subsequent part of his essay, Dr. Pusey believes in no conversion whatever ; he considers both the matter and the form of bread and wine to remain as truly

after consecration as before it. He thinks, indeed, that after consecration the Body and Blood of Christ are present in some mysterious way, by a kind of interpenetration with the bread and wine: but as F. Harper acutely asks (p. 240), "When the Body of Christ passed by subtle interpenetration through the closed tomb, who could dream of saying that in the act of Christ's passage the stone was *changed*?" Let this never be forgotten, in estimating the patristic and other ecclesiastical testimony which Anglicans adduce: according to the Anglican theory, at its very highest, no *conversion* whatever takes place in the Eucharist.

But Dr. Pusey objects that, according to the Roman Catholic doctrine as ordinarily explained, "the sign and the thing signified become identical." On the contrary, replies F. Harper, the accidents are a real sign as having a real entity. If accidents had not a real entity, he argues (p. 145), it would follow that neither *speech* nor *thought* have a being of their own, nor an action proper to themselves.

Dr. Pusey further argues that, according to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, the accidents retain the quality, natural to bread, of supporting and nourishing. But no; replies F. Harper, it does not say that the *accidents* have this power, but that the *Eucharist* has (p. 209). It is held by all the scholastics whom F. Harper has seen, whether before or after Trent—with but two exceptions, and these but partially so—that the Eucharist does possess a real nutritive power: but the question is freely discussed among them (p. 208), whether it is the accidents which nourish; or whether new matter is created by God, after the Body and Blood of Christ have ceased to be present under them.

F. Harper does not enter at length on the *patristic* argument, because F. Franzelin, in an unpublished work, has done so with great completeness, and with constant reference to Dr. Pusey's works on the Eucharist. We share F. Harper's hope that his treatise may speedily be given to the public.

"It is of course natural to suppose," concludes F. Harper (p. 257), "that even his own co-religionists would learn to distrust the competence and guidance of a writer, with whom *error and misquotation are a rule, accuracy the rare exception*; and whose elaborate notes on this subject are *one vast congeries of blunders*." We wish we could expect that such a result will widely follow. If anything could explode Dr. Pusey's reputation for accurate learning, it would be F. Harper's most powerful yet most temperate exposure of his incredible mistakes. But Anglicans are in the habit of exercising very largely a power which they undoubtedly possess; viz., that of refusing to read what they would find it impossible to answer.*

* Since the above was in type, it has been announced, with Dr. Pusey's authority, that he intends to answer F. Harper, both on the Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception. This is most straightforward and satisfactory; nor can anything but good result from the controversy.

Lectures on Catholic Faith and Practice. By Rev. J. N. SWEENEY, O.S.B.
London: Richardson.

IN our final article of this number we have dwelt on the great importance of placing before educated laymen some more scientific view of doctrine, than can be obtained from the ordinary catechisms and books of devotion. F. Harper's volume, however, to which we were there referring, is suitable for those only who have received the highest intellectual education, and who are capable of deep and concentrated study. There is an intermediate class of minds, which requires an intermediate class of books; and the present is admirably adapted to their needs. The lectures were written chiefly, though not exclusively, with a controversial purpose; and it is truly remarkable, considering the frequency with which a similar subject has been handled, how much freshness and originality are found in them. Every page bears marks of careful and independent thought.

The lectures may be arranged under three divisions, as the author explains in his dedicatory letter. Firstly, he considers the grounds, and the Rule, of Faith; and maintains of course the Church's infallible authority, as the principal source from which knowledge of dogma is to be derived. Next he treats the principal doctrines which *are* thus derived; laying, however, by far his greatest stress on those which Protestants deny. Lastly, he replies to Protestant objections.

The execution of F. Sweeney's plan varies of course somewhat in merit. We were a little disappointed, *e. g.*, in his treatment of "original sin and justification" (lecture 35); nor, indeed, can we at all concur with him in thinking (vol. ii. p. 290) that this subject is in itself less interesting than that of the Sacraments: to our own mind, it is much more so. On the other hand, the Incarnation (lecture 3) is admirably handled. The Arian, Nestorian, Eutychian heresies, are most clearly explained; and the contrast of them severally with S. John's "*Verbum caro factum est*" is very effectively done. We wish, however, the author had also spoken of Apollinarianism; that heresy which denies to our Lord a human soul: for we think there is sometimes a real danger in the present day of this heresy being unconsciously embraced. The two lectures again on the Divine Maternity (14, 15) are as good as can be; and we mentioned in our last number how singularly successful F. Sweeney appears to us, in meeting the Protestant cavils against Marian devotion (lectures 45, 46). We have made several references to these lectures in the final article of our present number. As regards the antiquity of this devotion, F. Sweeney quotes most opportunely (vol. i. p. 256, note) Burnet's admission that at the time of the Council of Ephesus, *i. e.* in the fifth century, "*the whole world was filled with very extravagant devotion to her.*"

We have observed a very few instances in which the author impresses us as not speaking with perfect clearness. Thus in vol. i. p. 230, he might be understood as meaning that God *could* not, consistently with His Attributes, have forgiven sin without an Atonement; whereas he evidently intends to

say no more, than that no Atonement would have been *condignly sufficient* "if offered by a creature." Then again, whereas in vol. ii. p. 296, he expressly refers to the two distinct kinds of grace—in p. 182 of the same volume he may be thought to imply, that mortal sin deprives men not of *habitual* grace only, but of *actual* grace also. In other words, he may be understood to imply, that those who have committed mortal sin are no longer visited by the *auxilia gratiæ*, until they have repented; whereas in the other passage referred to he has clearly explained, that these *auxilia* are requisite that men may be *led* to repentance and justification.

But such inaccuracies of expression are the rare exception; and it is impossible within our limits to give our readers any adequate idea as to the amount of excellent doctrine contained in these volumes. Almost at random, we will select (vol. iii. p. 117) the striking argument concerning our Lord's Body in the Eucharist, derived by F. Sweeney from that miracle of the five loaves which preceded our Lord's most solemn instruction on the subject. And also (ib. p. 5) his powerful reply to the common Protestant objection, that the Church is made by Catholics an "intermediary" between God and the soul. "Do away with the office of intermediaries in religion," says our author, "you destroy the idea of religion altogether." What are the Scriptures, the Incarnation, the Atonement, but intermediaries? God does not teach every individual *directly*, but through the Church, according to Catholics; or through Scripture, according to Protestants. The very Sacred Humanity is as true an "intermediary," as the Blessed Virgin or the Church.

Possibilities and Difficulties of Reunion. A Review of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon."

By W. LOCKHART, B.A., Oxon. Second Edition. London: Longmans.

F. LOCKHART writes in an excellent spirit, and evidently with every intention of being entirely loyal to the Church; but in more than one particular he strikes us as not having apprehended the full force of his own statements, nor having grasped the true bearings of that controversy on which he writes. We will begin by dwelling on one particular instance of what we mean, because of its deep and pervasive importance. He says (Preface, pp. xv, xvi), that the Church "requires" no further "terms of communion" "than those which have been laid down at the Council of Trent." We will draw out part of what is included in such a proposition; being fully persuaded that F. Lockhart has no real intention of maintaining it.

The proposition could not, of course, be legitimately understood, as elevating the Tridentine Council at the expense of others; but only as mentioning in particular that last Ecumenical Council, which both recognized and supplemented all the preceding. But the proposition does surely imply, that no doctrines are of faith which have not been defined in some Ecumenical Council; and, consequently, that the Immaculate Conception is not of faith; nor yet the contradictories of those tenets advocated by Jansenius, which the Pope,

with full assent of the Episcopate, condemned as heretical. We are perfectly confident that the author does not mean this, but we are equally confident that his words involve it.

(2.) Pius IX. reminds Catholics in his Munich Brief, that not those doctrines only are of faith which have been actually so *defined*, but those, also, "which are delivered as divinely revealed by the ordinary magisterium of the whole Church diffused throughout the world." Otherwise you would be landed in the amazing conclusion, that Arianism was no heresy before the Nicene Council, nor the Lutheran tenet on justification before the Tridentine. Indeed, we believe that at this very moment neither the Church's infallibility nor the inspiration of Scripture has been expressly defined; though both doctrines have been so undeviatingly taught by the Church as of faith. Yet according to the legitimate import of F. Lockhart's proposition, a postulant might be received into the Church, who should avow his intention to receive no doctrines as of faith except those which have been expressly defined.

(3.) Again, the Church has condemned a very large number of tenets, not as heretical, but as theologically unsound; and their contradictories consequently are not of faith, but are infallibly certain as Catholic truths. The number of these infallible condemnations is very great; and much more than one third of Denzinger's well-known volume is filled with post-Tridentine decisions. F. Lockhart, were he to act on his own proposition, would receive into the Church a person who expressly told him, "I will hold any one of Baius's condemned tenets, or Quesnel's, or Fénelon's, which may commend itself to my private judgment."

(4.) The very writer whom F. Lockhart is reviewing—Dr. Pusey—considers that "a practical system taught by" the Church's "priests, put forth as *her teaching* in books which have the sanction of her bishops and by writers who have been canonized" (Eirenicon, p. 210), is corrupt; is most prejudicial to souls; closely verges on idolatry. According to F. Lockhart's proposition, Dr. Pusey might continue so to think were he admitted a member of the Catholic Church.*

We repeat, we do not for a moment believe that F. Lockhart will accept any one of these conclusions. But they are all legitimately deducible from the proposition which he has expressed; and we must, at all events, think that he has by no means duly pondered on the dispositions requisite for a convert. We thoroughly agree, indeed, with his opinion (p. 29), that "reunion on the principles of Bossuet would be better than perpetual schism;" but Bossuet would have been no less shocked than Bellarmine, at any one of the four conclusions which we have deduced from F. Lockhart's proposition. See, *e.g.*, the language concerning Baius, Molinos, and Fénelon, put

* In our number for last April (pp. 430-432, 436-438) we considered, as carefully as we could, in submission, however (p. 435), "to the judgment of competent theologians," the various ways in which a candidate for reception might be affected, towards what Dr. Pusey happily calls the Church's "practical teaching"; and how far any of those ways would be an insuperable bar while it lasted.

forth by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, in the name of the French clergy.—*Dublin Review* for last January, p. 261, note; Ward on "Doctrinal Decisions," p. 193, note.

We would earnestly submit, then, to the author's better judgment, whether any one can be counted to possess the due dispositions for reception, unless he is prepared to receive, as infallible truth, the whole body of teaching put forth jointly by the Pope and the Roman Catholic Episcopate; whether that teaching be explicit or implicit, formal or "practical." Surely he who does not look up to the Pope and the Catholic Episcopate as his infallible guides to heaven, in regard to every doctrine and practice which they unitedly inculcate, has a notion of their authority fundamentally different from that revealed by God.

In the Preface (pp. viii, ix, xii, xiii) F. Lockhart has several able and just remarks, on the curious process by which Anglicans gradually advance towards Catholicism, and on the perfect sincerity with which they often hold mutually contradictory tenets. Nor are we at all disposed to differ from him in thinking it a hopeful and fortunate circumstance, that they believe in the possibility of corporate reunion, and aim, therefore, at that end. But the author here impresses us as having confused two questions totally distinct. It is one thing to be glad that Anglicans aim at corporate reunion, and quite another thing to say that *Catholics* can reasonably regard that end as attainable. For our own part, so long as any one remains a thoroughly contented Anglican, we had rather he held the Unionist theory than any other theory consistent with his position; we only maintain that on becoming a Catholic he should put it away, along with the many other "childish things"* which he will have renounced. We have again and again given reasons for this opinion; and as it is not worth while to take the trouble of again putting them into language, we will repeat the very words we used in July:—

"God has imposed on all men a precept of submitting unreservedly to the Roman Catholic Church. The precept binds all without exception who have means of knowing it; or, in other words, no individual is dispensed from it except by invincible ignorance of its existence. Nor, on the other hand, can any man be admitted into the Catholic Church, until he believes that this precept has been given. Suppose an Anglican bishop becomes convinced that this precept *has* been imposed. Would [F. Lockhart] have him dissemble his conviction, and continue to exercise episcopal functions in a society which he now knows to be schismatical? Such a proposal [F. Lockhart] would undoubtedly stigmatize as un-English; but he would also pronounce on it the immeasurably more important censure of its being un-Christian. Unless, therefore, you suppose wholesale episcopal hypocrisy, and that of the most frightful character, the prospect of corporate reunion resolves itself into this. [F. Lockhart] must expect that, some day or other, a large majority of Anglican bishops, with a great number of clergy and laity, shall be struck at one and the same moment, as by a light from heaven, with the sudden conviction that this precept of submission has been imposed by God. Even then one does not see what advantage would be gained by their submission being made collectively rather than

* The Anglican translation of 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

successively. But to anticipate corporate reunion, is to anticipate either that God will work an astounding and most unprecedented miracle, or else that a number of Protestant bishops and clergy shall be guilty of the basest treachery and hypocrisy."

We can find no answer in F. Lockhart's pages to such considerations as these. But he says vaguely (p. 5) that corporate reunion cannot be itself hopeless, because the Church sanctioned the Council of Florence, and "other transactions with separated bodies." In April we published an article on the Council of Florence, for one distinctly expressed purpose among others; viz., to show that there is nothing in the circumstances of that Council—nor, consequently, of other similar facts—inconsistent with our "hearty denunciation of modern Unionism." (See *e.g.*, pp. 496-498.) As we do not know what reply F. Lockhart would make to our reasoning in that article, we cannot, of course, rejoin on such reply. But we shall be very glad to encounter him again, if he will frankly explain (1) how he answers the argument we just now drew out; and (2) how he replies to our answer on the Council of Florence.

That F. Lockhart occasionally reads our pages, is shown by his letter to us in the same number (p. 589). As he read our January article on "Freemasonry," we wish he had read our April article on the "Council of Florence." He would have found, *e.g.* (pp. 526-7), a reply to a statement, which he has repeated in his second edition (p. 39) apparently without having seen our answer. We refer to his opinion, that the honourable treatment given at Florence to the Oriental bishops was based on "a broad distinction between material and formal schism." This, however, is a subordinate matter. But there is another controversy of extreme practical importance, as affecting the Church's chief definition of Papal Supremacy; in regard to which F. Lockhart has been led unconsciously to inflict much injustice on the cause of truth. It is a controversy between the *Union Review* and ourselves. At the time F. Lockhart first published his pamphlet, our opponent had had the last word; and the author very reasonably narrated the then aspect of the discussion. But in publishing his second edition, he should surely have carried onward the history of that controversy to its conclusion; whereas he has left his note (p. 62) exactly in its original shape. The facts are these:—

Two writers, Mr. Ffoulkes and an anonymous contributor to the *Union Review* (if, indeed, the two be distinct) advocated two propositions concerning the Florentine Decree, than which, in all theological controversy, we never heard any more wild and extravagant. They maintained (1) that the existing Latin is not that originally signed, but a translation made from the Greek 150 years later; and (2) that this Latin totally misrepresents the Greek. Our last rejoinder was in April (pp. 550-555). (1.) We dwelt on the wild extravagance of supposing that the original Latin, which in every case had been written on the same paper with the Greek, had been irrecoverably lost, while the Greek remained; and then that an unauthoritative translation from the Greek took its place without protest or suspicion. (2.) We showed, even on the testimony of those two eminent scholars whom Mr. Ffoulkes had adduced, that Mr. Ffoulkes's interpretation of the Greek is monstrous. (3.) We pointed out that Mr. Ffoulkes's theory, about a certain

clause having been added in order to satisfy the Easterns, was a pure romance; directly opposed to both the Greek and Latin Acts of the Council. (4.) We proved, by the very facts which Mr. Ffoulkes cited, that our own was the traditional interpretation of the Decree. (5.) We drew attention to the circumstance that Mr. Ffoulkes himself, in his last reply, had unostentatiously abandoned his whole original theory, as to the Latin being 150 years more recent than the Greek. And (6) we cited Mr. Ffoulkes's candid admission that he had seen an original in the British Museum, with the Latin word for word as it now stands. Three numbers of the *Union Review* have since appeared: there has been on the one hand no retraction; on the other hand there has been no rejoinder, beyond a statement that the *Dublin* writer, had he been an Eton schoolboy, would "have been exposed to a merciless flogging" for his bad scholarship (May, p. 316). To this forcible remark we have attempted no reply. F. Lockhart was most free, of course, to express his opinion on any part of our argument; but he should not, we think, have left his readers under the impression, that we had left the matter as it stood.

Passing to another subject, we are not a little surprised that F. Lockhart should have reprinted, without protest or expression of dissent, Dr. Pusey's extraordinary speech of June 20th. We have no room to criticise that speech at length; and we will refer, therefore, only to two particulars. A certain Catholic theologian, it appears (p. xviii) told Dr. Pusey that "there is now scarcely such a thing known as an appeal" to Rome. This theologian must have meant what is undoubtedly the happy truth; viz., that Catholic bishops in general are now so unreservedly loyal to the Holy See, and so desirous of even anticipating its wishes, that occasions of appeal are very much rarer than has been the case in many periods of the Church's history. But this circumstance, so far from being to Dr. Pusey's purpose, violently conflicts with it. Dr. Pusey evidently understood his informant that the practical influence of Rome over the various churches of her communion is much less than once it was; whereas it is a fact admitted alike by friends and foes, and well known of course to F. Lockhart, that that influence was never so great as at the present time.

The same theologian was understood by Dr. Pusey (p. xviii) as stating "that those things which the Church of England disclaimed were no essential parts of the supremacy." Now, what "the Church of England disclaims," is simply the doctrine of a supremacy over all other bishops, conferred by God on the Roman Pontiff; and every Roman Catholic knows that to deny this supremacy is as simply heretical as to deny the Trinity or the Incarnation. This one circumstance would be enough to show of what wondrous misapprehensions Dr. Pusey is capable. But it is really lamentable that F. Lockhart should have given currency to what he knew to be so manifest (however unintentional) a calumny on this unnamed Catholic theologian, without one word of disavowal and explanation.*

* Since this notice was in type, we have seen the official report of Dr. Pusey's speech, on which we offer some comment in a later notice. It appears that F. Lockhart's version is not perfectly accurate; and our remarks, therefore, in the text, so far as Dr. Pusey is concerned, would require some

In conclusion, we will express our sincere regret that he has thought well to dedicate his volume jointly to F. Newman and Dr. Pusey, as to "two venerable and beloved names that one loves in thought to associate together."

Dr. Pusey's Speech at the Church Union Meeting.

The English Church Union Monthly Circular. July, 1866.

Le Monde, July 15th, 1866. Article signed H. RAMIÈRE, S.J.

THERE are, perhaps, few spectacles more calculated to draw tears from angels and mockery from devils, than that of good men led astray in pursuit of a shadow, whilst the living reality is there present before them, if they would but open their eyes to see it. To distract virtuous souls from a real good by its false semblance, is no new artifice of man's great enemy; but it would be difficult to find a more lamentable instance of it, than in a speech which Dr. Pusey has recently delivered at the annual meeting, last June, of the English Church Union. F. Ramière has commented upon it in the *Monde*; but it is evident that he had not before him the official report; for the most important if not all of the remarks, which he protests against as imputed to French theologians, appear to be the words of Dr. Pusey himself. We will give his entire speech on this subject, as officially reported;* merely explaining that, in opposing the resolution which committed the meeting to the object of the Eirenicon, Mr. Gurney had previously observed that by accepting it they were accepting a proposal of "reunion with Rome on the basis of the Council of Trent." In reply to this,—

"Dr. Pusey (who, on rising, was greeted with loud and long-continued cheering) said—I will not at this late hour detain you long; but as Mr. Gurney has stated what is the meaning of the Eirenicon, I would beg to say, that he has omitted one exceedingly important word, and that word is 'explained.' (Applause.) What I have said there, and what I have said to the Gallican Bishops, and what they have clearly understood, is this—'That I believe the Council of Trent, whatever its looks may be, and our Articles, whatever their look may be, each could be so explained as to be reconcileable one with the other.' Now, of course, there is a mode of explaining the Council of Trent which I myself cannot receive; and therefore, if it went forth that Mr. Gurney said that this society committed itself to the Council of Trent, it would be giving both a wrong explanation of my Eirenicon, and a wrong interpretation of the meaning of the association. (Hear, hear, and applause.) When he first began the amendment, I was certainly very much inclined to second it (laughter); that is to say, to leave out so much of the resolution as related to myself and the Eirenicon; and that on the ground that it is a thick book (laughter); and there is no reason that this society should be thought to commit itself to it; but, of course, what it means is

modification. As regards F. Lockhart, the matter remains precisely where it was; as, of course, he believed his own account of the speech to have been the true one.

* *Church Union Monthly Circular*, July, 1866, pp. 197-8.

the object of the Eirenicon (applause) ; and that, as I trust, came to me, not of myself. When I began the letter, nothing was further from my purpose than writing an Eirenicon. It was put to me, 'You must answer this letter of Dr. Manning's.' I undertook it, because it was put upon me by those whom I could not refuse ; and when I had got through a great deal of it, and made our defence, it came to me—certainly not of myself—thus, 'Is this all ? Is it to end in this continual defence and separation ?' And then I wrote the rest. I went abroad two or three times, in order to ascertain whether that which I hoped was a dream or not. Of course, I cannot repeat anything which any individual spoke to me ; but I saw bishops, and I saw some whom the papers do not know that I saw (laughter and applause) ; so that it cannot be said that anything I say is the opinion of any particular bishop whom the papers did say that I saw. I also saw theologians whom, happily, the papers knew nothing about. But I went to ascertain this. I went into the matter with them in detail, and stated what our difficulties were, and how we believed they could be explained, and how we believed that they could meet us, and that the points which were really at issue were not matters of faith. I am sure that the English will be extremely astonished if, as I hope to do soon, I could show them that much which was popularly supposed in the Roman Catholic Church to be *de fide*, is not *de fide*. I will only give one instance of that, because it came from a theologian, and one of our* most eminent theologians, whom nobody knows I ever saw. I talked with him for two hours about the Council of Trent and about our belief, as expressed by those whom I believe to be the most genuine sons of the Church of England. The result was, that point by point he was satisfied, and that he ended by saying, 'I shall salute you as a true brother.' (Loud applause.) With regard to the question of supremacy, I have said less ; because I do not know where it is defined in what supremacy consists. In a recent article in the *Etudes*, they say it is a great pity I live so much among old books, for that the modern practice is very different from that which I gathered from the old books. For instance, they say that in reference to the appeals which were the ground of quarrel, there is now never such a thing as an appeal to Rome. What I have said is, that those things which I am sure the Church of England had in her mind in disclaiming supremacy, are not, I believe, essential parts of the supremacy ; and I may say that a very eminent French ecclesiastic said to me, 'If other matters are settled, the supremacy in itself will make no difficulty.' The emphasis requires to be laid on '*in itself*'—that is, in the consequences involved. That is what I mean ; because it matters not under whom we live, so that by living under that authority it does not touch our consciences. (Applause.) However, he said that if other things were settled, all questions about supremacy could easily be settled—in fact, by a concordat. And as for our bishops, they might be named by any ecclesiastical mode which had ever been recognised as ecclesiastical in the Church ; or, he said, they might be named by Queen Victoria, though a Protestant. (Applause.) And the person who said that was a person of no common weight. (Loud cheers.)

We have no wish to enter on a discussion as to the degree of divine suggestion claimed for the motive of the Eirenicon. Certainly every thought, word, or deed, whose intended object is to bring wanderers home to the one true fold, must come from God ; and since this was partly the object of the Eirenicon, so far we are not disposed to dispute its claim to a divine origin.

* This word "our" must be a misprint for "their."

But we are very confident (as we have frequently urged) that such is not its direct tendency.

Nor, again, do our limits permit us to indulge an idle curiosity, as to the reason of the amusement excited by Dr. Pusey's announcement, that he saw some persons whom the papers did not know that he saw. Though we are sorry to lose the point of the joke, we must pass to more important matters.

Nothing can be more desirable, or more important, than to afford real and *bonâ fide* explanation to any one who requires it, on any point of doubt or difficulty. And this no doubt the French bishops and theologians would gladly and patiently do in any case, but more particularly in the case of Dr. Pusey. But he can hardly be aware that if he were to ask of them a formal public explanation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, he would be asking that which they are absolutely forbidden to undertake, under pain of excommunication. They will, no doubt, readily afford him, in private, every explanation he may require on the manifest sense of the Council; but, for any such formal public explanation as would furnish a sufficient basis of action, Dr. Pusey and his friends will be necessitated to address themselves direct to Rome. We refer to the following extract from the Bull of Pope Pius IV., in confirmation of the Council of Trent,* which the Archbishop also cited in his Pastoral Letter on the "Reunion of Christendom" (p. 36):—

"Furthermore, in order to avoid the perversion and confusion which might arise, if each one were allowed, as he might think fit, to publish his own commentaries and interpretations on the decrees of the Council, We, by Apostolic Authority, forbid all men, as well ecclesiastics, of whatsoever order, condition, and rank they may be, as also laymen, with whatsoever honour and power invested; prelates, to wit, under pain of being interdicted from entering the Church, and all others whomsoever they be, under pain of excommunication incurred by the fact, to presume, without our authority, to publish in any form, any commentaries, glosses, annotations, scholia, or any kind of interpretations whatsoever of the decrees of the said Council; or to settle anything in regard thereof, under any plea whatsoever, even under pretext of greater corroboration of the decrees, or the more perfect execution thereof, or under any other colour whatsoever. But if anything therein shall seem to any one to have been expressed and ordained in an obscure manner, and it shall appear to stand in need on that account of an interpretation or decision, let him go up to the place which the Lord hath chosen;† to wit, to the Apostolic See, the mistress of all the faithful, whose authority the holy Synod also has so reverently acknowledged. For, if any difficulties and controversies shall arise in regard of the said decrees, We reserve them to be by Us cleared up and decided, even as the holy Synod has itself in like manner decreed; being prepared, as that Synod has justly expressed its confidence in regard of Us, to provide for the necessities of all the provinces, in such manner as shall seem to Us most suitable; declaring that whatsoever may be attempted to the contrary in this matter, whether wittingly or unwittingly, by any one, by what authority soever, is, notwithstanding, null and void."

* Waterworth, "Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," p. 288.

† Deut. xvii. 8.

This was the origin of the Sacred Congregation of the Council of Trent, still in existence at Rome. It is through this channel alone, that any authoritative explanation of the decrees of the Council of Trent can be obtained.

No one can question the correctness of Dr. Pusey's assertion, that some things which are popularly supposed by Protestants to be *de fide* with us, are really not so; nay, that the Church actually anathematises some things, which many Protestants suppose her to teach. But, as Father Ramière observes, it needed no journey to France to tell Dr. Pusey that, since any ordinary work of controversy would abundantly suffice for the purpose. We trust, however, that the next time he sees any of these theologians, he will ask them (see our notice of Father Lockhart) whether they could possibly receive him into the Church (either alone, or in company with any number of others) except on various conditions to which we find no allusion in his speech. Let him ask them, *e.g.*, whether they would receive him unless (1) he receives various doctrines as *de fide*, which have never been expressly defined; unless (2) he holds various doctrines as infallibly true, which are not *de fide* at all, but whose contradictories have been censured as "erroneous," "close upon heresy," and the like; unless (3) he ceases to think the Roman Church's practical teaching corrupt and anti-Christian. He tells us, indeed, that an eminent theologian, after a two hours' talk on the Council of Trent, in his own (Dr. Pusey's) belief was satisfied point by point; and ended by saying, "I shall salute you as a true brother." The meeting greeted this announcement with loud applause. As to the remark, however, it needs a very slight acquaintance with French phraseology and French urbanity, to discern that it was only a polite way of saying, "you will soon be a Catholic." As to the theologian's satisfaction with Dr. Pusey's profession of faith, it cannot be appreciated without knowing what were the points discussed. Certainly the context which immediately follows in the speech, shows that Dr. Pusey has not mastered the most essential point of all, that of the Primacy. Nay, he candidly confesses that he does "not know where it is defined in what [Papal] Supremacy consists."

Father Ramière has been misled by a less authentic report, which attributes these words to a French theologian, in place of Dr. Pusey; and he expresses his doubt whether any theologian would make use of the term "*Supremacy*," since the recognised word is *Primatus*. We confess that Father Ramière's remark strikes us as hypercritical. "*De Summo Pontifice*" "on the *Supreme Pontiff*," is the recognised title of every theological treatise on the Pope. Again, the terms, "*Supreme See*" and "*Supreme Power*," are applied to the Roman Pontiffs in the decrees of the Council of Trent.* Then a distinction has been made by Anglicans between "*Primacy of rank*" and "*of jurisdiction*," which makes the word "*Primacy*" (here in England at least) ambiguous; and by "*Supremacy*" is simply meant "*Primacy of jurisdiction*." Let us proceed, however, from this question of words to the question of doctrine. Dr. Pusey does not believe that God himself gave to the Pope Supremacy over all other bishops; and until he does come to

* Sess. vi. and xiv.

believe this with divine faith, he cannot possibly be received into union with the Roman Catholic Church. This doctrine was quite as strongly held by Bossuet as it can be by the most thorough-going Ultramontane. In his exposition of Catholic doctrine he thus speaks :—

"The Son of God, having willed that his Church should be one, and solidly built upon unity, has established and instituted the Primacy of S. Peter, in order to maintain and cement it. On this account we recognize this same Primacy in the successors of the prince of the Apostles, to whom, for this reason, we owe the submission and the obedience which the holy Councils and the holy Fathers have always taught to all the faithful.

"As regards those questions, which it is known are matters of dispute in the schools, although the Protestant ministers never cease quoting them in order to render this power odious, there is no need that I should speak of them here, since they are not a part of the Catholic faith. It is enough to acknowledge a head, established by God, to guide all the flock along His paths ; which will always be willingly done by those who love fraternal concord and ecclesiastical unanimity.

"And, certainly, if the authors of the pretended reformation had loved unity, they would neither have abolished episcopal government, which was established by Jesus Christ Himself, and which may be seen in vigour from the time of the Apostles ; nor despised the authority of the Chair of S. Peter, which has so certain a foundation in the Gospel, and so evident a continuation in tradition : but rather, they would have carefully preserved both the authority of the Episcopate, which establishes unity in particular Churches, and the Primacy of the See of S. Peter, which is the common centre of all Catholic unity."

If Dr. Pusey and his friends will honestly accept this essential doctrine, that the Pope has been appointed by God "to guide all the flock along His paths," they will find no difficulty as to its application in detail.

F. Ramière found it stated, that Dr. Pusey had said of a French theologian that he affirmed that "those things which the Church of England disclaimed, were no essential parts of the Supremacy." The words are Dr. Pusey's : and it is for him, not for us, to decide whether or no the Church of England disclaims the Primacy, as we have shown it is held by Bossuet himself. If she does not ; and if Dr. Pusey and others will act accordingly, there is an end of the controversy. If she does ; and if Dr. Pusey and others do the same ; explanation on other points may help, indeed, to remove difficulties, and may, for many reasons, be most desirable ; but they will not touch the real question at issue.

We have no space here duly to examine Dr. Pusey's amazing statement concerning appeals to Rome. In our next number we will enter into details on the subject. We will content ourselves, therefore, with repeating what we said in our notice of F. Lockhart ; viz., that at no previous period of history has the practical authority of Rome been nearly so great as it is now, over the various churches of her communion. This is a fact deplored by disloyal Catholics, and accepted with unspeakable gratitude by those better disposed ; but that it is a fact, no Catholic of any party dreams of doubting.

We should certainly have been startled by the observation of the French ecclesiastic, that, "if other matters were settled, the Supremacy in itself would make no difficulty ;" had it not been for Dr. Pusey's explanation, that the

words "*in itself*" meant (a singular construction) "in the consequences involved." With this explanation, all difficulty ceases. We are quite sure that if the Primacy be accepted in its essence, there will arise no difficulty from its consequences. All questions, as Dr. Pusey states, could then be settled by a Concordat, if the Holy See saw fit. But let it be observed that a Concordat, in its very essence, implies an acknowledgment of the unlimited spiritual jurisdiction involved in the Primacy. Such an acknowledgment forms its very basis. A Concordat is a species of dispensation, a permission to deviate from the usual course : and a dispensation implies the plenitude of power to dispense ; it implies supreme authority.

After all, then, to this end we come again at last ; the same with which the whole question began ; the one real point at issue throughout. The one question to be treated of, as F. Ramière well observes, is "that of the centre of unity, and of the authority of the successor of S. Peter." Here is the divinely-constituted reality, if men would but open their eyes to see it ; the very means ordained by Christ Himself, for the establishment and preservation of that unity, which He loved so dearly, and for which he prayed so earnestly, when His hour of Agony drew near. Deny this divine means, this heaven-appointed centre, and the idea of unity becomes a vain and empty phantom ; a dream of the human brain : or rather, in the words of F. Ramière, "a hideous monster ; the alliance of yes and of no ; of light and of darkness."

The Union Review for July and September, 1866. London : Hayes.

WE cannot be mistaken, we think, in crediting these two numbers with a marked improvement of spirit. We find in them no letters from disloyal and discontented Catholics, whether priests or laymen ; we encounter very little bitter railing, whether against Ultramontanes in general or against the DUBLIN REVIEW in particular ; and we are gratified by much sound and Catholicly-tending matter. The most prominent exception to our eulogy must be in the case of an incredibly unfair and angry notice of Mr. Allie (pp. 576-8) ; almost the only instance of that passionate anti-Catholic fanaticism which lately characterized many portions of the *Union Review*.

We never could understand the cause of its violence against ourselves. Of course, in common with F. Lockhart and with all Roman Catholics, we regard its particular plans of corporate reunion as directly anti-Catholic. Nay, we go further ; we consider that any notion of corporate submission is utterly visionary, and that it is in practice very mischievous for Roman Catholics to think otherwise. But not only we have always done full justice to the great amount of zeal and piety displayed by many Unionists ; we have always strongly thought that the movement was likely to do very important service, towards drawing the minds of Englishmen in a Catholic direction. We have, doubtless, been very indignant at certain Roman Catholics advocating this or that tenet, which it is clear that no Roman Catholic has a

right to hold ; but this indignation has never extended to bonâ-fide Anglicans. Moreover, we have been so careful to give *reasons* for every objection which we made, that a correspondent of the *Union Review* (Jan., p. 72) actually complained of our "logic" being "at fever heat;" whereas the *Union Review* treated us (so to speak) as controversial outlaws ; and has constantly implied that that Catholicism, which the Pope teaches, is so self-evidently imbecile and contemptible as to need no refutation.

We regret to find that these two numbers have not put aside, in company with their bitterness, their occasional affinities to latitudinarianism. A contributor on Dr. Dollinger's newly-translated volumes, who appears well-intentioned but who writes with unusual feebleness, uses such deplorable language as the following :—

"The Arians did not, for instance, *question the Trinity*, but only the relation of the Persons. The Nestorians never denied the duality of natures in our Blessed Lord's Person, but only *questioned the time when the union took place*. The Docete, indeed, denied the reality of our Lord's death, but still they admitted that something *as like a death as could be* was needful to fulfil all the conditions which must be complied with" (p. 532).

We observe with pleasure that Anglicans have at length faced the question of *Jurisdiction*: which they have hitherto so cautiously avoided. Some papers have appeared on this subject in the *Union Review*, and have now been published separately. They are, of course, utterly unsatisfactory ; for how can any Anglican treatment of the question be otherwise ? But they are written candidly and in an excellent spirit ; and we will consider them in January in our proposed article on Ecclesiastical Unity. Nor should we here omit to commemorate a capital article in the September number, on "Tourists at Rome."

By far the most interesting feature, however, of the two numbers is their language concerning Marian devotion. The second article, indeed, for September, goes far beyond anything we have hitherto seen from an Anglican ; and we will mention three instances of this in particular :—Firstly, the writer frankly uses the word "worship" as expressing the devotion due to our Blessed Lady ; nor can we regard this as a mere matter of words, but rather as closely connected with the next particular which we are to mention. We observe secondly, then, that extreme Anglicans have often before now been willing to admit the propriety of a certain (if we may so speak) sentimental affection to the Most Holy Virgin ; but never once have we found them alive to the direct and vital importance of Marian worship, in its bearing an interior piety and the love of God. This writer, however (p. 504), says that those "who systematically neglect" her, "cannot but suffer loss," both in this life and the next ; and he presently thus proceeds :—

"Jesus chose Mary. What more can be said ? When it is said, not concealed in learned language, but conveyed in warm and loving words throughout the length and breadth of England, we shall be satisfied. The people are being taught to believe in Jesus : they must learn to link her name with His in their memories, as it is in the sacred Scriptures, and as it was in the Divine Decrees. In every heart in which the Cross is set up, she, the Mother of the Crucified, must find a place, and her own place. Then and not till then

will a reproach be rolled away from England, then and not till then may we hope for reunion with the rest of Christendom" (p. 507).

And this brings us to the third particular. We could not, of course, expect that an Anglican would sympathize with the more "extreme" passages quoted in the Eirenicon; and we are not disappointed, therefore, that the author "deprecates and deplores" them (p. 507). But let this fact be carefully observed. Anglicans in general mention these "excesses" in a proud and self-complacent spirit; and attribute their absence at home to the excellence of England's national character and of England's national Church. But the writer before us takes a far more humble and generous view. These very excesses, he says in effect (p. 507), are so many indications of a *higher devotion* existing abroad than prevails in England. Of one who judges in so loving and Catholic a spirit, we venture to predict that the time is not very far distant, when he will find that these supposed "excesses" do not really exist at all, as regards the Church's approved writers, except in his own imagination.

The article on our Lady in the July number is not tuned to quite so high a pitch as this; yet it is distinguished by candour, thoughtfulness, and charity. And we are the more bound to notice it, because its writer, while treating a different subject in September, makes incidental reference to ourselves. Firstly, then, we will mention its confession, most honourable to the writer's clear-sightedness and also to his straightforwardness, on the doctrinal corruption prevalent within his communion.

"A great deal of the shrinking felt by Anglicans from giving our Lady due honour, arises from the lingering effects of heretical teaching, or unconsciously heretical belief, on the mystery of the Incarnation. *Nestorianism prevails to a very great extent among English Churchmen, and its withering effects are very difficult to shake off*, even by those who have long become orthodox in their theoretical creed. . . It is also true, and deserves consideration, that *there has been hitherto no marked tendency to heresy on the subject of the Incarnation among Roman Catholics, while, where the dignity of the Blessed Virgin has been under-rated, heresies have speedily crept in*. . . It is sadly true that many persons in the English Church place our Blessed Lord exactly where the Catholic Church places a saint. They see nothing wrong in asking Him to pray for them, and do (in words which Mr. Oakeley hesitates in applying to English Churchmen, but which he might have truly used), 'seem to imagine that we suppose our Lord to mediate or intercede with the Eternal Father in the same sense in which we believe the Blessed Virgin to mediate or intercede with Him.' *They speak to our Blessed Lord as if He was a human being, with a human personality, and in consequence their attitude of mind towards Him and towards His Blessed Mother would be so precisely the same, that no wonder they shrink from the comparison*" (pp. 400, 401).

We will next proceed to the writer's incidental comment in September (pp. 513-15), on our own Marian article of July. He begins by stating with surprise, that we actually defend every proposition quoted by Dr. Pusey, except those from Oswald a condemned writer. This is not quite the case; for (p. 191) we surrendered M. Olier's sentences, as heretical if intended dogmatically. But considering that, with the above exceptions, all Dr. Pusey's strongest extracts are from S. Alphonsus and Montfort—and considering that

the Church has solemnly pronounced these holy writers free from theological unsoundness—what imaginable course could our opponent have *expected* a Catholic controversialist to take, except that of defending them? At the same time never certainly had controversialist a more gratifying and acceptable task, than that of vindicating those truly beautiful and touching statements which Dr. Pusey blindly denounces.

Our opponent considers (p. 514) "that the supposed analogy, on which our argument mainly hinges, completely breaks down in its most essential point." He thinks so, because he has not grasped the analogy which we intended: and we will endeavour, therefore, to express ourselves more clearly. Dr. Pusey's argument may be thus expressed. "Love of God and of Jesus is the highest of spiritual perfections. But the constant thought of Mary is greatly prejudicial to this love, by drawing men's minds from the Creator to the creature; and a proof of this is, that when a pious Roman Catholic is in trouble, he far more spontaneously turns to Mary than to her Son." Now we urged that a Unitarian might use an argument most strikingly analogous, against belief in the Incarnation. Thus. "Love of God, for the sake of His Divine Excellences, is the highest of spiritual perfections. But the constant thought of Christ is greatly prejudicial to this perfection, as leading men to love God, not for the sake of His Necessary *Divine* Excellences, but for the sake of those *human* excellences which (according to Trinitarian doctrine) He has freely assumed. And a proof of this is, that a pious Trinitarian when in trouble very far more spontaneously turns to the Second Person than to the First. The *Divine* Excellences appertain to *Both*; if therefore it were for *them* that he loved God, the Father would be quite as frequently in his thoughts as the Son." Undoubtedly, every devout Trinitarian sees that this argument is monstrously fallacious; and in like manner, every devout Roman Catholic sees that Dr. Pusey's argument is monstrously fallacious: but we must really maintain that the one is quite as plausible as the other.

Our opponent further thinks us mistaken, in supposing that the worship of Mary requires far less of a painful effort than the worship of Jesus. We expressly excepted from this statement interior and saintly men; and confined our remarks to those who, without being such, are, nevertheless, firmly resolved by God's grace not to commit mortal sin (pp. 160, 172). We are simply amazed how any one can doubt, on the ordinary principles of human nature, that such men find it far easier to address a creature than to speak (as it were) face to face with the Creator. We are still more amazed that an Anglican can doubt this; for it is the stock objection, brought by Anglicans against Catholics, that Marian devotion, if encouraged, will be sure to preponderate over the higher worship, because of its far greater facility. And, most of all, we are amazed that our opponent in particular can speak as he does, because in July he said precisely the opposite.

"Until the child is capable of making an intellectual distinction, its real and best affections will be given to the *most comprehensible and attractive idea* [i.e., that of our Lady]. In this respect, the *poor* are children all their lives. Practically it is a very difficult thing for us all to realize the Personality of God, without investing Him with human attributes, and confining our idea of Him to that of a superior kind of human being" (pp. 391, 392).

He says, you see, firstly of children ; then of the poor ; lastly of " us all ;" that the idea of Mary is " the most comprehensible and attractive : " and that, to realize God's Personality (without which we certainly cannot pray to Him) is a very difficult thing. We cannot better express our general argument, than by saying that the worship of Mary, while in itself comparatively easy, gives invaluable help towards " realizing God's Personality."

We most cordially agree with our opponent's principle, that Marian devotion would be absolutely indefensible, if it encouraged Catholics to suppose that our Blessed Lady and the Saints " have power " in themselves " to bestow spiritual gifts " (p. 397) ; or, for that matter, temporal gifts either. But we deny emphatically that there is even the most superficial *appearance* of such a result ensuing. On the contrary, as we argued in July (p. 173), " the very cause of that spiritual attraction which devotion to Mary possesses for the great body of Catholics, is their regarding her as a fellow-creature."

We can hardly believe our eyes, when we see so intelligent a writer attaching credit to such miserable rubbish, as that " more than one priest in Italy has said from the pulpit that Christ has redeemed the men but Mary the women " (p. 398). But it is, if possible, still more wonderful that, in corroboration of this ridiculous myth, he appends a charming passage from a book of Catholic devotion, published by an Irish Jesuit Father, against which he entertains some unintelligible objection. How does it even tend to follow that Catholics do not regard Jesus as their Redeemer, because they regard Mary as their Co-Redemptress ?

Still this writer argues so courteously, and displays throughout so candid and truth-loving a temper, that it will give us a real pleasure to continue the controversy, if he will explain himself more definitely and fully. We are so very confident, as Catholics, of possessing the truth, that all we desire is fair and full discussion, conducted (as our present opponent is sure to conduct it) in a Christian and loving spirit.

The " Church Times " of September 8, 1866.

IN our last number (p. 240), we protested against a monstrous misrepresentation of F. Newman, into which more than one Protestant writer has been betrayed. The above-named number of the *Church Times* produces it in the most exaggerated shape which it has yet assumed.

" Is it possible," asks the writer, " for an Anglican to use stronger language even of Dr. Colenso or the *Essayists*, than to say that their sentiments seem ' like a bad dream ' ; that they ' scare and confuse ' him ; and that they are calculated ' to unsettle consciences, to provoke blasphemy, and to work the loss of souls ' ? Yet these are the terms in which Dr. Newman . . . speaks of a school which is represented by Manning, Ward, and Faber."

Now what is it which F. Newman really said in the passage referred to ? He was commenting on certain passages quoted by Dr. Pusey from S. Alphonsus, from Montfort, from Salazar, and from others. He said (1) that these passages " as they lie in Dr. Pusey's pages," will be understood by

Englishmen of the nineteenth century" as containing certain propositions which he drew out. He said (2) that these propositions deserved those very severe epithets which the *Church Times* quotes. He added, however, (3) that he "*knew nothing of the originals*;" and (4) that he was not speaking unfavourably of all of these passages "*as they are found in their authors*," because he was confident that they did not mean what Dr. Pusey thought. So far then was he from speaking in this paragraph of "*a school*," that he actually expressed his disbelief in the *existence* of any such school as Dr. Pusey supposes. Does the writer in the *Church Times* believe F. Newman's own testimony as to F. Newman's own meaning, or does he not? If he does, how can he be excused from wilful misrepresentation? If he does not, he is surely bound to give reason for such disbelief. F. Newman expressly said that he had not examined Dr. Pusey's quotations, and "*knew nothing of the originals*." Is it *probable* that he would have expressed severe censure in passages taken from Catholic works, which he had not even seen in their original shape and in their context?

The Mosaic Covenant and Christian Dispensation; or, the Jewish Sabbath and Christian Sunday. By J. S. M'CORRY, D.D. Edinburgh: Miller & Killen. 1866.

THE author is a priest in Scotland, in whose ears the whole land is ringing and echoing with one cry of "The Sabbath! the Sabbath!" That cry, he very truly says, is "the melancholy dirge anticipatory of the Kirk's dissolution." For the Scottish doctrine of the Sabbath is really the only remainder of any national religion in Scotland; and this itself rests upon no foundation either good or bad. It is authorised neither by Scripture nor tradition, by the primitive Church nor even by the Protestant reformers, nor, strange to say, by any one Protestant body even in our own day in any part of the world. It is merely a local superstition. It had its origin in Scotland, and has never been accepted or even known in any other country, either Christian, Mahomedan, Jewish, or heathen, except in Scotland alone. In England, indeed, it has been caught among some sections of Protestants, by a sort of infection, from the Scotch; but even with them it exists in a very modified form. The Catechism of the Established Church is a standing testimony that it was utterly unknown to the founders of the Anglican heresy; for it gives an explanation of all the ten commandments one by one, and the words which answer to what Protestants call the fourth, are, "to serve Him truly *all the days* of my life." Well may we say to the modern Scotch Presbyterians, in the words of St. Paul, "Did the word of God come out from you, or came it only to you?" For if the Scottish figment of the Sabbath were Christianity, then certainly Christianity neither exists nor ever has existed anywhere except in Scotland. It has been unknown to Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants, and all other heretics in all ages, including Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Bucer, Cranmer, and Knox himself, as much as to the Apostles and their followers.

This superstition has hitherto held its ground in Scotland, although all educated men, whether clergy or laity, well knew there was nothing to be said in defence of it, because they felt that to attack it was to attack whatever remains of positive religion there are in Scotland. In such a state of society as the Scotch, it is doubtless a great thing that men and women should believe anything which implies something supernatural. And this the Scottish figment of the Sabbath does. Those who really believe that, on the first day of every week all social enjoyments, all music, all recreation, all intellectual pursuits, are contrary to the law of God, because they are forbidden in Holy Scripture, believe no doubt something utterly false and absurd; because Scripture says nothing of the sort. But they at least assume several important truths; as, that there is a God,—that He has given laws to man,—that whatever He has commanded (however little human reason might have been able to discover it, or to understand its fitness and use) is to be obeyed, because He has commanded it,—that Holy Scripture is His written Word. Now, when people who practically believe nothing else (except that the chief good of man is money, and that money is to be obtained by shrewdness, education, diligence, and thrift), hold one superstition which (false as it is) implies at least these great truths, we are not greatly astonished that Protestant preachers should have been afraid to tell them (what men of any education could hardly help knowing), viz., that there is nothing either in Holy Scripture, or indeed anywhere else, to give even the least plausible colour to their superstition. For those preachers, having really no authority to teach at all, and no Divine message to communicate, cannot help feeling that if that superstition is once shaken, they will be wholly powerless to prevent the people from utterly renouncing and forgetting (together with it) the religious truths which it implies, and which they have long ago ceased to hold in any other form. Those educated Protestants therefore have not been wholly without some excuse, who, while fully aware that the Scottish doctrine of the Sabbath is merely a baseless superstition, have pretended to believe and accept it. Of course, an enormous amount of hypocrisy has been the result; that, on the whole, they did by this hypocrisy more harm than good, and we do not doubt but this question has now ceased to be practical, for a few Presbyterian preachers have, at length, ventured openly to assail the national superstition. The majority are as much enraged as might have been expected. Nothing is so provoking as to be obliged to defend a position, which is not only absurd in itself, but for which there is really no plausible argument. Then although the (so-called) Ecclesiastical Courts of Scotland are active and unscrupulous, it is, provoking to be obliged to listen to the things which they have to hear before they can, anyhow, condemn the protestors. The other day the Presbyterian publisher of a newspaper was roughly assailed for the appearance of his paper on Sunday; and his defence, to say the least, made sad work of the consistency of his judges. Last November a preacher, Dr. McLeod, was accused, upon this subject, before the Presbytery of Glasgow. What he believes we do not know; probably little enough. The defence appeared in the papers. He said he had been accused by a general rumour of having gone out to dinner on a Sunday to meet Lord Palmerston, and that he had explained to the old lady who told him she

"was sure he would not do it," that as a matter of fact he had not done so, but added, "If I had gone, where was the harm? Did not our Lord Himself go to dine with the Pharisee?" "But," said she, "was that on the Sabbath?" To which he replied, "I have never heard it contradicted. It was, at any rate, the evening, after the Sabbath was over, and this was at half-past six too." She said, "You do not mean to say so? It is not true?" He said, "It is certainly mentioned." It must be exceedingly disagreeable to have this published in all the newspapers, because the men whom it provokes know that they have nothing to answer. But he did what must have told even more in exposing the systematic hypocrisy upon this point, which is the present system of educated men in Scotland. He said, "A person sitting next to me at a dinner-table once said to me, 'Do you mean to say, that you state publicly in your Church that a man might walk on Sunday?' 'Yes.' He said, 'I am thankful for it. I always did it, but I went out at the back door.'" What a state of society this exposes. It is hardly possible that any good can really be done to the most ignorant, especially of a shrewd thinking people like the Scotch, by knowingly fostering their delusions and superstitions. But, however that may be, it is certain that nothing could be more demoralizing to the ministers and educated laymen who pretended to share the delusion without in fact believing in it at all. Still it is impossible not to fear that, bad as things are, the discussion now going on, and in which the most latitudinarian party has clearly the advantage, is likely to make them worse, not better.

In this state of things Dr. McCorry justly thinks it important to call attention to the teaching of the Church upon this matter, and to show that the observance of Sunday at all is a testimony to the authority of the Church. Nothing is more remarkable than the fact that the sect which most vehemently rejects that authority, should select as its distinguishing tenet one which (although greatly corrupted from the true doctrine) can in no form whatever be defended except by an appeal to it. This is the idea of the author's tract on "the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday." The argument is better conceived than worked out. The author shows that if the third commandment as it stands were a command given by God to Christians, we should have no right either to modify the manner in which the day should be observed, or to transfer the observance from the seventh day to the first. Scripture commands neither of these changes, and therefore those who maintain that the commandment is given by God to Christians, and who also say that "the Bible, and the Bible alone," is their religion, stand self-condemned. We fear, however, that the author has not made clear to Protestants what he doubtless holds, how it is that the Church has altered part of the third commandment without claiming any power to alter or set aside any part of the law of God. Nowhere is this more clearly explained than in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, Part III. It first declares the Decalogue to be (in St. Augustine's words), "*legum omnium summam et epitomen*:" and this it explains by saying that God has given to all men a law "*in animo insitam*," and that the law given by Moses was intended, not as a new law, but a republication and explanation of the old. And this it says is to be insisted upon "*ne forte, cum populus audit legi Moysi derogasse*

esse, putet his legibus se non teneri." "*Certissimum enim est, non propterea his præceptis* (viz., the ten commandments) *parendum esse, quòd per Moysen data sunt; sed quòd omnium animis ingenita et per Christum Dominum explicata sunt et confirmata.*" Afterwards it says, "*Quamvis hæc lex Judæis in monte a Domino data fuerit; tamen, quoniam naturâ omnium mentibus multo ante impressa et consignata erat, atque ob eam rem Deus universos homines illi perpetuo parere voluit;*" therefore the history of God's ancient people should be explained to the faithful. Closely adhering to these principles, the Catechism afterwards discusses the third commandment. It is important, it says, that the faithful should understand why it is that we do not observe and keep holy the Sabbath, but the Lord's day. The reason is because the third commandment differs from all the others in this, "*quòd reliqua decalogi præcepta naturalia sunt et perpetua, neque ullâ ratione mutari possunt: quo factum est ut quamvis lex Moysis abrogata sit, omnia tamen præcepta quæ duabus tabulis continentur populus Christianus servet, quod ideo fit non quia Moyses ita jussisset, sed quia naturæ conveniunt, cujus vi homines ad illa servanda impelluntur. Hoc autem de Sabbati cultu præceptum, si statutum tempus spectatur, non fixum et constans est, sed mutabile; neque ad mores sed ad cæremonias pertinet: neque naturale, quoniam non a naturâ ad id docti aut instituti sumus, ut illo die, potius quam alio, externum cultum Deo tribuamus; sed ex tempore, quo populus Israeliticus a Pharaonis est servitute liberatus, diem Sabbati coluit.*" The third commandment therefore, it says, differs from the others in this, that it is partly temporary and ceremonial; and this part now binds no man. But it resembles the others in this, that it is partly moral and permanent. For the temporary and ceremonial part, which had of itself ceased to be binding upon any man, the Church has substituted other rules; the moral part it enforces. But the observance of fixed days for special religious service belongs to the natural part. "*Cujus rei argumento est, quòd apud omnes nationes statas quasdam ferias easque publicas fuisse cernimus, quæ sacris rebus et divinis obeundis erant consecratæ. Est enim naturale homini ut is certum quoddam tempus necessariis rerum functionibus det, veluti corporis quieti, somno et aliis hujusmodi rebus; et quemadmodum corpori, ita eadem naturæ ratione factum est, ut menti aliquid etiam temporis concederet quo in Dei contemplatione sese reficeret; atque ita quum aliqua temporis pars esse debeat quâ res divinæ colantur, cultusque Deo debitus tribuatur hoc sanè ad morum præcepta pertinet.*"

We wish our space would allow us to transcribe more of this lucid and practical commentary. It is wound up with the words, "*Placuit Ecclesiæ Dei, ut diei Sabbati cultus et celebritas in Dominicum transferretur diem.*" And it adds that the other Christian feasts are included under the same authority.

The principles here laid down are clear. That no part of the ten commandments is, on this account, binding upon Christians, because it is a part of Moses's law; but only because, and so far as, it is part of that Natural Law, of which the law of Moses was in part a republication. That the Church has authority to decide, what part of the law of Moses is eternal and moral, and what part is transitory. That in the exercise of this authority, she has decided that the decalogue is an invaluable summary of the eternal moral law; that no part of any of the ten commandments except the third is cer-

monial ; that of the third the moral part is that which commands us to devote certain fixed times to God and religious duties ; while the ceremonial part is that which fixed the day which the Jews should thus devote, and their manner of observing it. Therefore, although the whole law of Moses is equally abrogated, yet Christians are still bound to observe all the ten commandments : nine of them exactly as they were delivered to the Jews, and the remaining one as the Church of Christ has explained and republished it. This, we need not say, is our author's meaning ; and we agree with him that it is specially important for it to be clearly set before the Scottish people in the present state of their minds.

The Life of the Blessed Henry Suso, by Himself. Translated from the original German by THOMAS FRANCIS KNOX, Priest of the Oratory. Burns, Lambert, & Oates. 1865.

Blessed Henry Suso's Little Book of Eternal Wisdom. Translated from the German by RICHARD RABY. Second Edition. Thomas Richardson & Son. 1866.

“THE Life of the Blessed Henry Suso,” of the Order of S. Dominic, translated from the German by the Rev. Father Knox, of the London Oratory, is a valuable addition to our Catholic literature, and only requires to be known to become as popular in England as it has long been in other countries. It has the rare and peculiar merit of giving us the interior history of a saint, as related by himself ; yet it has nothing about it of the character of an autobiography, save in the fidelity with which it depicts that element of human infirmity which a biographer is too often tempted to disguise ; but the knowledge of which is of special value, as presenting the saints to us as men, possessed of like passions with ourselves, in whom the operations of grace are for the most part progressive. The character of the blessed Suso is revealed to us with so many individual and endearing traits, that we feel as if we had personally known and loved him ; and the exquisite skill with which the writer has portrayed the struggles of his tender and sensitive nature, prevent even the narrative of his terrible austerities from elevating him beyond the reach of sympathy.

To its recommendations as a volume of spiritual reading, must be added the charm which this biography possesses as a narrative,—we should rather say as a poem. Written in the wild times of the fourteenth century, we meet at every page with characters and incidents which belong to the middle ages : the ferocious robber of the Rhine-forest, the newly-made young Prussian knight, the esquire-errant so skilfully versed in the laws of the tournament, and the half savage soldiers and dealers gathered together at the great annual fairs. As to the blessed Suso himself, the descriptions of his devotions, his ecstasies, and his overwhelming sorrows, alike overflow with poetry. We might cite the chapters which tell us how the lover of Eternal Wisdom was wont to set up his spiritual May-bough, how he kept his Carnival, and began his new year, and how he even took his daily food

so as to make it minister to loving contemplation. It is hard to choose from so many passages of equal beauty, but the two following pictures of the saint in time of consolation and of desolation, though less rich in poetic imagery, may give some idea of the simple pathos of the narrative :—

“It happened once, in the time of his beginnings, that he came into the choir on S. Agnes Day. . . . He was there alone, and he stood at the lower stalls, on the right hand side of the choir. It was, moreover, a time at which he was more than usually crushed down by a heavy weight of sorrow. Now it came to pass that as he stood there all desolate, and with none to help and shield him, his soul was caught up in ecstasy, whether in the body or out of the body ; and he saw and heard what no tongue can tell. It was without form or mode, and yet it contained within itself the entrancing delightfulness of all forms and modes. His heart was athirst, and yet satisfied ; his mind was joyous and blooming ; wishes were stilled in him, and desires had departed. He did but gaze fixedly on the dazzling effulgence, in which he found oblivion of himself and of all things. Was it day or night, he knew not. It was a breaking forth of the sweetness of eternal life, felt as present in the sweetness of contemplation.”

This state of consolation is not suffered to last ; after many years of painful voluntary mortification, it is revealed to him that he has yet greater sufferings to endure at the hands of others.

“Now when it became morning, and he was sitting sorrowfully in his cell, after Mass, thinking over these things, and frozen with cold, for it was winter, he heard a voice within him saying :—Open the window of the cell, and look out and learn. He opened the window, and looked out, and he beheld a dog running about in the middle of the cloister with a worn-out foot-cloth in its mouth. The dog was acting very strangely with the foot-cloth, for he kept tossing it up and down and tearing holes in it. Thereupon the servitor looked up to heaven, sighing deeply, and it was said to him :—Even so shalt thou be in thy brethren’s mouths. Then the thought came to him : Since it cannot be otherwise, resign thyself to it ; and as the foot-cloth suffers itself to be maltreated in silence, even so do thou. He went down into the cloister, and taking up the foot-cloth, preserved it for many years as a jewel most dear to him ; and as often as he felt inclined to break out into impatience, he used to bring it forth, that he might recognize himself in it, and keep silence with regard to all men. If it sometimes happened that he half turned away his face in anger from some of those who persecuted him, he was inwardly rebuked for it, and it was said to him : Remember that I, thy Lord, turned not away my beautiful face from those who spat upon Me. Then he would bitterly repent of what he had done, and turn himself to them again very lovingly.”

We observe with pleasure that a second edition of the saint’s “Little Book of Eternal Wisdom,” translated by Mr. Raby, has lately been issued, and we could have wished that the translator had enlarged his volume by the addition of the letters and discourses, which would have given a more complete idea of blessed Suso’s spiritual teaching. We would also suggest the correction of a slight error in which both translators have fallen ; the “*venia*,” so frequently alluded to, is not, as they explain it, the monastic term for kneeling and kissing the floor, but a full-length prostration as

the side, to which this name is given, from the fact of its being made by way of asking pardon, and so far as we know is peculiar to the Dominican order.

A Manual of the Lives of the Popes from S. Peter to Pius IX. By JOHN CHARLES EARLE, B.A. London: Richardson.

WE notice with great pleasure the appearance of this invaluable manual. No division of Ecclesiastical History is so convenient as that by successive Pontificates; and such a volume, therefore, as the present is not more useful towards *acquiring* the knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, than towards recalling what has been already learnt.

Mr. Earle writes throughout with such loyal devotion to the Holy See, that we are the more surprised at his calling (p. 218) the question between Ultramontanes and Gallicans a "delicate"—apparently in the sense of a "doubtful"—one. The enormous preponderance of grave theologians is on the former side; and Dr. Murray even says that to uphold Gallicanism is, at the present day, fast approaching to the "temerarious."

Nor do we quite understand (if) in what sense—especially since the "Quantá Curá" and the Syllabus—any Catholic can praise by implication the "principles of civil and religious freedom;" but this, doubtless, is only an inaccuracy of expression. Mr. Earle fully vindicates his orthodoxy by adding (p. 219) that "the *invariable* principles of the Catholic religion require that heresy should be suppressed, wherever practicable," by the civil ruler. The manual admirably meets a want long felt in English Catholic literature; and will be exceedingly useful in our colleges and schools. The biographies, though necessarily brief, contain all the material facts, civil and ecclesiastical, of each Pontificate, carefully summarised; and the narrative throughout is written in a very clear, concise, and graceful style.

The Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops to the Reformed Religion on the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the Assumed Descent of the Present Established Hierarchy in Ireland from the Ancient Irish Church Disproved. By W. MAZIERE BRADY, D.D., Vicar of Donogh Patrick, and Rector of Kilberry, Diocese of Meath, and formerly Chaplain to the Earls of Clarendon, St. Germans, and Carlisle, Lords Lieutenant of Ireland. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

DOCTOR MAZIERE BRADY is evidently a man of what Mr. Kingsley calls "hault courage," though in the present instance it is the exact kind of courage for which every one knows Mr. Kingsley would never have conscience. To the average Irish parson, the Vicar of Donogh Patrick, writing such papers as this, must present a figure of himself as a man setting astride on the uppermost branch of a tree, who is diligently sawing it between him and the trunk. The honesty and veracity of such a pamphlet are really stupendous; and it reveals in every line a love of truth for its own

sake, which every Catholic who reads it must feel tempted to pray may be ultimately satisfied in the way of grace as well as the way of intellect. The position of the Irish Protestant Church at the present moment is a very curious study, and not merely in a political point of view. The cold, dull, dry, and acrid character, which belonged to it for the last half century, seems to be cracking and peeling off. Curious currents of new thought seem here and there to traverse and animate it. It is full time that it should at last begin to show signs of a Catholic movement. Possibly some unknown Saint, some French missionary father in the Pacific Islands, has been moved to pray for its conversion, as S. Paul of the Cross, a hundred years ago, was moved, how he could not tell, to pray for the conversion of England. We are afraid there is not much prayer among the Irish Catholics for the conversion of the Irish Protestants.

The object of Dr. Brady's argument is to utterly deny and disprove the thesis, which has been repeatedly, systematically, and authoritatively advanced on behalf of the Irish Church Establishment, that its hierarchy represents in a direct lineal succession the Catholic Hierarchy which existed at the time of the introduction of the Reformation. This statement has been made by the highest authorities in that Church, by its historians, Bishop Mant and Mr. King, by its bishops, by its great Parliamentary advocates, as something absolutely certain and wholly irrefutable. Dr. Brady, on the other hand, quotes and adopts, in regard to this assertion, the opinion of "perhaps the highest living authority," that it is "the most impudent falsehood in all history." Dr. Brady here refers, it appears, to Mr. Froude. There are many historical questions upon which we should be slow to accept Mr. Froude as the highest authority, or any authority at all. But on a point of this kind, his authority is immensely strengthened by the very cause which would ordinarily lead us to receive his evidence with distrust, by the violently anti-Catholic character of his mind.

We observe, indeed, that, in the newly-published volumes of his history, he alludes in a note (Vol. x. p. 481) to the controversy:—

"I cannot but express my astonishment at a proposition maintained by Bishop Mant and others that the whole hierarchy of Ireland went over to the Reformation with the Government. Dr. Mant discovers that the Bishop of Kildare and the Bishop of Meath were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy. The rest, he infers, must have taken the oath, because they remained in their places. The English Government, unfortunately for themselves, had no such opportunity as Dr. Mant's argument supposes for the exercise of their authority. The Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare were alone under English jurisdiction. When Adam Loftus was made Archbishop of Armagh, the Primacy became titularly Protestant. But Loftus resided in Dublin, the see was governed by a bishop in communion with the Pope; and the latter, and not the former, was regarded in Ireland by the correspondents of the English Government as the lawful possessor of the see. In a survey of the country, supplied to Cecil in 1571, after death and deprivation had enabled their Government to fill several sees with English nominees, the Archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with almost every one of the bishops of their respective provinces, are described as *Catholici et Confederati*. The Archbishop of Dublin, with the Bishops of Kildare, Ossory, and Ferns, are alone reckoned as Protestants."

This passage gives an idea of the general character of the controversy ; but Dr. Maziere Brady goes through the case of every individual diocese in detail, and traces the succession until the two lines of Catholic and Protestant Bishops go plainly asunder. All his proofs are most simply and straightforwardly put, and based on solid authority. He compares the papers of the Vatican with those of the Record Office, and indeed seems to have left no possible source of reference unstudied.

Finally he shows, we think, triumphantly that, of the twenty-four bishops in 1558, Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, was the only one who embraced the Reformation. But "Curwin was Irish in no respect ; he had neither Irish birth, parentage, or education. His orders of deacon, priest, and bishop were all of them English." In fine, Dr. Brady concludes that "there seems no valid reason to doubt that the Irish succession remains with the Roman Catholic bishops of the Irish Church, while the bishops of the Anglican Church in Ireland, whose orders are not derived from the ancient Irish Church, but from the English succession through Curwin have the same Apostolical succession as the Established Church of England." We propose to return to the general question of the present position of the Irish Church Establishment in an early number, and will then have occasion to examine Dr. Brady's argument again ; but we cannot so long forbear drawing attention to the remarkable fairness and candour, as well as ingenuity and learning, which distinguish it.

MR. RHODES has already conferred great benefit on the Catholic cause in the controversy started by Dr. Pusey concerning our Blessed Lady. He was the first to discover that Oswald, on whom Dr. Pusey laid so much stress, is on the Index ; and he has written various letters to the *Weekly Register*, setting right serious misquotations into which Dr. Pusey had been betrayed. We are the more glad, then, that he is now coming more prominently into the field, and has begun a course of papers on the whole subject. We hope to notice these carefully in our future numbers.

WE regret that we have not space to notice in detail several charming little devotional volumes, lately published by a religious of the Convent of Poor Clares at Kenmare—favourably known already to our readers as the author of "The Life and Revelations of S. Gertrude." Among these publications all of this year, are "The Spirit of S. Gertrude," "Intentions for Mass and Holy Communion," and "The Child's Month of the Sacred Heart," published by Messrs. Burns, and "Meditations for Advent and Easter," published by Mr. Duffy. They are each and all excellent in conception, execution, and spirit. We rejoice to hear that the same zealous and indefatigable Sister is at present engaged in preparing a popular manual of Irish Catholic history for convent and other schools.

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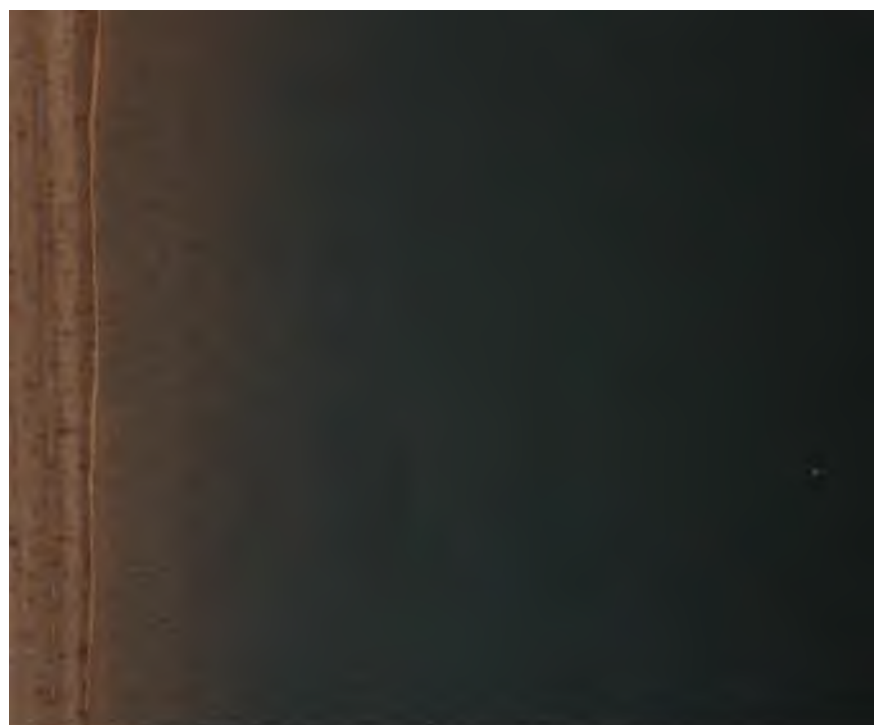
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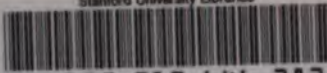
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